

ORIENTALIA LOVANIENSIA
ANALECTA
— 40 —

BABYLONIAN
TOPOGRAPHICAL
TEXTS

BY
A.R. GEORGE



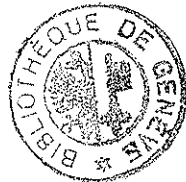
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To
The Memory
Of
Patrick Alan George



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PREFACE

The aim of this book is to present editions of a genre of Babylonian texts which concern themselves with the great cities of ancient Mesopotamia. We call these texts 'topographical', for want of a better word, but this is really a misnomer, for their purpose is not topographical description of the cities in question, but rather the celebration of their status as the great religious centres of the land. Topographical concerns were of incidental interest to the texts' compilers, but their content, which comprises lists mainly of religious buildings, but also of other features, is still of considerable importance to the modern topographer. We hope, then, that the title of the work will be found admissible.

All the textual material presented in the following chapters — much of it for the first time — belongs to the last fifteen centuries of the cuneiform tradition, a time when the city of Babylon had risen to an unprecedented position of supremacy in the political and religious life of ancient Mesopotamia. It therefore comes as no surprise that a high proportion of the extant corpus of texts of the 'topographical' genre should be concerned with this most famous of ancient Near Eastern cities. Such is the amount of material dealing with Babylon, and such the volume of information that is provided by other written sources — in particular the building inscriptions of the Chaldaean kings — and by the investigations of archaeologists, first German and now Iraqi, that our knowledge of Babylon and its sacred buildings far surpasses that of any other Mesopotamian metropolis. The preoccupation of this book with this great city is thus an unavoidable bias of circumstance.

The writer has endeavoured to reproduce in autograph as many of the sources as possible. Copies of all tablets now placed in British collections and here edited — as well as of other pieces incidental to the present work — appear in the plates, along with copies of all but one of those manuscripts in foreign collections. Visits to museums in Britain and Europe were largely funded by the Department of Education and Science, the British Academy and the Ernest Cassel Education Fund, while the British School of Archaeology in Iraq and the British Academy met the expenses of two stays in Baghdad. A grant from the School of Oriental and African Studies, the University of London, brought the project to its completion, while the final publication is greatly aided by a subvention awarded by the British Academy. The appearance of this volume is owed to the munificence of all these institutions. The tablets are published by generous permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, the Friends of the Ashmolean Museum, the Director of the Vorderasiatisches Museum of Berlin, the authorities of the Musée du Louvre, and the Director General of Antiquities of the Iraq Museum. The authorities of the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul kindly consented to the inspection and collation of a manuscript in their care. To the staff of all these museums go my warm thanks for considerable help and kindness.

To record my further debt to individual scholars, many of whom added to this book not least by drawing my attention to a large number of unpublished sources, is a happy task. It is hoped that those concerned will forgive this bare roll-call: Professors O.R. Gurney, W.L. Moran, Erle Leichty, J. Bottéro and R. Borger; Dr I.L. Finkel, the late Douglas Kennedy, Mr C.B.F. Walker and Dr M.J. Geller; and Mr J.N. Postgate, Dr M. de J. Ellis, Dr D.R. Frayne and Dr G.J.P. McEwan. Finally, it is a long-anticipated, and so much the greater pleasure to acknowledge in gratitude and friendship the great contribution made to this work by my tutor in Assyriology, Professor W.G. Lambert. His attentive guidance, keen criticism and unstinting generosity have been the mainstay of my research.

It remains only to note that should the following pages be found wanting, the fault attaches to none but their writer.

London
12th October 1987

A.R.G.

POSTSCRIPT

In the interval that has inevitably fallen between the completion of the manuscript and the printing of the volume Assyriological scholarship has proceeded apace. Over the course of these four years I have attempted to keep the book abreast of modern knowledge, though naturally reworking of the text has been kept to an absolute minimum. If in this way I have overtaxed the good will of my publisher then I hope he will be appeased by the acknowledgement here of the patience and skill that he and his staff have invested in the book's production. One unexpected benefit came of the delay: at the very last moment I was able to copy a small fragment in Istanbul, which was previously known only from the copy of Geers and second-hand collation, thereby making good what would have been the single omission from the plates. For permission to study this tablet in person I am thus further indebted to the Director and staff of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, and I must also again express my thanks to the British Academy, who funded my stay in Turkey.

London
4th October 1991

A.R.G.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

- A* = *ā* : *nāqu*, lexical series.
AAA = *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*.
AB = *Assyriologische Bibliothek*.
AbB = *Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung*.
ABL = R.F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*.
Acta Sum = *Acta Sumerologica*.
ADFU = *Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka*.
AfK = *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*.
AfO = *Archiv für Orientforschung*.
AH = Abu Habba, tablet signature, British Museum.
AHw = W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*.
Ai = ki.ulutin.bi.šè : *ana ittišu*, lexical series.
AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*.
Albright Festschrift 1971 = H. Goedicke (ed.), *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*.
An = An : *Anum*, god list.
AnBi = *Analecta Biblica*.
Angim = An.gim.dím.ma, literary composition, cited after J.S. Cooper, *The Return of Ninurta to Nippur* (= *AnOr* 52).
AnOr = *Analecta Orientalia*
 1 = N. Schneider, *Die Drehem- und Djoha-Urkunden der Strassburger Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek*.
 8-9 = A. Pohl, *Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden*.
 42³ = W. von Soden and W. Röllig, *Das akkadische Syllabar*, 3rd edition.
AnSt = *Anatolian Studies*.
Antagal = an.ta.gál : *šaqu*, lexical series.
AO = *Der Alte Orient*.
AO = Antiquités orientales, tablet signature, Musée du Louvre.
AOAT = *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*
 4/I P.-R. Berger, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*.
AOATS = *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*, Sonderreihe.
ArOr = *Archiv Orientalni*.
ARRIM = *Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project*.
AS = *Assyriological Studies*
 11 = T. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*.
 12 = S.N. Kramer, *Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur*.
 16 = *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger*.
Ashmolean, *Ash. Mus.* = Ashmolean Museum, tablet signature.
AÜDTFD = *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*.
BA = *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*.
Bab. = Babylon, tablet signature, Vorderasiatisches Museum.
BagM = *Baghdader Mitteilungen*
 Beiheft 2 = J.J.A. van Dijk and W.R. Mayer, *Texte aus dem Rēš-Heiligtum in Uruk-Warka*.

- BASOR (SS) = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (Supplementary Series).
 Bauer, IWA = T. Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* (= AB 1-2).
 BBR = H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* (= AB 12).
 BBS_t = L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones and Memorial Tablets*.
 BE = Babylon-Expedition, tablet signature, Vorderasiatisches Museum.
 BE = *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, Series A: Cuneiform Texts
 I = H. V. Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*.
 VIII/1 = A.T. Clay, *Legal and Commercial Transactions*.
 X = A.T. Clay, *Business Documents of the Murashû Sons of Nippur*.
 XXX/1 = H. Radau, *Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to the God Dumu-zi*.
 XXXI = S. Langdon, *Historical and Religious Texts*.
 Behrens, Enlil and Ninlil = H. Behrens, *Enlil und Ninlil, ein sumerischer Mythos aus Nippur* (= *Studia Pohl*, Series Maior 8).
 Belleten = *Türk Tarih Kurumu, Belleten*.
 Bezold, Catalogue = C. Bezold, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kuyunjik Collection*.
 BIN = *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J.B. Nies*
 I = C.E. Keiser, *Letters and Contracts from Erech*.
 II = J.B. Nies and C.E. Keiser, *Historical, Religious and Economic Texts*.
 V = G.G. Hackman, *Temple Documents of the Third Dynasty of Ur from Umma*.
 BiOr = *Bibliotheca Orientalis*.
 Blacker and Loewe, *Ancient Cosmologies* = C. Blacker and M. Loewe (eds.), *Ancient Cosmologies*.
 BM = British Museum, tablet signature.
 Boissier, DA = A. Boissier, *Documents assyriens relatifs aux présages*.
 Borger, ABZ = R. Borger, *Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste* (= AOAT 33-33A).
 Borger, EAK = R. Borger, *Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften I* (Handbuch der Orientalistik).
 Borger, Esarh. = R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (= AfO Beiheft 9).
 Brinkman, PHPKB = J.A. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia 1158-722 B.C.* (= AnOr 43).
 BRM = *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*
 I = A.T. Clay, *Babylonian Business Transactions*.
 II = A.T. Clay, *Legal Documents from Erech*.
 IV = A.T. Clay, *Epics, Hymns, Omens and Other Texts*.
 BSAW = *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historische Klasse*.
 BSOAS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*.
 Bu = Budge, tablet signature, British Museum.
 BWL = W.G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*.
 CAD = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago*.
 CAH³ = *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 3rd edition.
 Cameron, Early Iran = George G. Cameron, *History of Early Iran*.
 Cavigneaux, Textes scolaires = A. Cavigneaux, *Textes scolaires du temple de Nabû ša harê*.
 CBS = Catalogue of the Babylonian Section, tablet signature, University Museum, Philadelphia.
 CH = Codex Hammurapi.
 Çiğ and Kızılyay, ISETP = M. Çiğ, H. Kızılyay and S.N. Kramer, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Sumer Edebî Tablet ve Parçaları*.
 Craig, AAT = J.A. Craig, *Astrological-Astronomical Texts* (= AB 14).
 Craig, ABRT = J.A. Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts* (= AB 13).

- CRR = *Compte rendu, Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*.
 20 = *Le temple et le culte*.
 CT = *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*.
 Curse of Akkade = literary composition, cited after J.S. Cooper, *The Curse of Agade*.
 D = Dailem (Dulaim), tablet signature, British Museum.
 Deimel, Fara = A. Deimel, *Die Inschriften von Fara* (= WVDOG 40, 43 and 45).
 Diakonoff Festschrift = M.A. Dandamayev et al. (eds.), *Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East, Studies in Honour of I.M. Diakonoff*.
 Diri = diri : atru, lexical series.
 Donbaz, NTA = V. Donbaz, *Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur*.
 Dougherty, GCCI = R.P. Dougherty, *Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions*.
 DT = Daily Telegraph, tablet signature, British Museum.
 Durand, Documents cunéiformes = J.-M. Durand, *Documents cunéiformes de la IV^e Section de l'École pratique des Hautes Études I* (= *Hautes études orientales* 18).
 Ea = ^{ea}A : nâqu, lexical series.
 Ebeling, AGH = E. Ebeling, *Die akkadische Gebetsserie «Handerhebung»*.
 Ebeling, PKT = E. Ebeling, *Parfümrezepte und kultische Texte aus Aššur* (= OrNS 17-19).
 Ebeling, SVAT = E. Ebeling, *Stiftungen und Vorschriften für assyrische Tempel*.
 Edzard, Zwischenzeit = D.O. Edzard, *Die «Zweite Zwischenzeit» Babyloniens*.
 Emesal Voc. = Emesal vocabulary, dim.me.er : dingir : ilu, lexical series.
 Enki and Ninḫursag = literary composition, cited after S.N. Kramer, BASOR SS 1.
 Enmerkar and Ensuḫkešdanna = literary composition, cited after A. Berlin, *Enmerkar and Ensuḫkešdanna, a Sumerian Narrative Poem* (= *Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund* 2).
 Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta = literary composition, cited after S. Cohen, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*, Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
 Enūma eliš = literary composition, cited after W.G. Lambert, *Enūma eliš, the Babylonian Epic of Creation, the Cuneiform Text*.
 Erimḫuš = erim.ḫuš : anantu, lexical series.
 Erra Epic = literary composition, cited after L. Cagni, *Das Erra Epos: Keilschrifttext* (= *Studia Pohl* 5).
 Falkenstein, IGL = A. Falkenstein, *Die Inschriften Gudeas von Lagaš* (= AnOr 30).
 Falkenstein, Topographie = A. Falkenstein, *Die Topographie von Uruk I: Uruk zur Seleukidenzeit* (= ADFU 3).
 FAOS = *Freiburger altorientalische Studien*
 14 = B.R.M. Groneberg, *Syntax, Morphologie und Stil der jungbabylonischen «hymnischen» Literatur*.
 FB = *Forschungen und Berichte*.
 Ferrara, Nanna-Suen's Journey = A.J. Ferrara, *Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur* (= *Studia Pohl*, Series Maior 2).
 Festschrift Böhl = M.A. Beek et al. (eds.), *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl Dedicatae*.
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 Forde, Nebraska CT = N.W. Forde, *Nebraska Cuneiform Texts of the Sumerian Ur III Dynasty*.
 Fossey, Manuel = C. Fossey, *Manuel d'assyriologie*.
 al-Fouadi, Enki's Journey = A.-H. al-Fouadi, *Enki's Journey to Nippur: the Journeys of the Gods*, Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

- Frankena, *Tākultu* = R. Frankena, *Tākultu, de sacrale maaltijd in het Assyrische ritueel*.
 GAB = Divine Directory of Aššur (Götteradressbuch).
 GAG = W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik samt Ergänzungsheft* (= *AnOr* 33 and 47).
 Geller, *UHF* = M. J. Geller, *Forerunners to Udug-hul* (= *FAOS* 12).
 GGA = *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*.
 Gilgameš = literary composition, cited after Thompson, *Gilgamish*; P = Pennsylvania Tablet; Y = Yale Tablet.
 Grayson, *ABC* = A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (= *TCS* V).
 Grayson, *ARI* = A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*.
 Grayson, *BHLT* = A.K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts* (= *Toronto Semitic Texts and Studies* 3).
 Gudea, Cyl. = literary composition, cited after *TCL* VIII.
 Gudea, Statue B = royal inscription, cited after M. Lambert and J.R. Tournay, *RA* 45, p. 49ff.
 Heidel, *Babylonian Genesis* = A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis, the Story of Creation*.
 Heidelberg *Studien* = *Heidelberg Studien zum Alten Orient* Adam Falkenstein.
 Hg = *mur.gud : imrû : ballu*, lexical series.
 Hh = *ur.ra : hubullu*, lexical series.
 Hinke, *SBKI* = W.J. Hinke, *Selected Babylonian Kudurru Inscriptions* (= *Semitic Study Series* 14).
 HKL = R. Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur*.
 HS = Hilprecht Sammlung, tablet signature, Jena.
 Hunger, *Kolophone* = H. Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone* (= *AOAT* 2).
 Idu = *á : idu*, lexical series.
 Igituḥ = *igi.duḥ : tāmartu*, lexical series.
 IM = Iraq Museum, tablet signature.
 IOS = *Israel Oriental Studies*.
 Izi = *izi : išātu*, lexical series.
 JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
 JCS = *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*.
 JEOL = *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap, «Ex Oriente Lux»*.
 JKF = *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung*.
 JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.
 JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
 K = Kuyunjik, tablet signature, British Museum.
 Kagal = *ká.gal : abullu*, lexical series.
 KAH = L. Messerschmidt and O. Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts* (= *WVDOG* 16 and 37).
 KAJ = E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts* (= *WVDOG* 50).
 KAR = E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts* (= *WVDOG* 28 and 34).
 KAV = O. Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts* (= *WVDOG* 35).
 KBo = *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*.
 King, *AKA* = L.W. King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*.
 King, *Cat. Suppl.* = L.W. King, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection, Supplement*.
 Knudtzon, *EA* = J.A. Knudtzon, O. Weber and E. Ebeling, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (= *VAB* II).
 Kohler-Peiser, *Rechtsl.* = J. Kohler and F.E. Peiser, *Aus dem babylonischen Rechtsleben*.
 Koldewey, *WEB*⁴ = R. Koldewey, *Das wiedererstehende Babylon*, 4th edition.
 König, *ElKi* = F.W. König, *Die elamischen Königsinschriften* (= *AfO* Beiheft 16).

- Kramer Anniversary Volume* = B.L. Eichler et al. (eds.), *Kramer Anniversary Volume*.
 KUB = *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*.
 Lambert, *Atraḫasīs* = W.G. Lambert and A.R. Millard, *Atraḫasīs, the Babylonian Story of the Flood*.
 Lambert, *Love Lyrics* = W.G. Lambert, *The Problem of the Love Lyrics*, in H. Goedicke and J.J.M. Roberts (eds.), *Unity and Diversity*.
 Landsberger, *Date-Palm* = B. Landsberger, *The Date-Palm and its By-Products According to the Cuneiform Sources* (= *AfO* Beiheft 17).
 Langdon, *BL* = S. Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies*.
 Langdon, *SBP* = S. Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*.
 Lānu = *alam : lānu*, lexical series.
 Layard, *ICC* = A.H. Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments*.
 LBAT = T.G. Pinches, J.N. Strassmaier and A.J. Sachs, *Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts*.
 Leichty, *Catalogue* = E. Leichty, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, Tablets from Sippar*.
 LIH = L.W. King, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi, King of Babylon*.
 Livingstone, *MMEW* = A. Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*.
 LKA = E. Ebeling and F. Köcher, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*.
 LKU = A. Falkenstein, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk*.
 LTBA = L. Matouš and W. von Soden, *Die lexikalischen Tafelserien der Babylonier und Assyrer in den Berliner Museen*.
 Lu = *lú : ša*, lexical series.
 Ludhul = *Ludhul bēl nēmeqi*, literary composition, cited after *BWL*.
 Lugale = literary composition, cited after J.J.A. van Dijk, *Lugal ud me.lām.bi nīr.ḡál*.
 MAIB = *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*.
 Malku = *malku : šarru*, lexical series.
 MANE = *Monographs on the Ancient Near East*
 I/1 = A. Falkenstein, *The Sumerian Temple City* (= *Cahiers de l'Histoire mondiale* 1, p. 784ff.).
 I/2 = B. Landsberger, *Three Essays on the Sumerians*.
 Maqlû = incantation series, cited after G. Meier, *Maqlû* (= *AfO* Beiheft 2).
 MARI = *Mari, Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires*.
 Matouš *Festschrift* = B. Hruška and G. Komoróczy (eds.), *Festschrift Lubor Matouš* (= *Assyriologia* IV-V).
 MDOG = *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*.
 MDP = *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*.
 Menzel, *AT* = B. Menzel, *Assyrische Tempel* (= *Studia Pohl, Series Maior* 10).
 Meyer, *4 Jahrtausende...*² = G.R. Meyer, *Durch vier Jahrtausende altvorderasiatischer Kultur*, 2nd edition.
 MIO = *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*.
 Moore, *NBDM* = E.W. Moore, *Neo-Babylonian Documents in the University of Michigan Collection*.
 MSL = B. Landsberger et al., *Materialen zum sumerischen Lexicon; Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon*.
 MVAG = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft*.
 N = Nippur, tablet signature, University Museum, Philadelphia.

- Nabnītu* = ulutim : *nabnītu*, lexical series.
NABU = *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*.
Nemet-Nejat, LBFP = K.R. Nemet-Nejat, *Late Babylonian Field Plans in the British Museum* (= *Studia Pohl*, Series Maior 11).
 Neugebauer, *Exact Sciences* = O. Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity*.
 Ni = Nippur, tablet signature, Archaeological Museum, Istanbul.
Nigga = nig.ga : *makkūru*, lexical series.
OECT = *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*
 IV = P.E. van der Meer, *Syllabaries A, B¹ and B with Miscellaneous Lexicographical Texts*.
 V = O.R. Gurney and S.N. Kramer, *Sumerian Literary Texts in the Ashmolean Museum*.
 VI = S. Langdon, *Babylonian Penitential Psalms*.
 VIII = G.G.R. Hunter, *The Sayce and H. Weld Collection in the Ashmolean Museum*.
 X = G.J.P. McEwan, *Late Babylonian Texts in the Ashmolean Museum*.
 XI = O.R. Gurney, *Literary and Miscellaneous Texts in the Ashmolean Museum*.
OIP = *Oriental Institute Publications*
 2 = D.D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*.
 99 = R.D. Biggs, *Inscriptions from Tell Abū Šalābīkh*.
OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*.
Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia = A.L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia, Portrait of a Dead Civilization*.
OrAnt = *Oriens Antiquus*.
Oriental Studies Haupt = C. Adler and A. Ember (eds.), *Oriental Studies published in commemoration of the fortieth anniversary (1883-1923) of Paul Haupt as Director of the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University*.
OrNS = *Orientalia*, Nova Series.
OrSuec = *Orientalia Suecana*.
van Oven Festschrift = *Symbolae ad Jus et Historiam Antiquitatis Pertinentes Julio Christiano van Oven Dedicatae*.
Pallis, Akītu Festival = S.A. Pallis, *The Babylonian Akītu Festival* (= *Historisk-Filologiske Meddelelser*... XII/1).
Parpola, LAS = S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal* (= *AOAT* 5).
Parrot, Ziggurats = A. Parrot, *Ziggurats et tour de Babel*.
Pedersén, Archives and Libraries = O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur* (= *Studia Semitica Upsaliensia* 6).
PBS = *Publications of the Babylonian Section, University of Pennsylvania, the Museum*
 I/1 = D. Myhrman, *Babylonian Hymns and Prayers*.
 V = A. Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*.
 VII = A. Ungnad, *Babylonian Letters of the Hammurapi Period*.
 X/2 = S. Langdon, *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*.
 X/4 = S. Langdon, *Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms*.
 XV = L. Legrain, *Royal Inscriptions and Fragments from Nippur and Babylon*.
Peiser, BV = F.E. Peiser, *Babylonische Verträge des Berliner Museums*.
*Pinches, Old Testament*³ = T.G. Pinches, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia*, 3rd edition.
PSBA = *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.
R = H.C. Rawlinson et al., *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*.
RA = *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*.

- RGTC* = *Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes*.
RIA = *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*.
Rm = Rassam, tablet signature, British Museum.
ROMCT = *Royal Ontario Museum, Cuneiform Texts*.
 II = G.J.P. McEwan, *The Late Babylonian Tablets in the Royal Ontario Museum*.
Römer, SKI = W.H.P. Römer, *Sumerische 'Königshymnen' der Isin-Zeit*.
RSO = *Rivista degli studi orientali*.
RT = *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*.
RTC = F. Thureau-Dangin, *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes*.
S^a = Syllabary A, lexical series.
SAA = *State Archives of Assyria*
 I = S. Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part I: Letters from Assyria and the West*.
SAAB = *State Archives of Assyria, Bulletin*.
Sack, Amēl-Marduk = R.H. Sack, *Amēl-Marduk 562-560 B.C.* (= *AOATS* 4).
Salonen, Türen = A. Salonen, *Die Türen des Alten Mesopotamien* (= *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, Series B, 124).
SANE = *Sources from the Ancient Near East*
 I/5 = S.M. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*.
San Nicolò, BR 8/7 = M. San Nicolò, *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden des ausgehenden 8. und 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (= *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse*, Neue Folge, 34).
S^b = Syllabary B, lexical series.
SBH = G.A. Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit* (= *Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen* 10).
Scheil, Sippar = V. Scheil, *Une saison de fouilles à Sippar* (= *Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire* 1/1).
Seed of Wisdom = W.S. McCullough (ed.), *The Seed of Wisdom, Essays in Honor of T.J. Meek*.
SGL = A. Falkenstein and J.J.A. van Dijk, *Sumerische Götterlieder* (= *Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 1959/I and 1960/I).
Si = Sippar, tablet signature, Archaeological Museum, Istanbul.
Sjöberg, Nanna-Suen = A.W. Sjöberg, *Der Mondgott Nanna-Suen in der sumerischen Überlieferung I*.
ŠL = A. Deimel and F. Gössmann, *Šumerisches Lexikon*.
SLT = E. Chiera, *Sumerian Literary Texts from the Temple School of Nippur* (= *OIP* 11).
SLTN = S.N. Kramer, *Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul* (= *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 23).
Sm = Smith, tablet signature, British Museum.
Smith, BHT = S. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts relating to the Capture and Downfall of Babylon*.
Sollberger, Corpus = E. Sollberger, *Corpus des inscriptions «royales» présargoniques de Lagaš*.
Sp = Spartali, tablet signature, British Museum.
SPAW = *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse*.
SpTU = H. Hunger and E. von Weiher, *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk* (= *ADFU* 9-10, 12).
SRT = E. Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts*.
Stamm, Namengabung = J.J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengabung* (= *MVAG* 44).
STC = L.W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*.
Steible, Rīm-Sin = H. Steible, *Rīmsin, mein König* (= *FAOS* 1).

- Stol, *On Trees* = M. Stol, *On Trees, Mountains and Millstones in the Ancient Near East* (= *Mededelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"* 21).
- StOr = *Studia Orientalia*.
- Strassmaier, *Camb* = J.N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cambyeses, König von Babylon*.
- Strassmaier, *Cyrus* = J.N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon*.
- Strassmaier, *Dar* = J.N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Darius, König von Babylon*.
- Strassmaier, *Liverpool* = J.N. Strassmaier, *Die babylonischen Inschriften im Museum zu Liverpool* (= 6th Orientalist Congress II, p. 569ff.).
- Strassmaier, *Nbk* = J.N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor, König von Babylon*.
- Strassmaier, *Nbn* = J.N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon*.
- STT = O.R. Gurney, J.J. Finkelstein and P. Hulin, *The Sultantepe Tablets*.
- STVC = E. Chiera, *Sumerian Texts of Varied Contents* (= OIP 16).
- Šurpu = incantation series, cited after E. Reiner, *Šurpu* (= AfO Beiheft 11).
- TCL = *Textes cunéiformes du Louvre*.
- TCS = *Texts from Cuneiform Sources*
- I = E. Sollberger, *Business and Administrative Correspondence under the Kings of Ur*.
- II = R.D. Biggs, *ŠA.ZI.GA Ancient Mesopotamian Potency Incantations*.
- III = A.W. Sjöberg and E. Bergmann, *The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns*; G.B. Gragg, *The Keš Temple Hymn*.
- IV = E.V. Leichty, *The Omen Series Šumma Izbu*.
- Thompson, *DAB* = R.C. Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Botany*.
- Thompson, *Gilgamish* = R.C. Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamish*.
- Thompson, *PEA* = R.C. Thompson, *The Prisms of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal found at Nineveh, 1927-8*.
- Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc* = F. Thureau-Dangin *Rituels accadiens*.
- Thureau-Dangin, *SAK* = F. Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften* (= VAB I).
- TIM = *Texts in the Iraq Museum*.
- Tintir = tin.tir^{kl} : *bābilu*, topographical series.
- TMH(NF) = *Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena*, (Neue Folge).
- TSBA = *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.
- UET = *Ur Excavations, Texts*.
- UF = *Ugarit-Forschungen*.
- Unger, *Babylon* = E. Unger, *Babylon, die heilige Stadt*.
- Uruanna = "uru.an.na : *maštakal*, pharaceutical series.
- Utukkū lemnūtu = incantation series.
- UVB = *Vorläufige Bericht über die von der Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommen Ausgrabungen*.
- VAB = *Vorderasiatisches Bibliothek*
- IV = S. Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*.
- VII = M. Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige*.
- VAT = *Vorderasiatische Abteilung Tontafeln*, tablet signature, Vorderasiatisches Museum.
- VS = *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*.
- W = Warka, tablet signature, Iraq Museum.
- Wadi Brisa = royal inscription, cited after F.H. Weissbach, *Die Inschriften Nebukadnezars II im Wādī Brisā und am Nahr el-Kelb* (= WVDOG 5).

- Walker, *CBI* = C.B.F. Walker, *Cuneiform Brick Inscriptions*.
- Walker, *CT Index* = C.B.F. Walker, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, Index to Parts 1-50*.
- Weidner, *IAK* = E. Weidner et al., *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige*.
- Weidner, *ITn* = E. Weidner, *Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I* (= AfO Beiheft 12).
- von Weiher, *Nergal* = E. von Weiher, *Der babylonische Gott Nergal* (= AOAT 11).
- Weissbach, *BMisc* = F.H. Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen* (= WVDOG 4).
- Westenholz, *Jena* = A. Westenholz, *Early Cuneiform Texts in Jena*.
- Wilcke, *KSLT* = C. Wilcke, *Kollationen zu den sumerischen literarischen Texten aus Nippur in der Hilprecht-Sammlung in Jena* (= *Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historische Klasse* 65/IV).
- Winckler, *Sargon* = H. Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons nach den Papierabklatschen und Originalen neu herausgegeben*.
- Wiseman, *Vassal Treaties* = D.J. Wiseman, *The Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon* (= Iraq 20/I).
- WO = *Welt des Orients*.
- WVDOG = *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*
- 2 = R. Koldewey, *Die Pflastersteine von Aiburschabu in Babylon*.
- 15 = R. Koldewey, *Die Tempel von Babylon und Borsippa*.
- 23 = W. Andrae, *Die Festungswerke von Assur*.
- 32 = R. Koldewey, *Das Ishtar-Tor in Babylon*.
- 47 = O. Reuther, *Die Innenstadt von Babylon (Merkes)*.
- 48 = F. Wetzel, *Die Stadtmauern von Babylon*.
- 58 = W. Andrae, *Die jüngeren Ishtar-Tempel in Assur*.
- 59 = F. Wetzel and F.H. Weissbach, *Das Hauptheiligtum des Marduk in Babylon, Esagila und Etemenanki*.
- WZJ = *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*.
- WKZM = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*.
- YBC = Yale Babylonian Collection, tablet signature.
- YNER = *Yale Near Eastern Researches*.
- 6 = R. Kutscher, *Oh Angry Sea*.
- YOS = *Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts*
- I = A.T. Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*.
- VI = R.P. Dougherty, *Records from Erech, time of Nabonidus*.
- VII = A. Tremayne, *Records from Erech, time of Cyrus and Cambyeses*.
- IX = F.J. Stephens, *Votive and Historical Texts*.
- XIV = S.D. Simmons, *Early Old Babylonian Documents*.
- XVIII = D.B. Weisberg, *Texts from the Time of Nebuchadnezzar*.
- ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie*.
- ZAW = *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.
- ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.
- Zikir šumim = G. van Driel et al. (eds.), *Zikir šumim, Assyriological Studies Presented to F.R. Kraus*.
- 8th Orientalist Congress = *Actes du huitième congrès international des Orientalistes*.
- 81-2-4, 252; 1932-12-12, 497; etc. = tablet signatures, British Museum.

TINTIR = BABYLON and the Topography of Babylon

INTRODUCTION

Tintir = Babylon: the Genre and the Text (no. 1).

The Babylonian text of which a new edition appears in the following pages is one traditionally known to Assyriology as the Topography of Babylon (Stadtbeschreibung von Babylon). The present edition includes a large volume of previously unpublished material, and it is clear from the reconstructed text now available that this learned and scholarly work accords much less importance to those topographical considerations that were such a feature of the disconnected fragments utilised by Unger in his pioneering edition.¹ As can now be seen, the sections of the text which relate to the city's topography are very much an appendage to the main body of the work, which comprises lengthy lists of the sacred epithets and religious buildings of Babylon. As we hope to demonstrate, the primary purpose of these lists was not topographical, but theological and cosmological. In view of this it has been thought best to discard the traditional modern name of the text in favour of its ancient title, *Tintir* = Babylon.

The Babylonian title of the text is derived from its incipit, according to the usual ancient convention. As such it is found as an entry in a catalogue of literary texts from Aššurbanipal's libraries at Nineveh,² as well as in the colophons of tablets on which the text was inscribed.³

Tintir is the most widely copied and best-known example of a genre of scholarly texts of the late period which list and explain the sacred names and epithets of a city and its temples and other religious buildings. Two other examples of the genre have survived in fair states of completion. These are the Götteradressbuch of Aššur, which includes in some recensions the much copied Assyrian Temple List and other lists of topographical interest; and a considerable explanatory text, the Nippur Compendium, which deals with, among other things, the epithets and names of Nippur and its temples. Two texts dealing with shrines, temples and temple gates of Kiš have also survived; in addition, a solitary tablet listing shrines of Uruk, and three extracts of similar material on school tablets from

¹ In *WVDOG* 48, p. 84 ff., and *Babylon*, pp. 229-37, 240-45.

² K 13684 + Sm 2137, published by W.G. Lambert in the *Kramer Anniversary Volume*, p. 314, 9, [ti]n.tir^{ki} = b[a-bi-lu].

³ MS z gives the title in full, while MS w abbreviates it to tin.tir^{ki} (an abbreviation adopted in the present work also).

Ur, are also extant. All these are edited below in Chapters 4-7, together with other relevant material (texts 18-34). Individual tablets and fragments similar to parts of *Tintir*, but which at present find no place in the series, also deal with shrines, temples and temple gates of Babylon, and these are edited in Chapter 2 (texts 2-12).

Most texts of the genre are lists of the two column type, but lists divided into three columns also appear. In either format the left-hand column contains Sumerian epithets or temple names, or other ceremonial names in Sumerian or Akkadian; the right-hand column or columns supply translations or everyday equivalents, explaining the obscure or difficult in terms of the familiar. In function and format the genre is thus closely allied to the great corpus of Babylonian lexical texts; that corpus is not confined to lexicography, of course, but covers every aspect of human knowledge, including, most relevant to the genre edited in the present book, geography and toponymy. To these categories of lexical texts belong not only *Hh* XXI (and other geographical lists collected in *MSL* XI) and *Kagal*, but also 79-7-8, 291 (text no. 35), listing city gates and courtyards; Rm 350 // Rm 921 (no. 56), listing temple gates and city gates; *KAV* 134, listing temple gates; 82-3-23, 24 (no. 49), listing city epithets; BM 82861 (no. 51), a fragment of a geographical list; BM 41911 (no. 50), 58541 (*CT* 57 203) and 82902 (no. 52), all listing toponyms; and K 8382 (no. 39), which contains an excerpt, or perhaps two, from a list of toponyms and temple names. Temple lists occur in lexical texts (most notably Proto-*Kagal*) and in texts of the present genre. Similar but independent lists are the Canonical Temple List, which lists the temples of Babylonia by divine owner in order of rank,⁴ and BM 123383 (+)128062 (no. 55) // *KAV* 84, a fragmentary text which gives brief lists of temples in Kiš, Nippur, Borsippa, Eridu and Tilmun. Other fragmentary temple lists are II R 61, no. 5, which gives the main cult-centres of Babylonia, and K 14950 (no. 54).

This abundance of material is witness to the background of geographical and topographical lists — some assimilated into the old-established lexical corpus, others not — against which *Tintir* = Babylon and the other texts of this late genre should be viewed. But while the lexical background helps to explain the format and function of the genre, considerations as to the purpose of these texts lead us elsewhere.

The attention given to the epithets and sanctuaries of Babylon, Nippur, Aššur, Uruk and Kiš by the learned scholars of ancient Mesopotamia is no surprise. These cities were chief among the great religious centres of Babylonia and Assyria. They were accordingly the proper subjects for theological and cosmological speculation, by which means the scholars sought to expound and glorify the religious fame and cosmological importance of their cities. The glorification of the city and its temples was already a well-established theme of Sumero-Babylonian literature long before *Tintir* and texts of the same type were compiled. The time-honoured literary vehicle for such glorification was the hymn, and the

⁴ II R 61, nos. 1-3 and 6-7; Craig, *AJSL* 13, p. 220, Sm 289; Pinches, *PSBA* 22, pp. 362, 364f., 370; Meek, *RA* 17, p. 186, Rm II 417; Moran,

Kramer Anniversary Volume, pl. 11 (photographs of K 15262+Sm 289, Sm 278 and Sm 522); and unpublished joins and duplicates.

hymn addressed to a city or its temple is a particular feature of Sumerian literature. The genre of the temple hymn was already known in the Early Dynastic period, a time when, it appears, Sumerian literature first began to be committed to a firmly established written tradition.⁵ Sumerian temple and city hymns can be loosely divided into two groups. These are the short compositions and the longer, narrative hymns. Into the first category falls the collection of 42 hymns which makes up the canon of the Sumerian Temple Hymns, a compilation attributed to Sargon's daughter, Enheduanna, and known from Neo-Sumerian as well as Old Babylonian copies;⁶ the Keš Temple Hymn;⁷ hymns to E-kur and Nippur;⁸ and two recently published Neo-Babylonian fragments.⁹ Such hymns can be incorporated into longer compositions, as with the eulogy to Nippur and E-kur which makes up a large portion of a well-known hymn to Enlil, and the hymn to temples in Ur that introduces a Šulgi hymn.¹⁰ The longer, narrative hymns are those which describe the rebuilding of E-ninnu in Lagaš by Gudea,¹¹ and the mythical founding of E-engurra at Eridu.¹²

The genre of the hymn to city or temple, like that of the royal hymn, did not survive the transition to the Akkadian language well. As matters now stand, no example of a bilingual temple hymn has survived from the Sumerian schools of the Old Babylonian period. The sole bilingual composition, the hymn to Nippur and Babylon published as *KAR* 8, is probably of Middle Babylonian origin. Of the extant material in Akkadian, the hymns to Aššur and Arbil rely less on the Sumerian tradition, a fact probably to be accounted for by their northern origins.¹³ Only the hymn to Nippur and Babylon, a hymn to E-zida and Borsippa,¹⁴ and an unpublished hymn to Borsippa, BM 61625+76480, remain, and these do show some affinity with the Sumerian hymns in their scope and language. With these three compositions can also be placed a eulogy of Babylon included in an unpublished hymn to Marduk, the relevant part of which is edited below in Chapter 8, together with a small fragment of what may be a Sumerian hymn to Babylon.¹⁵ Unlike their Sumerian counterparts in the scribal schools of the Old Babylonian Period, these Akkadian hymns do not seem to have achieved any widespread currency. This points to a definite decline in the popularity of the city and temple hymn in the scribal centres of Babylonia after the demise of much of Sumerian literature — a demise which is perhaps the result of the eclipse of the ancient Sumerian centres of learning, and most notably Nippur, by Babylon, a town with a historical and cultural background much less deeply rooted in the Sumerian tradition.

⁵ Copies of the Keš Temple Hymn from this period have been found at Abū Šalābīkh: see R. Biggs, *ZA* 61, p. 193 ff.

⁶ Sjöberg, *TCS* III.

⁷ Gragg, *TCS* III; and cf. note 5.

⁸ Kramer, *RSO* 32, p. 95 ff.; *UET* VI 118.

⁹ *VS* 24 38-39.

¹⁰ Falkenstein, *SGL* I, p. 11 ff., 14-73; *SLTN* 79 = Šulgi O, 1-28.

¹¹ *TCL* VIII = Gudea, Cylinders A and B.

¹² Enki and E-engurra, for which see now al-Fouadi, *Enki's Journey*.

¹³ *STT* 87 and *LKA* 32. See also a NA psalm to Uruk, *SAAB* I, p. 31 ff.

¹⁴ Köcher, *ZA* 53, p. 236 ff.

¹⁵ Respectively BM 45986+ // BM 36646 (no. 46), and VAT 17523 (no. 47).

The decline of the genre of the city and temple hymn after the Old Babylonian period does not mean that men no longer sought to glorify the religious centres and sacred buildings of Sumer and Akkad. The gap left by the diminishing currency of the city and temple hymns is filled by texts whose attitude is not marked by the high-flown literary language that characterises the hymns, but instead by the eclectic compilation and abstruse commentary of learned scholars — the hallmarks of the erudite and self-conscious approach to literature, and particularly theological literature, adopted by the intellectual scribes of the Kassite and later periods.¹⁶ The genre to which we refer is that of *Tintir* = Babylon and the texts of a similar kind to which attention has been brought above. These texts seek to glorify the religious and cosmological importance of a city not by hymnal address (although the language of the Sumerian temple hymns is much used in the sections listing city epithets, and is the background for much of the explanatory commentary on temple names), but by the compendious collection of traditional city epithets, and the exhaustive listing of every kind of sacred structure, from the great temples down to the merest shrine. It is by these means that the texts of this genre presented demonstrative and conclusive evidence of a city's religious and cosmological pre-eminence.

The purpose of *Tintir* = Babylon was undoubtedly to glorify Babylon as a great religious centre, just as the Sumerian temple hymns glorified the cities of Sumer and Akkad as the homes of famous cults and great sanctuaries. The political eminence of the city is hardly mentioned at all. Babylon had not always, however, such exalted pretensions. *Tintir*, which celebrates a city in a position of religious and cosmological supremacy, must obviously have been compiled after Babylon acquired its pre-eminent status. This brings us to considerations of the date of the text, and at the same time to a suggestion as to the motive for its composition. A little historical and theological background is necessary.

In the third millennium the ancient and traditional religious centre of Sumer and Akkad was the city of Nippur, the cult-centre of Enlil, chief god of the Sumerian pantheon. It remained so until the Kassite period. Furthermore, for most of this time dominion over Nippur conferred on a ruler his right to the kingship of Sumer and Akkad. Nippur, though never itself a sovereign power, was accordingly of special significance in political matters. This political importance lasted until the rise of Babylon under the dynasty of Hammurapi. Perhaps the greatest effect of the reign of this king was the transformation of Sumer and Akkad from a land of small political units, based on local city states and each vying with the others for a fleeting supremacy, into a land which, while not by any means completely united, nevertheless had found a permanent political capital. This capital was not the venerable city of Nippur, nor any other ancient

¹⁶ On the change in approach to literature and religion in the Kassite period see W.G. Lambert, *BWL*, p. 13ff.

and famous foundation, but the comparatively insignificant township chosen by Hammurapi's Amorite ancestors as their power base. This was Babylon. By virtue of the political and military success of its First Dynasty Babylon was catapulted within a century from obscurity to fame and glory. The apparent permanence of this success made the city into the seat of kingship in southern Mesopotamia. The land of Sumer and Akkad became Babylonia. But while Babylon had achieved this unrivalled political position, the city of Nippur remained the undisputed religious centre of the land throughout the Old Babylonian period, and indeed well into the following Kassite period.

The conventional theology of Sumer and Akkad held that political affairs on earth mirrored events in heaven. By a time early in the rise of the dynasty of Hammurapi theologians had dignified the god of Babylon, Marduk, in the assembly of the gods by means of a syncretism with Asalluhi, a god who, as firstborn of Enki, held an exalted position in the cult of Eridu and was part of the national pantheon recognized at Nippur. This adoption of Marduk into the national pantheon accorded him recognition among the gods which, in the ancients' view, was reflected on earth by the growing political and military influence of his city, and justified it theologically. The subsequent exaltation of Babylon to the status of a capital city during the reign of Hammurapi was accordingly explained by the further promotion of Marduk within the pantheon by Anu and Enlil, the joint head of the pantheon.¹⁷ During the course of the Kassite period Babylon was endowed with an antiquity not its own, by means of which its status as capital and seat of kingship was given historical support. It joined a small group of cities especially venerated for their antiquity, being accorded the title of "primeval city", an epithet which is best known as a name of Sippar, but is used also of Nippur, Ereš and Uruk.¹⁸ At this time there may have also taken place in some literary circles a syncretism of Babylon with the ancient, but now much declined, city of Eridu, by which means the mythological traditions of the latter were adopted by the younger town; this syncretism was no doubt helped by the fact that the pantheons of the two cities had already been linked in the Old Babylonian period.¹⁹ Babylon thus became the "new" Eridu, or, to quote *Tintir* V 91, "Eridu in which E-sagil [is built(?)]". The Kassite period, then, was a time when scholars began to investigate the theological and cosmological implications of Babylon's political pre-eminence.

The final stage in the rise of Marduk and Babylon took place when Marduk supplanted Enlil as the executive head of the Babylonian pantheon.²⁰ Just as Marduk replaced the god of Nippur, so his city took over from Nippur as the religious centre of Babylonia.

¹⁷ The parallel improvement in the fortunes of the city and its god is expressly attributed to Anu and Enlil in CH i 1-26.

¹⁸ The epithet is used of Babylon in an inscription of Kurigalzu republished by W. Sommerfeld, *AJO* 32, p. 1, 4: *a-li ša-a-ti*. For *uru.ul.dù.a* = *āl šāti* used of other cities see the commentary to *Tintir* I 8.

On the invention for Babylon of a bogus past see further the remarks of von Soden, *UF* 3, p. 254.

¹⁹ On the equation of Eridu and Babylon see the commentary on *Tintir* I 21.

²⁰ Marduk's rise is documented by W. Sommerfeld, *Der Aufstieg Marduks*; see also the review article of W.G. Lambert in *BSOAS* 47, p. 1ff.

The simultaneous exaltation of Marduk and Babylon is expressed theologically in the Creation Epic. After Marduk's defeat of Ti'āmat, the enemy of the gods, a victory which gave him sole kingship over the entire universe, the new champion presided at the mythical 'prototype' of the New Year Festival, a banquet held in his honour in a Babylon newly and specifically built as the site of the divine assembly.²¹ At this point the Creation Epic is as much concerned with explaining the mythological origin of Babylon as the religious centre of Babylonia, as it is with extolling the elevation of Marduk to supreme position in the pantheon. As regards the date of the official exaltation of Marduk and Babylon at the expense of Enlil and Nippur — a date before which *Tintir*, as it appears in its present form, could not have been compiled — the evidence strongly favours the twelfth century, perhaps more precisely the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I in that century's last quarter.²² Marduk's promotion was certainly lent a new authority by the retrieval of his cult-statue from Elam by Nebuchadnezzar. This was an event which sparked off the composition of a number of literary works; it was commemorated in an epic,²³ and in other poetic compositions.²⁴

The enthusiastic upsurge in literary activity that accompanied the official elevation of Marduk and Babylon in the state religion is a very plausible background for the composition of the Creation Epic which, after all, is a mythological aetiology of just that elevation.²⁵ The same background would equally well suit the composition or compilation of a text such as *Tintir*, which, as we have seen, was designed to extol the religious and cosmological importance of Babylon. It could be argued that the Creation Epic and *Tintir* were written not only at much the same time, but also for much the same motives. Just as the former work was born of a necessity to demonstrate theologically and mythologically that Enlil had ceded power to Marduk, so *Tintir* may have been the product of a need to demonstrate that Babylon was endowed with a religious heritage equal to, if not surpassing that of Nippur, and this being so, that it was fully in a position to take over the theological and cosmological place of the older city in the religious life of Babylonia.²⁶ General considerations apart, *Tintir* and the Creation Epic show many points of contact, which reveal a mutual reliance on the same literary traditions. Foremost among these are the celebration of Babylon as the "City of the King of the Gods",²⁷ the allusion to certain of the names of Marduk listed in Tablets VI and

²¹ *Enūma eliš* V 117-30 and VI 51-81.

²² Sommerfeld, *Der Aufstieg Marduks*, p. 183; W.G. Lambert in McCullough, *The Seed of Wisdom*, p. 9ff.; *BSOAS* 47, p. 1.

²³ *CT* 13 48, on which see Grayson *BHLT*, p. 42f.

²⁴ *IV R* 20, no. 1, and duplicates: see Lambert, *The Seed of Wisdom*, p. 919f.; *III R* 38, no. 2; see Brinkman, *PHPKB*, p. 328f.

²⁵ That the Creation Epic was composed at this

time, perhaps during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I himself, is the argument of Lambert, *BSOAS* 47, p. 4f.

²⁶ The borrowing of the epithet, "Bond of Heaven and Underworld" (I 35), in particular, demonstrates that the compiler of *Tintir* conceived of his city as completely supplanting Nippur in cosmological matters: see further the commentary, ad loc.

²⁷ *Tintir* I 12.

VII of the Creation Epic made by other epithets of *Tintir* I,²⁸ and the use in *Tintir* IV 1-2 of cosmological ideas expounded more fully in the Creation Epic.

However, it should be emphasized that *Tintir* does not show the hostility to Enlil and Nippur that results in their almost total exclusion from the Creation Epic. Indeed, there was a long-established cult of Enlil at Babylon, as witnessed by the fame and antiquity of his temple, E-namtila; this, and his other shrines, *Tintir* could not ignore. But more significant is the acknowledgement in *Tintir* I 42 of a tradition in which Babylon is the creation not of Marduk, but of Enlil, a tradition which is of course entirely absent from the Creation Epic. This, and the borrowing of epithets of Nippur by Babylon, might be seen as a concession by the compiler of *Tintir* to the idea of a mythological and cosmological syncretism of the two cities, an idea which also found expression in the bilingual hymn *KAR* 8.

Apart from certain links between the Creation Epic and *Tintir*, a number of other factors also suggest the twelfth century as the likely period in which the lists which make up *Tintir* = Babylon found their final form. The evidence of what royal inscriptions survive suggests that none of the literary names of Babylon — *Tintir*, Šuanna, Eridu, Uru-ku and Dim-kurkurra — achieved much official currency until this century. Further, the sacred names of the city walls, Imgur-Enlil and Nimit-Enlil, are not attested until the very end of the Kassite period, and the Second Isin Dynasty. The appearance of such names of the city and its monuments demonstrates a considerable interest in the theology and cosmology of Babylon. This interest, drawing heavily on the Sumerian heritage committed to writing in the Old Babylonian schools, was primarily of scholarly origin, and thus can well be imagined as spawning a learned exposition such as *Tintir*.

To summarize, the twelfth century, having witnessed the official religious exaltation of Marduk and Babylon to a position theretofore occupied by Enlil and Nippur alone, was a time of increased theological speculation among intellectuals and scholars, whose major products — the Creation Epic being foremost among them — celebrated and expounded the new order. As the evidence now stands, *Tintir* = Babylon, with its close relationship to the Creation Epic and its often explicit borrowing of the traditional theology and cosmology of Nippur, reflects the mood and needs of the time especially well. It would be unwise, however, to rule out the possibility that the compiler of *Tintir* drew on already existing lists. Attention has already been drawn to the lexical background of *Tintir* and its genre. The format of lists in two and three columns used in the text is one that became standard for lexical texts in the Kassite period, and it is not improbable that forerunners of *Tintir* as we know it were compiled by Middle Babylonian scholars.

The sheer number of library tablets of *Tintir*, and of school tablets inscribed with extracts of the text, demonstrates the popularity achieved by this erudite and scholarly work in the scribal centres of the first millennium. It had been long enough established in

²⁸ Most notably those of ll. 25 and 51.

the learned literary tradition to be well represented in the libraries of Aššurbanipal excavated at Kuyunjik. For teaching purposes *Tintir* became a standard copy-book, and as a library text it was no doubt a useful work of reference which scholars could consult on the matter of the sometimes obscure or little-used ceremonial names for Babylon's walls, rivers, streets, temples and other sanctuaries, and so on. In this way explanatory quotations from *Tintir* found their way into such other texts as a god list, a commentary on *Ludlul* and royal inscriptions.²⁹

Tintir = Babylon is a series of five Tablets of unequal length, surviving in varying degrees of completion — Tablet III, indeed, not at all. The available manuscripts now yield a reconstructed text of nearly 300 lines, with perhaps as much as one quarter of the original work still missing. The first section of *Tintir*, Tablet I, is a list of the 51 names and epithets of Babylon. The list is divided into three sub-columns, each line comprising a name or epithet in Sumerian, then the name "Babylon" as the primary explanation, and finally an Akkadian translation or interpretation of the Sumerian (this is a format often used in explanatory texts, particularly god lists: one of like format and purpose is CT 25 47, K 8222 + ibid. 46, K 7658, which explains in Akkadian the Sumerian names of Marduk). Many of these Sumerian epithets are of the same kind as those attested for Nippur and other old Sumerian cities in Sumerian literary texts: some of them are borrowed verbatim.³⁰ Others betray later origins, as is shown by their poor grammar, their inverted word order or their use of *mu.lu* and the verbal root to express the Akkadian active participle;³¹ this sort of bastardized Sumerian is typical of the scholarly endeavour of the Kassite and later periods, and very probably reflects 'back translation' into Sumerian from Akkadian. Occasionally a Sumerian epithet is irreconcilable with the translation afforded it, if not in fact corrupt.³² The themes of the epithets are those of the Sumerian city and temple hymns. They portray the city as a place of prosperity and happiness, of justice, freedom and beauty, whose foundation is primeval, created by the gods and chosen by them as their home; on this account it is a sacred city, a fount of life and a source of wisdom, the religious and cosmological centre of the universe, given over to the celebration of festivals and exercising control over kingship and the divine decrees which rule mankind.

As regards the structure of Tablet I, there is no apparent overall order. Granted that the important names *Tintir* and *Šuanna*, which alone are the subject of multiple Akkadian interpretations, come first; but thereafter other important names and epithets appear at random without preferential treatment, except perhaps *Dim-kurkurra*, "Bond of the Lands", whose position at the end of the list invites comparison with the place of *Bēl-mātāti*, "Lord of the Lands", as the last of the names of Marduk in the Creation

²⁹ See the commentary on I 1, 51; IV 1-2; IV 40; V 57-58 and 63.

³⁰ See the commentary on II. 10, 16, 32, 47, 48

and 49.

³¹ Lines 23, 24, 25, 27, 30, 34, 39, 41 and 43.

³² Lines 27, 33 and 42.

Epic. There is, however, a certain loose thematic structure to the Tablet, in that epithets are often grouped in pairs of parallel meaning, and, once, a triplet.³³

Within the genre the closest parallel to *Tintir* I is the early sections of the Nippur Compendium (§§ 1-3), which list names of Nippur explained less literally than those of Babylon.

According to the catch-line of MS w, *Tintir* I is followed by the *šubtu*-list, accordingly Tablet II; the sequence is confirmed by the lay-out of MS z, which was inscribed with the whole series. In MS g, however, Tablet I is followed by the temple list (Tablet IV), and this was probably also true of MS A; it may be that some editions of *Tintir* omitted Tablets II and III.

The text of Tablet II is not completely restored. We have its first 50 lines, and probably the last 41; into the considerable gap in the middle can almost certainly be put the second excerpt of MS C, with its duplicates, and this yields a further sequence of 18 lines. Tablet II is a list of small shrines mostly designated by the Akkadian word *šubtu*, literally "seat" (a few shrines, if the traces are read right, are listed under the term *manzāzu*, literally "station", which apparently fulfilled much the same function as the *šubtu*).³⁴ These shrines are listed by ceremonial name (nearly always Sumerian), and described in the second column as belonging to one or, rarely, two deities. Following the divine name, or names, is a brief description, which further defines the shrine in terms of its location,³⁵ its divine occupant or occupants,³⁶ or some cultic function with which it is associated.³⁷ Unfortunately much of this interesting material is lost in the surviving sources. Before we can evaluate what is left we should first examine what is meant by the term *šubtu*.

In the narrowest sense the "seat" of a god was the pedestal on which, in cultic practice, his symbol or image rested, denoting thus his presence. That this is so is demonstrated by the curse clauses of boundary stones, in which are invoked "all those gods whose names are mentioned; whose symbols are exhibited and whose "seats" are revealed on this stele",³⁸ the names being written in the text, and the symbols being depicted in the accompanying reliefs as very often resting on pedestals in the form of small, panelled bases. The symbol of Anu, depicted in this manner in a relief on the Nazi-Maruttaš boundary stone, tagged with the label *a-[num]*, is further described in the text as the "seat and crown-symbol of Anu, king of Heaven".³⁹ This leaves no doubt that the square

³³ Cf. II. 10-11, 14-15, 16-18, 24-27, 28-29, 31-32, 40-41, 44-45, 46-47 and 48-49.

³⁴ On *manzāzu* see the commentary to *Tintir* V 86-88.

³⁵ Lines 10-13, 16-19, 33, 38, 40, 41, 17'-22' and 28'-34'.

³⁶ Oddly enough the deity who occupies a "seat" is not always the one to whom it belongs, thus: "(Ceremonial Name) = the seat of god X on which god Y sits;" see further II. 1-3 and 23-27.

³⁷ See II. 4-5, 14-15(?), 32, 42 and 43.

³⁸ Nazi-Maruttaš *kudurru*, Scheil, MDP 2, pl. 17 = Hinke, SBKT I, iii 16-22: *ilūmes rabūtu^{mes} ma-la i-na muhhi na-re-e an-ni-i šum-šu-nu za-ak-ru³⁸ kakkū-šu-nu kul-lu-mu u šu-ba-tu₄-šu-nu ud-da-a*; parallel passages are cited by U. Seidl, *BagM* 4, p. 113, and Wilcke, *ZA* 65, p. 44.

³⁹ iv 1-2: *šub-tum u šu-ku-sú ša anim³⁹ šār šamē*.

box-like object which serves as a symbol pedestal in these and other reliefs is what is meant by *šubtu*, "seat".⁴⁰

The cultic function of such pedestals is indicated in a ritual from Uruk, which specifies that the gods — that is, their statues or symbols — should, when taking up their positions before Anu in the Grand Court of his temple in Uruk, sit on "seats".⁴¹ In *Tintir* II itself one *šubtu* is specifically described as the "seat on which a star-symbol rests"⁴² while others are "seats" on which gods "sit", by which we should no doubt understand that these are pedestals for divine symbols and statues.⁴³ Evidence for the size of these symbol pedestals comes from the six examples excavated in Assyria, which measure anything from 52 by 12 cm to 109 by 51 cm,⁴⁴ and from a metrological text in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, which gives the dimensions of a *šubtu* in the chapel of Nergal in E-sagil, Marduk's cult-centre in Babylon, as $2\frac{2}{3}$ cubits by $1\frac{2}{3}$ cubits (about 130 by 80 cm).⁴⁵

The term *šubtu* is not always used in this strictest of senses, however, either in *Tintir* II or elsewhere. Thus in *Tintir* II 33'-34' two shrines are listed as being located in a *šubtu* that has already appeared in the list; in line 5 the *šubtu* of Ea apparently houses an *atmānu*, normally a room in itself, but here evidently a movable object.⁴⁶ Line 16 lists a *šubtu* described as the "Chariot House" of E-sagil, while in line 38 a shrine of Šamaš is said to be "inside" a *šubtu*. Plainly, while some of the *šubtu*'s of the list are to be seen as simple pedestals, as we noted above, others must be imagined as being small rooms in which items of cultic furniture and equipment, including symbol pedestals, could be kept.⁴⁷

The order of the shrines listed in *Tintir* II seems to be loosely topographical, in that where enough complete or nearly complete lines have survived in sequence, there is often a grouping according to location. Thus lines 16'-24' deal with the courtyard Ubšu-ukkinna and the shrines within it; lines 40-41 list shrines in Ka-ude-babbar, 42-45 those in or near Ka-maḥ, 31'-32' two in the Grand Court, and 33'-34' two in a room called A-suda (but note, on the other hand, that A-suda is itself listed at some distance, in l. 8'). Some of these topographical locations are attested elsewhere, as indeed are a few of the

⁴⁰ Fuller documentation of the symbol pedestal so depicted in sculptured relief and glyptic art, as well as archaeological evidence, is given by U. Seidl, *BagM* 4, p. 110ff.

⁴¹ Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, p. 67, rev. 18: *ina muḥ-ḫi šu-bar^{mes}*.

⁴² Line 14.

⁴³ See above, note 36.

⁴⁴ These cube-shaped stone pedestals are compared by Andrae, *WDOG* 58, p. 57ff. They have in the past been mistakenly referred to as "altars". That they are simply symbol pedestals is shown by a

relief on one of them depicting its function as just such; the accompanying text describes it as the "seat of Nuska" (*nē-me-ed^a nuska*, Weidner, *ITn*, no. 24, 1).

⁴⁵ 86-11-102, i 15-16, an edition of which by the writer is scheduled to appear in a forthcoming volume of cuneiform texts in the Metropolitan Museum to be edited by Ira Spar.

⁴⁶ On *atmānu* in this context see the commentary, *ad loc.*

⁴⁷ On *šubtu* see also von Soden in *Temple et culte* (*CRRA* 20), p. 138f.

shrines themselves. Where enough is known about these locations and shrines it becomes clear that they were parts of the great temple complex of E-sagil, the cult-centre of Marduk: note in this regard its gates Ka-maḥ and Ka-ude-babbar; its courtyards, the Grand Court, the Upper and Lower Courts, and Ubšu-ukkinna, the Court of the Divine Assembly; and its shrines, E-ḫal-anki, Ki-zalagga, Du-ki-sikil, Du-ku, the Dais of Destinies, and Kašbar-kalamma. These parts of E-sagil appear scattered at random throughout *Tintir* II, and it seems on this account very probable that this Tablet of *Tintir* is given over entirely to the listing of the shrines of Marduk's temple. That the list deals with the shrines of a single temple or temple complex is further suggested by the fact that references to locations which in theory could be anywhere — such as a Chariot House, a well, the chapels of various gods — are made without additional clarification. Such clarification would of course be redundant if we accept the simple explanation that the text concerns itself with a single sanctuary. Other texts of the genre that list shrines in a single sanctuary are the Shrine List of E-šarra, dealing with *šubtu*'s in the great temple of Aššur, and the shrine list from Uruk, which lists *šubtu*'s in Ištar's temple in that city.

The end of the shrine list is preserved only in MSS Bii, the text of which continues, after a ruling, with a section giving details of gates in E-sagil. This section, headed "Rites and Ordinances of E-sagil", lasts only another six lines of MS B before a second ruling is made. At this point the text breaks off completely, with perhaps only a dozen lines remaining on the tablet. This space may, of course, have been occupied entirely by the catch-line of Tablet III and one of Aššurbanipal's longer colophons.

The loss of the catch-line for Tablet III denies us all knowledge of its content, and it is impossible to determine whether this section of *Tintir* = Babylon is completely lost, or simply unrecognized as such. A number of texts and fragments are extant that list and explain sacred structures of Babylon, such as throne-daises and temple gates, and these are edited in the next chapter; but as things now stand none of them is an obvious candidate for *Tintir* III, and the matter must remain unresolved for the present.

From what is left of the library tablet, MS A, it is apparent that the list of the temples of Babylon immediately precedes the fifth and last Tablet of the series, and is accordingly *Tintir* IV. This temple list gives the ceremonial names of the 43 major cult-centres of Babylon, and the deities to whom they belonged (except for E-sagil, the ziqqurrat E-temen-anki, and Ea's temple, E-kar-zaginnā, in lines 1-3, which are explained in cosmological terms, being evidently too well known to need simpler explanation). The majority of these sanctuaries are designated *bītu*, "temple", but three are called *parakku*, "throne-dais", which implies a more modest affair. The summary of these 43 sanctuaries in *Tintir* V 82 nevertheless describes them all with the term *māḫāzu*, "cult-centre".

The text of Tablet IV is now completely restored. The order of the list is topographical, for the temples are grouped according to their respective city quarters. The text begins with those temples in the quarter that was the religious centre of Babylon, the quarter Eridu, and continues with the other parts of the eastern half of the city, and then with its

western quarters. Within these groupings no overriding order is detectable, but the temples of Eridu itself are apparently listed according to their importance, beginning with the temple complex of Marduk, which certainly comprised the sanctuaries of Ea, Madānu, Gula and Bēlet-Bābili (Ištar of Babylon), as well as E-sagil and the ziqqurrat.

The text of Tablet IV is the subject of two, or perhaps three commentaries, which seek to explain the Sumerian temple names with Akkadian interpretations, both literal and speculative: these are edited in Chapter Two. One source for *Tintir* IV, MS e, includes such explanations in a third sub-column, of which precious little is extant.⁴⁸ A parallel text in three columns is the Assyrian Temple List (Götteradressbuch of Aššur §4) in which the Akkadian explanations occupy the second column, between the ceremonial and everyday names of the temples. The list of temples in the Nippur Compendium (§6) consists of ceremonial names and Akkadian explanations only.

The last Tablet of the series is the fifth, most of whose 104 lines are now complete. The text begins by listing in a single column small shrines of Marduk, which are designated *parakku*, "throne-dais", upon which the "seat" of a god (the pedestal for his symbol or statue) might be located, either inside or outside a temple.⁴⁹ Beyond the fact that these cultic daises were dedicated to Marduk (established by the summary in V 83), little is known of them, but since one of them was a well-known landmark at the western limit of the city quarter TE.Ek¹,⁵⁰ and another lay on the procession route of Marduk between E-sagil and the Akītu Temple,⁵¹ it appears that they were outdoor shrines scattered throughout the city, and probably accessible to the general public in a way that the great sanctuaries were not. Confirmation of this comes from texts which list other cultic daises (none of them appearing in *Tintir* V) in city gates, streets and temple gateways, as well as inside the temples themselves (these are among the texts and fragments edited in the next chapter). Note further the locations, mostly in temple gateways, of the cultic daises of the seven *Asakku*-Demons in Babylon, as recorded in the Archive of Mystic Heptads.⁵²

After listing the *parakku*'s Tablet V turns to matters which are of greater topographical interest: a list in two columns of the ceremonial and everyday names of the gates, walls, rivers and streets of the city (ll. 49-81). The ceremonial names are replete with religious and theological allusions, and it is apparent that these parts of the city were conceived as fulfilling as much a sacred function as the temples and other shrines with which the lists of *Tintir* have up to this point been concerned. Gates and walls guarded the city with divine assistance; waterways brought it abundance; and streets were the stages for the processions of the gods. Their inclusion in what is essentially a work that glorifies

⁴⁸ The curvature of MS x suggests that this tablet also had a third sub-column. The Akkadian explanations thus appear to have been an optional addition to the regular, two-columned list.

⁴⁹ A commentary on *Šurpu* explains the "outdoor shrine with its seat" as a *parakku*: see below

the commentary on V 86-88.

⁵⁰ *Tintir* V 20 and 97.

⁵¹ See V 14 and commentary.

⁵² KAR 142 ii 1-10, quoted in the commentary to *Tintir* II 5'.

Babylon as a great religious centre is thus not out of place.⁵³ The Götteradressbuch of Aššur also includes such material (no. 20, §§2-3).

The first part of the next section of Tablet V summarizes the information given in Tablets IV and the first part of V, setting out the total figures of the temples, daises of Marduk, walls, rivers, city gates and streets (ll. 82-84). At least one of the figures given here, 24 for the streets, does not tally with the preceding text, which lists only 21. The order of the categories is also displaced, the block of eight city gates having previously been listed between the daises and the walls. A third discrepancy between the full lists and the summary section is the latter's continuation in lines 85-88, which present totals for large numbers of small cultic locations not listed elsewhere in *Tintir*.⁵⁴ The differences between the summary section and the lists that precede it suggest that they were compiled independently of one another. We may also note that the order of city quarters in Tablet IV, the temple list, differs from that of V 92-102. That the individual sections of *Tintir* were not entirely dependent on each other may be evidence that the text was compiled, at least in part, from already existing lists, which themselves had divergent traditions of statistics and order.

The final section of Tablet V deals with the quarters of the city, first those on the east bank and then those on the west. This topographical exposition (ll. 89-104) is introduced and concluded by lines which have a literary flavour, and hark back to the hymnal epithets of Tablet I. The text of the lines which describe the limits of the city quarters is now completely restorable, and the problems which in the past have attended the location of the quarters on the map of Babylon are now much easier to resolve. These matters are partly the subject of the next section of the introduction.

Tintir and the Topography of Babylon

The text of *Tintir* = Babylon remains the most important cuneiform source for the topography of Babylon. It describes the city as it was during the reigns of the last Kassite kings and the Second Isin Dynasty, if our dating of the text's compilation to the twelfth century is correct. It is apparent from a comparison of the text of *Tintir* with the plan of sixth century Babylon provided by the German archaeological expedition,⁵⁵ and with the topographical material buried in the inscriptions of the Sargonid and Chaldaean kings, that the lay-out of the city changed little from the twelfth century to the era of the Persian kings. The most notable feature of this city is its regular plan: its quadrilateral

⁵³ That gates, walls and other such features were endowed with a religious significance can also be seen from the *Tākultu* text STT 88 = Menzel, AT II, no. 58, ix(!) 10-13, where "socles, throne-daises, streets and city gates" are invoked alongside the "gods of E-sagil and Babylon".

⁵⁴ As the text now stands, of course; such struc-

tures (daises of the Igigi and Anunnaki, shrines of Ištar, socles of Lugalirra and Meslamtaea, the Divine Heptad, the Rainbow, and certain deities of demonic character) may have been listed in Tablet III.

⁵⁵ A map of the excavated areas, based on the Italian survey of 1974, can be found on p. 17, fig. 2.

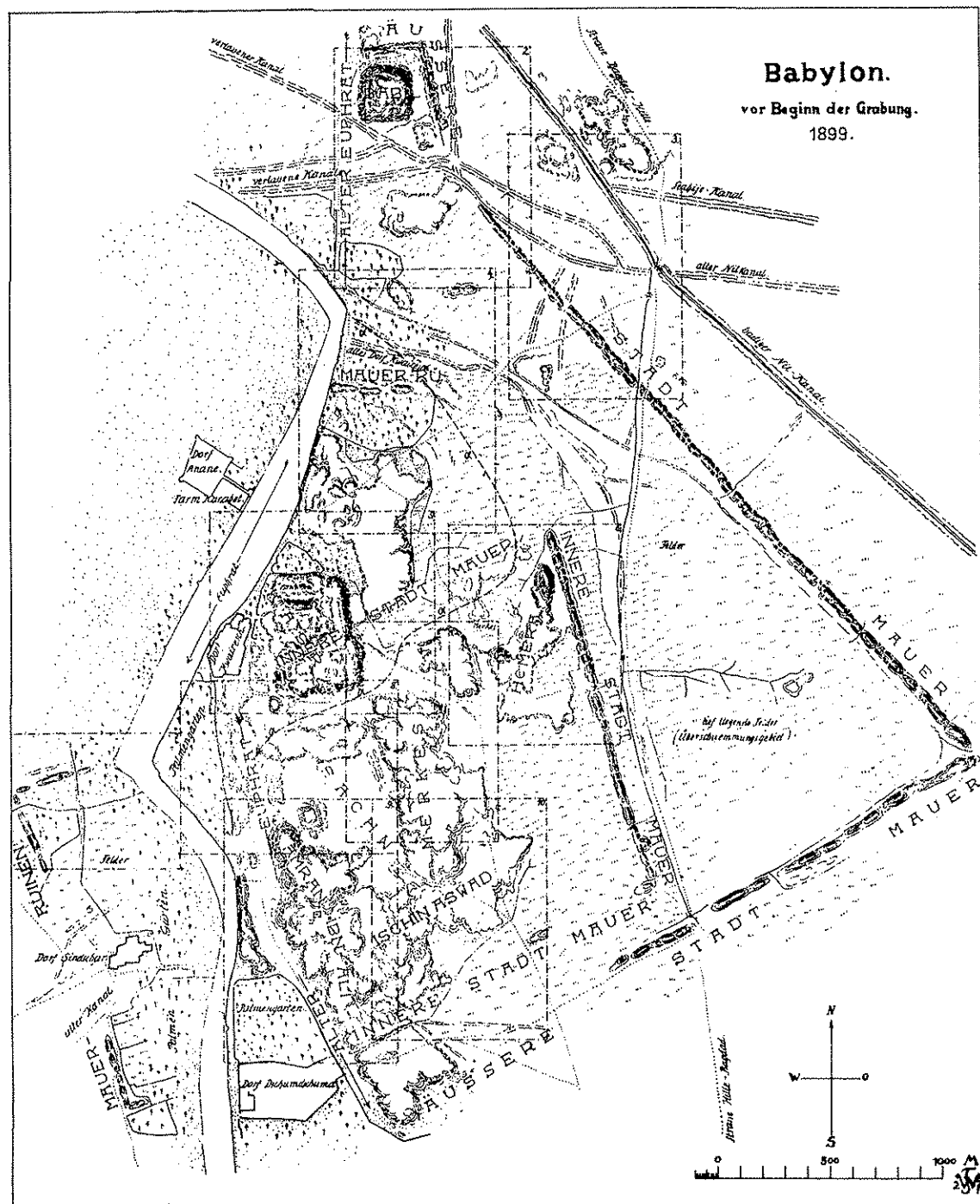


Fig. 1. The site of Babylon before excavation.

walls, pierced by eight gates ceremonially named after the great gods of Babylonia, each of which is served by a similarly named procession street. This regularity can by no stretch of the imagination be seen as the result of happy chance: urban growth, if allowed free rein, does not yield a city plan in which much order is noticeable.⁵⁶ At some time before the compilation of *Tintir* it is evident that the city of Babylon was the subject of a programme of town-planning, which determined its lay-out for the rest of its occupied history (even shifts in the river bed seem to have been of no great consequence as regards the overall plan of the city). The need for town-planning, we suspect, was caused by a considerable expansion of the city in the first half of the second millennium. At the beginning of this time Babylon was an insignificant provincial town ruled by an imperial governor (*ensi*) who answered to the central administration of Ur. By its close this provincial town had risen to the status of capital city of southern Mesopotamia. As we have seen above, the key to this rise in fortune is the achievements of the dynasty of Hammurapi. Political, military and economic factors brought to Babylon a new wealth. A centralized system of taxation and the plunder of pillaged cities were sources of prosperity, though not always reliable ones. More significant was the declining fertility of the land alongside the eastern branch of the Euphrates, and that river's diminishing navigability. Settlements along the Arahtu, the branch of the Euphrates that flowed through Babylon, benefited from this decline both in terms of more intensive agriculture, and through an increase in trade and river traffic.⁵⁷ Sudden increase in wealth usually triggers off a boom in population. The new prosperity of Babylon, and its position as the seat of a government dependent on a central bureaucracy, must have led to a considerable expansion of the city's residential quarters, and this, eventually, to a need for city walls of greater circuit accommodating a larger ground area. These new walls would certainly have to allow for projected further expansion of the city, and thus would need to surround not only the existing urban area but in addition an appreciable amount of open land, which could always be put to agricultural use until eventually built on. In this way there would be no constriction on the shape of the new wall's circuit, and the planners would be able to choose whatever lay-out appeared ideal to them. As it turned out this was rectangular.⁵⁸ The date of the building of this new wall, called Imgur-Enlil by *Tintir* and other texts, is not known; but certainly Imgur-Enlil existed in the late Kassite period.⁵⁹ No mention of a new wall of Babylon is made in the Old Babylonian

⁵⁶ On the growth of cities in ancient Mesopotamia, and the question of town-planning, see P. Lampl, *Cities and Planning in the Ancient Near East*, p. 19ff., and Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, p. 125ff., "Urbanism".

⁵⁷ On the growing importance of the Arahtu in historical times see the commentary on *Tintir* V 59. Documentation of topographical names appearing in the following exposition is likewise to be found in

the commentary, ad loc.

⁵⁸ Esarhaddon considered the walls of Babylon to describe a square, as also did Herodotus' source in such matters. The square was perhaps conceived to be an ideal configuration: the walls of Borsippa and Dūr-Šarrukēn, also "planned" are both very nearly square.

⁵⁹ If the Adad-šuma-ušur Epic is not guilty of anachronism.

period after the time of Apil-Sîn, but his reign seems a little early for such a grand and ambitious project. As often the silence of the Kassite period may hold the answer, and it may well have been a king of this dynasty under whom the town plan of Babylon, the royal capital of the Kassite kings, attained its final and symmetrical appearance.

Before we go on to review the topography of the city as it appeared to the compiler of *Tintir*, and indeed to the writers of later sources, it would be well to take a look at the evidence of the Old Babylonian period. As noted above, we suspect the city to have expanded very considerably under the kings of the First Dynasty; evidence for the topography of Babylon in this period, both textual and archaeological, is, however, regrettably scanty. Some idea of the city during the middle years of the First Dynasty can be obtained from a consideration of the temples known from written sources to have been consecrated at this time.⁶⁰ Thanks to the Babylonian tradition of rebuilding temples in exactly their original sites — in so far as this was possible: one thinks of Nabonidus diligently searching for foundations laid by previous kings — it is fairly certain that if we know the location of a temple in the later periods, ipso facto we know its older site too. Assuming further that the presence of a temple in a particular site is a reasonable indication of a history of permanent occupation in that vicinity at least as old as the temple itself, we can gather some idea of the approximate extent of the city from the sanctuaries known to have been in use within it, and whose locations are known from the textual or archaeological evidence of later periods.

In the eastern half of Babylon, the city's left bank, the written sources of the middle Old Babylonian period attest to the existence of Marduk's cult-centre, E-sagil; E-tur-kalama of Bēlet-Bābili; E-niten-du (later also E-nitenna) of Sîn; E-gišnu-gal of Sîn; and an unnamed temple of the goddess Ninisinna, probably to be identified with *Tintir*'s Egal-mah of Gula. In addition a year name of Šar-kali-šarri vouches for the existence of a temple of the Akkadian goddess Anūnītum from the third millennium. With the exception of E-gišnu-gal, all these temples are ascribed by *Tintir* in a later period as being in the quarter of Eridu, the religious centre of Babylon. E-gišnu-gal is in the quarter of Kullab, which lay immediately east of Eridu. Aside from these temples, we also know of the quarter Newtown, whose existence shortly after the time of Hammurapi is demonstrated by a commercial archive excavated in the mound Merkes;⁶¹ according to the topographical exposition of *Tintir* V Newtown lay just north and west of Kullab.

For the western half of Babylon the Old Babylonian sources mention E-namtila, the temple of Enlil; E-me-sikil of Amurru; E-diku-kalama of Šamaš; and E-namhe of Adad. In *Tintir* IV all these temples are found in the quarter Kumar, which was thus

⁶⁰ A useful survey of the cults of the gods of Sumer and Akkad in Old Babylonian times, arranged according to city, is that of J. Renger in *Heidelberger Studien*, p. 137ff.

⁶¹ The archive knows the quarter as *ālum eššum*

šit Šamšim, "Newtown in the east", a name which implies that new suburbs were also springing up in the west, across the river. See further *Tintir* V 95 and commentary.

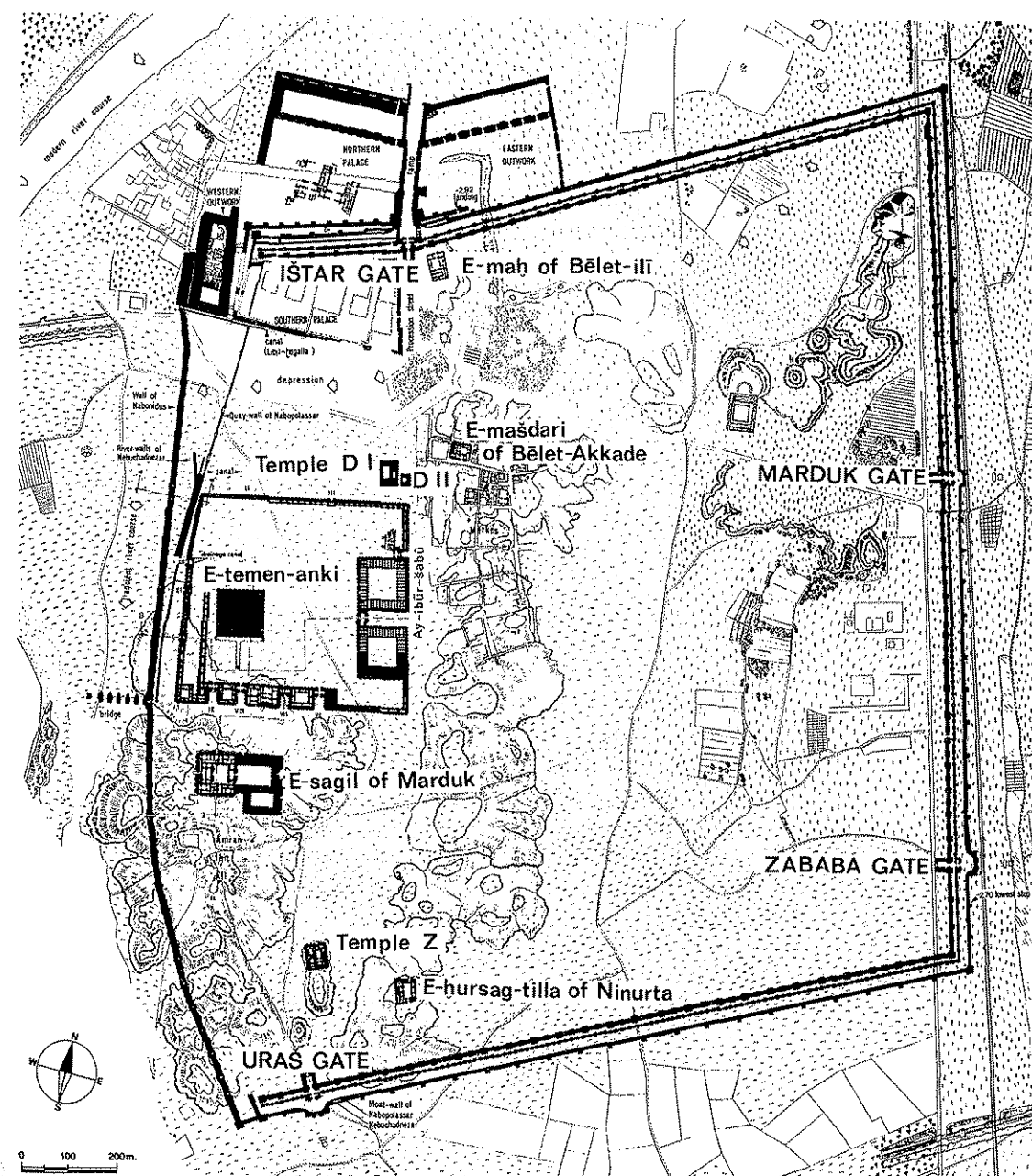


Fig. 2. Babylon: excavations in the eastern city (after Bergamini, *Mesopotamia* 12, pl. 1).

already in the Old Babylonian period something of a religious centre, for which we can assume the long history of permanent settlement that such importance would suggest. Around the time of Hammurapi, then, Babylon consisted of a historical nucleus centred on what became the quarters of Eridu (and the adjoining part of Kullab, probably the southern part of the mound Merkes) and Kumar; the city thus lay then, as later, astride the river. Around this nucleus, which we might for convenience (not on inscriptional evidence) call the Old City, new suburbs began to be settled, both in the east and in the west, as the political, military and economic factors mentioned above combined to increase the city's population.

As for the walls and gates of Babylon under the dynasty of Hammurapi, we know they existed but do not know their exact location. Two city walls, both built in the 19th century, are known from year names of early kings of this dynasty. The first, the "Great Wall" of Babylon, was constructed, or begun, by Sumuabum in his accession year;⁶² the same wall was rebuilt — or perhaps completed — eighteen years later by Sumulael. The building of this wall reflects the need of the newly independent city for security, as its Amorite masters strove vigorously to establish a power-base capable of withstanding the armies of Kiš, Kazallu and Larsa, all of which posed a military threat in Akkad at this time. Less than fifty years later Apil-Sîn built what was probably a completely new wall, to judge from its name, "New Grand Wall." The main gate of this wall's eastern section may not have been finished for a further fourteen years.⁶³ The wall of Sumuabum and Sumulael we imagine to have surrounded the historical nucleus of Babylon referred to earlier as the Old City. Apil-Sîn's wall, apparently built from scratch, may have followed the same circuit as the wall it replaced or may, on the other hand, have been of larger compass, accommodating within its perimeter any new settlements which might, even at this time, have sprung up outside the gates of the old wall. However this may be, it appears that gates belonging to one or other of these Old Babylonian walls survived — in name at least — long after the walls themselves were replaced by Imgur-Enlil and fell into disuse: certainly sources of later periods mention gates which can only have been well inside the later city wall, and the location of others on the circuit of Imgur-Enlil by other commentators is questionable. *Tintir* itself acknowledges the existence of two gates close to the city centre, these being the Grand Gate and the Market Gate, via which respectively the roads north, to Sippar and beyond, and south to Dilbat, probably passed out of the Old City. Other gates attested in *Tintir* and probably inside the confines of the late city wall are the Akus Gate, perhaps lying astride the processional street of Adad somewhere between the western part of the Old City (later the quarter Kumar) and the Adad Gate of Imgur-Enlil; and perhaps the Lugalirra Gate, which in the city described

⁶² The walls of Babylon are documented in the commentary on *Tintir* V 57-58.

⁶³ This idea relies on the restoration of Apil-

Sîn's 16th year name as k[á.g]al [ká.dingir.ra]^{ki} 'utu.é ba.dù; so Ungnad, *RIA* II, pp. 166 and 177, 80, after Johns "ohne Quellenangabe".

by *Tintir* is the quarter north of Kumar, and might thus have taken its name from a gate in the north stretch of the western section of an early city wall.⁶⁴

We have, then, a certain amount of information on the lay-out of Babylon as it was before the town planners set to work.⁶⁵ Little of it is exact — much, indeed, is conjectural — and the sketch map (fig. 3) which has been drawn up on the basis of this information is thus only a suggestion of what the town plan of Babylon may have looked like in the late 19th century. The map shows a city slightly larger in area than Ur under its Third Dynasty, and illustrates the possible locations of one of the early city walls and its gates in respect to the extent of the late city, its wall Imgur-Enlil and its quarters as these appear from *Tintir*.

We turn to the topography of Babylon as it is known after the Kassite period. The city area, defined by the circuit of Imgur-Enlil, the planners' rectangular wall, is now divided into ten districts or quarters.⁶⁶ These quarters, especially those away from the vicinity of the densely developed Old City, no doubt accommodated a fair amount of open space among the houses (the *kišubbû* of late deeds and contracts). Much of the space inside Imgur-Enlil may never have been developed for housing. By the time *Tintir* was compiled the quarters of Babylon, both old and new, had acquired names. Three of these are also names of the city: Šuanna (sometimes written tin.tir^{ki}), Ka-dingirra (or perhaps Bābilu: see the commentary on V 94) and Eridu. While the use of ká.dingir.ra^{ki} and tin.tir^{ki} as orthographies for Babylon, and probably also as names for the city, goes back to the Old Babylonian period, Šuanna and Eridu are not attested as names of Babylon until Middle Babylonian times, and one suspects that they are as such products of the literary scholars of the Kassite period, who, as we have seen, were beginning to expound in traditional and syncretistic terms the theological implications of Babylon's status as capital. If so, it would seem that Eridu, Šuanna and Ka-dingirra were firstly names of Babylon, and that their adoption as names of quarters was a secondary development. In this regard it is interesting to note that the ancient and sacred name of Eridu was adopted as the name of the hub of the eastern half of the Old City, the religious centre of the post-Kassite city. The names Šuanna and Ka-dingirra, on the other hand, having fewer historical and religious connotations, were used for the relatively recent quarters which, as we see the history of the city's expansion, were the result of urban overflow in the late Old Babylonian period from the Market and Grand Gates respectively.

The names adopted for some other quarters are derived from other towns of Sumer and Akkad. Into this category fall Kullab, Kumar (from Kuara) and Tuba. Unlike Eridu,

⁶⁴ For the Grand, Market, Akus and Lugalirra Gates see further *Tintir* V 92-94, 99-100 and 101, and the commentary ad loc. The Giššu Gate of the late period, probably also not to be sought on the circuit of Imgur-Enlil, is discussed in the introduction to text no. 17.

⁶⁵ Note here that the regularity imposed by town

planning may have been confined only to the walls, gates and procession streets; no doubt it was considered impractical, if not prohibitively expensive, to replan the mazes of back streets such as have come to light under the mound Merkes.

⁶⁶ In *Tintir ālu*, but in Neo- and Late Babylonian house sales, rents and other documents, *eršetu*.

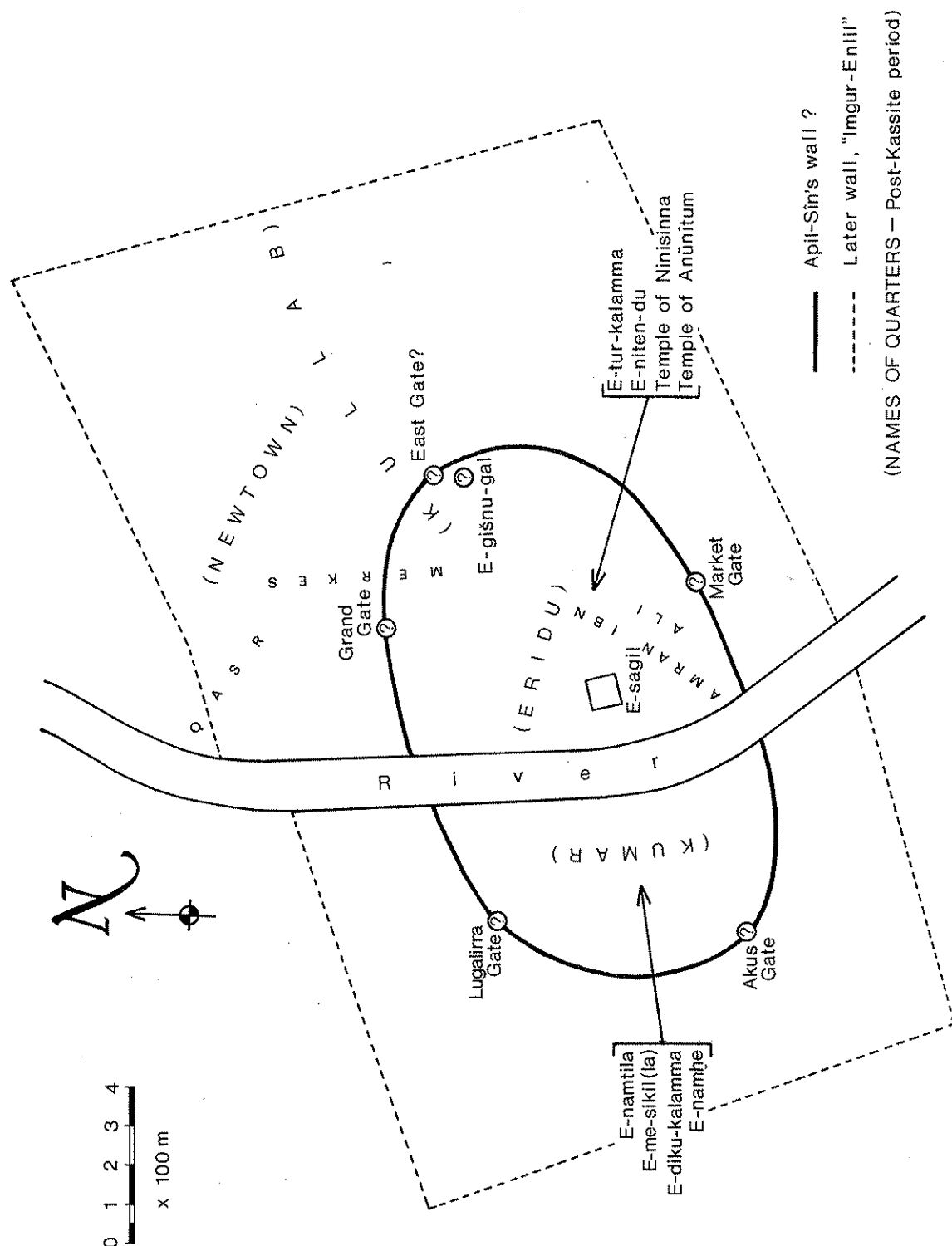


Fig.3. Babylon before Hammurapi.

which might otherwise belong with them, these names designated a city quarter only, and were never used to refer to Babylon as a whole. It seems these names were given to those parts of the city where the temples of deities of the original cities were located: thus the temples of Lugalbanda and Pisangunuk were in the quarter Kullab; E-eš-maḥ of Ea was a distinctive landmark of Kumar; and a temple of Ištar — as Bēlet-Eanna — was situated in the quarter of Tuba.⁶⁷ Certainly of popular origin is the name of the quarter Newtown, a name going back to the late Old Babylonian period. Perhaps also a popular designation is Bāb-Lugalirra (or Lugalirra Gate) for the northernmost of the western quarters. Our view of the expansion of Babylon under the First Dynasty and the Kassite kings would see these quarters, Newtown and Lugalirra Gate, as growing up outside one of the early city walls, around gates whose names we would suggest to be Apil-Sîn's East Gate and Lugalirra Gate: the names of these two quarters we thus see as rooted in the city's historical topography. Nothing can be said about the names of the remaining two quarters: TE.E^{k1} (perhaps to be read Kasīri, or Tê: see below) is for the moment obscure of origin, and the name of the quarter listed in V 99 is corrupt in one manuscript and broken in the other.

These ten city quarters are the subject of the topographical exposition set out in *Tintir* V 92-103. The text defines the approximate limits of each quarter by means of two points of reference. Some of these points are one or other of the eight city gates listed in V 49-56, and the correct identification and location of these gates is thus of fundamental importance to any understanding of the plan of the city. We have seen already that the wall of Babylon, Imgur-Enlil, describing as it does a nearly regular quadrilateral, was the work of deliberate planning, by which means it was sought, some time between the late Old Babylonian period and the twelfth century, to impose a certain idealistic regularity on the city's much increased urban area. With a new city wall, of course, comes the need for a new set of gates, whose locations can be decided from scratch — providing they do not deny access to existing trunk roads. It would be reasonable to expect the builder of Imgur-Enlil to have imposed upon the locations of the gates a regularity, just as he did on the wall itself. Probably this would be a symmetrical pattern, and the eight gates of the list can be best divided between the four sides of Imgur-Enlil at two per side. In practical terms this optimum configuration would provide each half of the city wall — the east section and the west section — with four gates each, the rectangle of Imgur-Enlil being bisected from north to south by the river Araḫtu. On each bank the stretch of city wall parallel to the river would be served by two gates, the two stretches at rightangles to it by one.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ On the historical connection between Ištar and the toponym Tuba see the commentary on IV 41.

⁶⁸ Unger knew of eight city gates, but in his reconstruction of the city's topography placed six in the east and only two in the west; this configuration

has been produced on maps of Babylon ever since. His argument rested on the attractive but not inviolable premise that a city gate named after a god must have served the road which led from Babylon to his cult-centre.

Turning from theory to topography we note that of the eight gates listed in Tablet V of *Tintir* four have been excavated, all on the eastern section of Imgur-Enlil. Of these four one can be identified from its foundation inscription as the Ištar Gate. This is the gate located on the north stretch of the east city wall, close to the palaces of the Chaldaean kings. It is the fourth gate of the list. The first gate in the list is the Uraš Gate, which the documentary evidence — the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II and his father, Nabopolassar, in particular — shows to be certainly the gate excavated on the southern stretch of the eastern city wall, near the river bank: through the Uraš Gate the road passed south, to Dilbat, the cult-centre of Uraš, and beyond. In the circuit of Imgur-Enlil between the Uraš and Ištar Gates the excavators found the sites of two more gates, both on the wall's east stretch, parallel to the river. Now in the list of city gates in *Tintir* there are also two gates between the Uraš and Ištar Gates: these are the second and third of the list, the Zababa Gate and Marduk Gate respectively. The Zababa Gate, as we know from Sennacherib's annals and Neo-Babylonian commercial documents, lay on the road to Kiš, the cult-centre of Zababa. It is paired with the Marduk Gate by Herodotus, who writes of the Belidian and Kissian Gates, i.e. the Gate of Bēl (Marduk) and the Gate of Kiš. Kiš, of course, lay east of Babylon, and thus we require this pair of gates to have served the roads that left the city in this direction. In the light of the evidence it would be foolhardy to deny the extreme likelihood that the Zababa and Marduk Gates, being the second and third gates of the list, were also the second and third gates on the circuit of the city wall as it ran from the Uraš to the Ištar Gate, themselves first and fourth on the circuit and in the list. That the order of the gates in the list follows their sequence on the wall was first proposed by Wetzel, *WDOG* 48, p.62,⁶⁹ and is now partly confirmed by the broken metrological text BM 54634 (no. 15), in which the circuit of the east wall ends with details of a stretch from the Zababa Gate to the Uraš Gate. Unger agreed with the present identifications of the four excavated gates on the eastern wall, but in also placing in the east the next two gates of the list, the Enlil Gate and "Šin" (misread!) Gate, denied the relevance of the list's order.

Beyond the Ištar Gate the city wall crosses the river and describes a rectangle around the western part of the city, returning to the river bank at a point approximately opposite its start at the Uraš Gate. No gates have been found on this section of the wall, which, in common with the whole western part of Babylon, remains unexcavated (much of this part of the city is now occupied by the modern bed of the Hilla branch of the Euphrates). However, we can place the Šamaš Gate on the wall's southern stretch because of its proximity to the point where a canal left the right bank of the river for Borsippa, lying south-south-west (as recorded in a document from the reign of Nabonidus). The Šamaš Gate is the last of the eight gates in *Tintir* V's list. Accordingly, if the order of the list

⁶⁹ Wetzel's sketch map in *ZA* 48, p. 48f., also anticipates the identification and location of the city

gates put forward here, in the west as well as the east.

follows the sequence of gates in the wall's western circuit, as it has been shown to have done in the east, we expect to find the fifth, sixth and seventh gates of the list in that order between the wall's start, opposite the palace area, and the Šamaš Gate. Of these three gates, the Enlil Gate, the King's Gate and the Adad Gate, the last named is indeed known from *Tintir* V 99 to have been somewhere on the circuit of the western wall. If the configuration of the gates in this part of the wall mirrored that of the east, then the Adad Gate, seventh in the list, should be the lower of two gates on the west stretch of the western city wall, parallel to the river. It is thus the gate which in a metrological commentary divides the "upper" section of the western wall from its "lower" section.⁷⁰ The northernmost gate of this west stretch of wall would then be the King's Gate (sixth in the list), with the Enlil Gate (fifth) sited on the west wall's north stretch.

Concerning the names of these western gates we note that the sanctuaries of Enlil, Adad and Šamaš, all dating back to the time of Hammurapi, and probably beyond, were situated in the western part of the Old City, later the quarter Kumar. The gates named after these gods were thus not named at random, but reflect the fame of these venerable cult-centres; perhaps they served procession roads used by the three gods. In the east the presence of the famous E-sagil of Marduk and E-mašdari of Ištar (as Bēlet-Akkade) may account for the names of two gates; but Uraš and Zababa had no temples of their own in Babylon, and their gates no doubt allude instead to the fact that the roads to Dilbat and Kiš, their cult-centres, passed through them.

With the identities of the excavated gates, and the approximate locations of the unexcavated ones, thus fairly certain, we are in a position to plot the city quarters of Babylon on the map. The parts of *Tintir* which bear on the topography of the city quarters are, we recall, Tablet IV, in which the temples of Babylon are grouped according to quarter, and the final section of Tablet V, which gives points of reference for the opposite limits of each quarter. Both expositions divide the quarters into those of the eastern half of the city, and those of the western half (a sketch map of the city according to *Tintir* can be found as fig. 4). First of the eastern quarters is Eridu, whose fourteen temples mark it out as the religious centre of Babylon. Foremost among these sanctuaries are the great cult-centre of Marduk, E-sagil, and the ziqqurrat, E-temen-anki; the former was partially excavated by Koldewey's expedition, and lies under the mound of Amran ibn Ali; the remains of the ziqqurrat's earthen core can still be seen just north of Amran, in the flat area known as Saḫn. To the north the quarter of Eridu bordered on Ka-dingirra at the Grand Gate; to the south it met Šuanna at the Market Gate. The western limit of the quarter was defined by the left bank of the Euphrates: by the river, but inside the precinct of E-sagil, was the temple of Ea, E-kar-zaginnā. Of the other temples of Eridu the best

⁷⁰ BM 35385 (text no. 16); the gate in question is expected about 410 metres up the west stretch of the city wall: see p. 137. For documentation of the individual gates see the commentary on V 49-56.

The city gates are also listed, with less regard for the topography, in the fragment 79-7-8, 291 (text no. 35), i 6' ff.

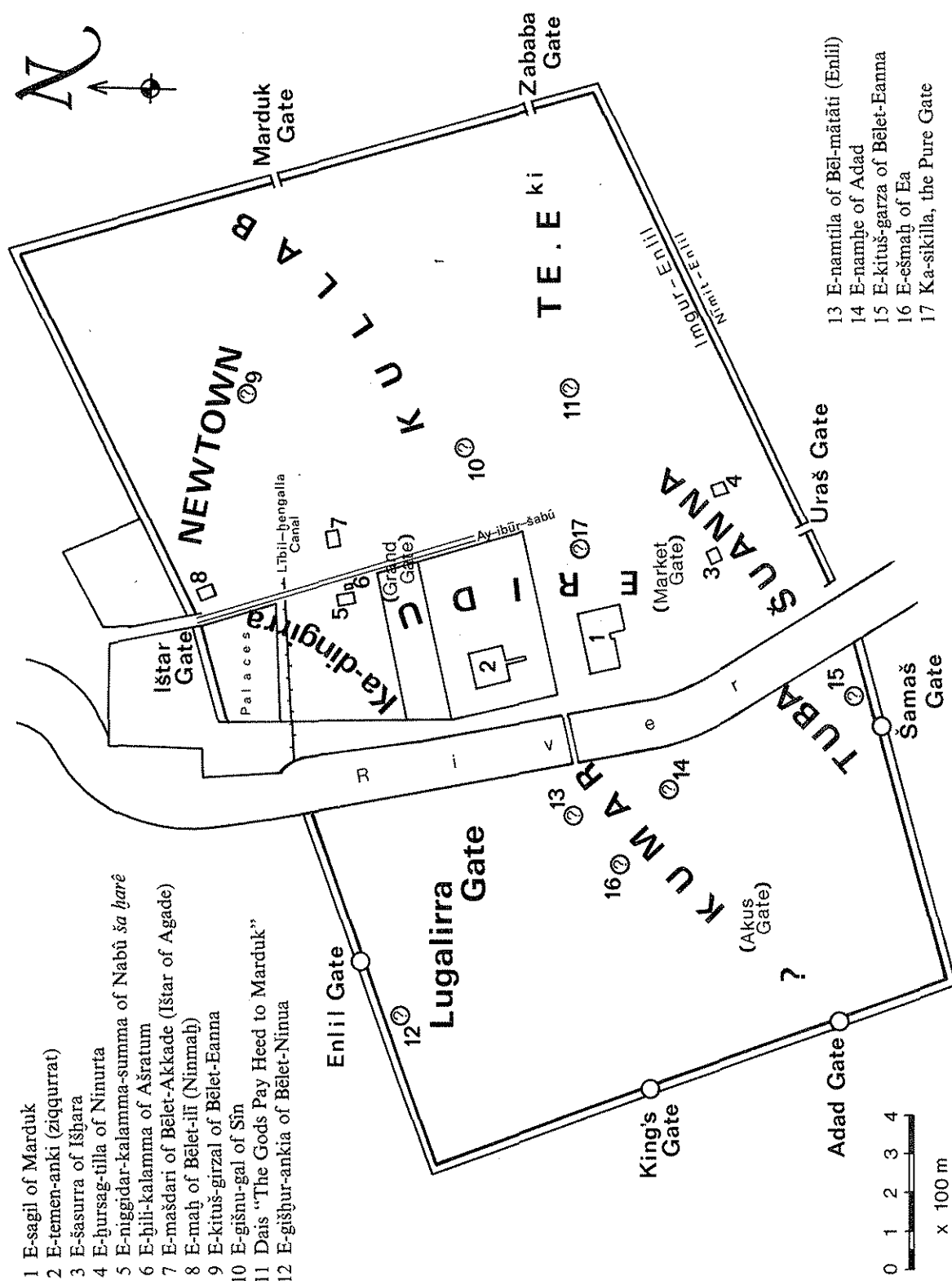


Fig. 4. Babylon in the 6th century B.C.

known is E-tur-kalamma of Bēlet-Bābili; famous from Nebuchadnezzar II's inscriptions is E-ḫursag-sikilla of Ninkarrak, probably the same temple as *Tintir* IV's Egal-maḥ of Gula, also in this quarter. On this central temple complex see further below, p. 91.

South of Eridu, stretching from their common border to the Uraš Gate, was the quarter of Šuanna, for which Tablet IV of *Tintir* lists the two temples E-ḫursag-tilla and E-šasurra, belonging respectively to Ninurta and the goddess Išhara. These correspond to the two temples — one of Ninurta, the other, "Temple Z", unidentified — excavated by Koldewey in the mound Išan al Aswad, between Amran and the city wall.⁷¹ Šuanna was bounded on the west by the river. Through the quarter passed the procession road of Nabû, Nabû-dayyān-nišišu, running approximately north-south, from E-sagil to the Uraš Gate, and thence beyond the city to a quay on the Euphrates above the mouth of the Borsippa Canal. North of Eridu, from the Grand Gate to the Ištar Gate on the city wall lay Ka-dingirra. Four temples are listed in *Tintir* IV for this quarter, and four have been excavated in the area between the city centre and the Ištar Gate. These are E-maḥ of Bēlet-ilī (Ninmah) on the east flank of Qasr; E-mašdari of Bēlet-Akkade at the north end of the mound Merkes; and the two temples D I and D II on the processional way between Saḫn and Qasr, the larger of which must be E-niggidar-kalamma-summa of Nabû of the ḫarû, the smaller E-ḫili-kalamma of Ašratum.⁷² According to their inscriptions the palaces of the Chaldaean kings lay in Ka-dingirra, bounded on their four sides by the city wall, Imgur-Enlil, to the north; the river bank, to the west; the canal Libil-ḫengalla, to the south; and Marduk's processional road, Ay-ibūr-šabû, to the east. The results of the considerable archaeological exploration of Qasr tally with this information. Marduk's processional road, also called at its north end Ištar-lamassi-ummānīša, the Street of the Ištar Gate, ran south from this city gate (beyond which, at some distance, lay the Akītu Temple, E-siskur⁷³). Shortly after passing the temple of Nabû on its right, Ay-ibūr-šabû entered the central quarter of Eridu, perhaps at the Grand Gate, which, as seen earlier, divided Ka-dingirra and Eridu, and may have been a relic of an early city wall. Skirting the precinct wall of E-temen-anki, the ziqurrat, on its right, the procession street continued south towards E-sagil. At Ka-sikilla, probably the main gate of the precinct of Marduk's temple,⁷⁴ Marduk's procession diverged from Ay-ibūr-šabû (which may have ended here), and entered the sacred area. The canal Libil-ḫengalla left the Euphrates immediately downstream of the palace area, and, flowing in an artificial bed

⁷¹ For the identification of E-ḫursag-tilla with é.PA.GÍN.ti.la, and E-šasurra with Temple Z, see *Tintir* IV 19-20 and the commentary thereon.

⁷² On the identification of D I and D II see the writer in *Sumer* 44, p. 12 ff.

⁷³ No mention of this is made in *Tintir*, which is concerned mainly with the city proper, within Imgur-Enlil. On the stages of Marduk's procession to é.siskur and back, by chariot and barge, see

Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, p. 146ff. A complete exemplar of Nebuchadnezzar II's Akītu Temple inscription is now available in the transliteration of G. Meyer, *4 Jahrtausende...*², p. 233, especially ll. 54-60.

⁷⁴ For Ka-sikilla, the Pure Gate, see the commentary on the E-sagil Tablet (text no. 13), l. 15.

along the southern edge of the palaces, passed beneath Ay-ibūr-šabū and its bridge. No doubt the canal's course took it around the northern edge of the mound Merkes and into the quarter of Newtown, where it may be identified with the canal called Tutu-(hengal) in the Old Babylonian period, and with the canal upon whose bank E-kituš-girzal, the temple of Bēlet-Eanna, was built. The quarter of Ka-dingirra is archaeologically the most explored part of the city; it comprises according to the modern topography of the site of Babylon the northern parts of Saḥn and Merkes, and whatever of Qasr lies south of the city wall.

According to Tablet V 95-96, the quarters of Newtown and Kullab lay side by side across the north-east corner of the city, from the vicinity of the Ištar Gate as far as the Marduk Gate. The landmark of their common boundary was the aforementioned temple of Bēlet-Eanna, E-kituš-girzal. As noted above, Newtown and that part of Kullab where Sîn's temple E-gišnu-gal was located (perhaps the southern end of Merkes) have a history of settlement that goes back to the middle Old Babylonian period. Much of Newtown was undoubtedly swamped by the changing course of the river in the Persian period. None of the seven temples listed for these two quarters in *Tintir* IV has been excavated. Through the southern and eastern districts of Kullab passed the road Marduk-rē'i-mātīšu, the Street of the Marduk Gate, on its way south-west from the city gate to the city centre. Possibly to be identified with this street is one not listed in *Tintir*, but well known in commercial documents of the late period: the Thoroughfare of Nērgal of Joy. The road from Kutha, Nergal's principal cult-centre, may well have entered Babylon by the Marduk Gate, and so his procession would have used Marduk-rē'i-mātīšu on its way to either E-sagil or the temple of Lugalirra.⁷⁵ Also in Kullab was a building known as Bīt-rēš-Akīti, "Temple of the Start of the Akītu Festival", whose function in the New Year Festival is unknown beyond the implications of its name.⁷⁶

Last of the six eastern quarters in the list is TE.E^{k1}.⁷⁷ The eastern limit of this quarter was the Zababa Gate which served the road to Kiš. From this gate into the city ran the street Zababa-muḥalliq-gārīšu, which must therefore have traversed TE.E^{k1}. Another street which, for some part of its length, ran through TE.E^{k1} was the Thoroughfare of Nergal of Joy, mentioned above in connection with Kullab. The western limit of the quarter is marked in *Tintir* by one of the cultic daises of Marduk listed elsewhere in the text. None of the three temples listed for this quarter in Tablet IV is noteworthy, although E-ka-gula occurs also in the ritual tablet of the divine Love Lyrics.

In the western part of Babylon, across the river, no archaeological investigations have been made, so our understanding of its topography is of necessity based solely on the

⁷⁵ References to Nergal's street are collected in the commentary on V 96 and 97. No temple of Lugalirra appears in *Tintir*, but one is known at Babylon from at least the seventh century: see text no. 38, BM 77433, 13, and commentary on *Tintir* V

86-88.

⁷⁶ For this in the time of Kandalānu see the commentary on IV 27.

⁷⁷ Read, perhaps, Kasīri, or even Tē: see the commentary on V 98.

textual evidence.⁷⁸ From the order of the city gates in *Tintir* V we see that the Adad and Šamaš Gates, which are used as points of reference for two of the western quarters, are the last two gates on the circuit of Imgur-Enlil, and, as noted earlier, they are accordingly the southern gate of the west stretch of wall, and the sole gate of the south stretch. The quarter of Tuba, whose limits are defined by the Šamaš Gate and the Euphrates, can therefore be located on the right bank of the river just inside the city wall. This position is in accordance with our reconstruction of an ancient clay map of Babylon, of which the surviving fragment shows Tuba immediately inside the city wall at the Šamaš Gate (fig. 5).⁷⁹ Three temples are listed in Tablet IV for Tuba. Of these the temple of Bēlet-Eanna, E-kituš-garza, was rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar II: in his inscriptions, and elsewhere, this temple is described as occupying a recess in the city wall, perhaps a corner afforded by a protruding tower, or the monumental Šamaš Gate itself. Another temple, E-sabad of Gula, remained in use even in the first century B.C. Through Tuba, from the Šamaš Gate north to Kumar and Šamaš's temple, E-diku-kalamma, led the procession road Šamaš-šulūl-ummānīšu.

From the Adad Gate in the south-west to the Akus Gate lay a quarter whose name is not certain, being either corrupt or illegible in the available sources. At all events, *Tintir* IV knows of no temples for this quarter, and does not mention it. The Akus Gate is also a limit for the well-known quarter of Kumar, which, as noted above, was probably the oldest part of west Babylon, being already well established as the site of four temples in the Old Babylonian period. *Tintir* lists another three. On the grounds of its antiquity we expect Kumar to have been immediately across the river from Eridu, with which it formed what we have termed the Old City, the historical nucleus of Babylon before the great expansion suggested for the post-Hammurapi era. One of its old and famous temples was E-namḥe, the cult-centre of Adad in Babylon, and it is reasonable to suppose that in the city described by *Tintir* the procession road of Adad, Adad-zānin-nišīšu, also known as the Street of the Adad Gate, ran from Adad's temple to his city gate. Accordingly, Kumar, at this road's eastern end, and the aforementioned quarter whose name is not yet resolved, but which was near the Adad Gate, lay side by side across Adad's road. Rather than look for the Akus Gate, which was the meeting point of the two city quarters, on the city wall (explaining it, for example, as a popular name for the King's Gate, the gate immediately north of the Adad Gate), it is more practical to locate it inside the city itself; and we have suggested above that it was probably a gate in an early city wall, through which the road to Akus made its way from Babylon. In later times it may well have lain — either as a ruined gate, or as the name of a district — on the procession road of Adad, which, on leaving the city at the Adad Gate, would have led

⁷⁸ For Unger the western part of Babylon was Neustadt, a misunderstanding corrected by Gurney, *Iraq* 36, p. 52.

⁷⁹ A new copy of this fragment (previously CT

22 49) appears on pl. 28. The reconstruction relies on the curvature of the fragment's reverse: see further the commentary on V 102.

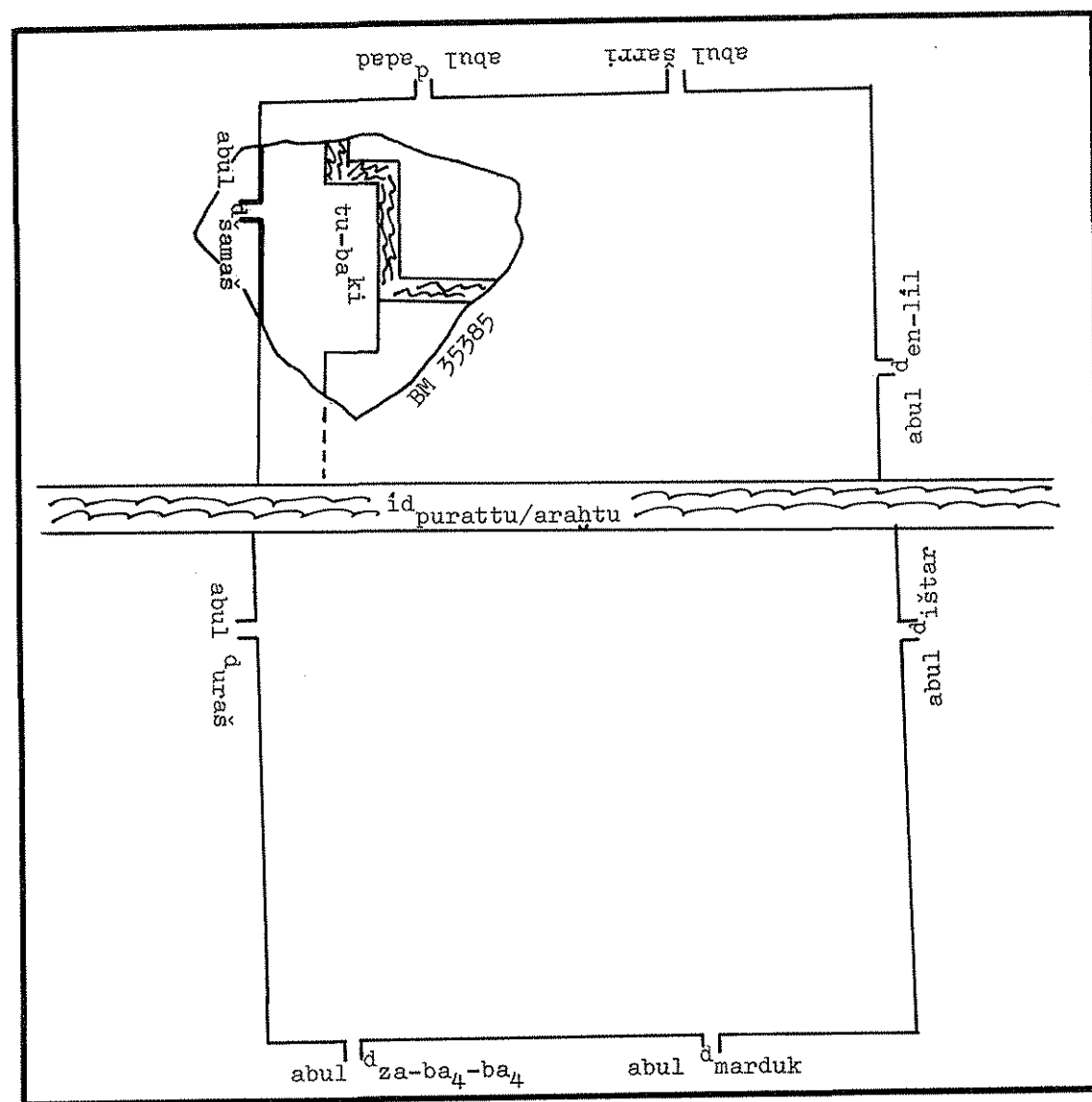


Fig. 5. Reconstruction of the Late Babylonian plan of Babylon (following text no. 16, BM 35385, rev.).

on south-west to Akus. The eastern limit of Kumar in Tablet V is the temple of Enlil (known as Bēl-mātāti), E-namtila.⁸⁰ This temple we should expect to be located not far from the right bank of the Euphrates, perhaps near the bridge. From it north to the Enlil Gate must have run the procession road Enlil-mukīn-šarrūtīšu. Kumar is distinguished in Tablet V by a third landmark, E-eš-maḥ, a temple of Ea. Also in this quarter, according to the temple list, was the great temple of Šamaš, E-diku-kamma, served by the Street of the Šamaš Gate, and temples of Belili, Amurru and Pisangunuk.

The last remaining quarter is Bāb-Lugalirra (Lugalirra Gate), which in the text is limited by the river bank and the temple of Bēlet-Ninua, E-gišhur-ankia. In view of the foregoing exposition of the topography of west Babylon, which accounts for its southern and central areas, this quarter can hardly have been elsewhere than immediately north of Kumar. That the Enlil Gate on the north stretch of city wall is not used as its western point of reference suggest that Bāb-Lugalirra lay well inside the city limits, the land between it and the wall remaining undeveloped; or, alternatively, that the quarter stretched much further west than the position of the Enlil Gate, which was thus too distant to serve as a landmark. Apart from the temple of Bēlet-Ninua at the west end of Bāb-Lugalirra, temples of Nuska (E-nun-maḥ) and Šara (E-bur-sasa) stood in this part of Babylon. The procession road of Enlil must have passed through Bāb-Lugalirra on its way from the Enlil Gate to E-namtila in Kumar. We have earlier conjectured that the quarter took its name from a gate in an early city wall, and the road that it served would probably be a forerunner of that which passed north through the later Enlil Gate.

The lay-out of the city known to the compiler of *Tintir* = Babylon, owing much to deliberate planning, remained little altered in the ensuing centuries. The substantial rebuilding undertaken by the Sargonid and Chaldaean successors of Sennacherib, whose anger had all but obliterated the city in 689, was executed by builders who took particular care to ensure that they followed the original plans of temples, walls and gates. Only in the Persian period, when the Euphrates looped east through Newtown, did the town plan change significantly.⁸¹ But by this time Babylon, after thirteen centuries as a royal capital, had begun the five centuries of a long and final decline.

Tintir = Babylon: the Manuscripts

When in 1930 and 1931 Unger published a number of disconnected fragments of *Tintir* = Babylon, called by him "die Stadtbeschreibung von Babylon", he had at his disposal only six pieces from library tablets and one extract of the text on a school tablet.⁸² In

⁸⁰ The variant writing é.nam.til in the single source available to previous commentators has been misunderstood as "Mortuary Temple" and the like (é.nam.BAD), now shown to be wrong.

⁸¹ On the river's change of course see the commentary on V 59.

⁸² These being our MSS Gdxyzoo and K 3089 (part of A); a better copy of oo from the hand of Matouš appeared in 1933. For details of bibliography the reader is referred to the section 'Previous Publication', p. 34f.

1938 and 1940 van der Meer supplemented Unger's edition with four substantial sources from the collections of the Ashmolean and British Museums.⁸³ In addition he brought attention to three more fragments of the series which, although published by Pinches at the turn of the century, had not been recognized as such.⁸⁴ Van der Meer also included in his second article two small fragments from Kiš which Gurney subsequently joined to several others and published in 1974 as the major source for Tablet V, along with two duplicates from the British Museum.⁸⁵ Also from the hand of van der Meer, but unrecognizable as *Tintir*, two extracts on school tablets appeared in 1939 among his copies of the lexical tablets from Kiš.⁸⁶ In the meantime Moran joined the fragments of A and published them in photograph. MS K, a tiny fragment published by Schroeder in 1920, could only be assigned to *Tintir* on the recent discovery of an apparent duplicate.

In addition to these twenty previously published tablets, fragments and extracts, a further 37 sources for *Tintir* have been identified — all but one in the collections of the British Museum — from which it has been possible to reconstruct a substantially enlarged text of greater continuity and accuracy than the published manuscripts have heretofore allowed. Ten of the total of 57 manuscripts are from Aššurbanipal's libraries at Nineveh, and three of these are written in Babylonian script (CFH). One is from Aššur. Six manuscripts come from the Kiš archive, and two were excavated by Koldewey in Babylon, while the two other pieces in Berlin are also from that city.⁸⁷ One source has been discovered in the Sippar collection at Istanbul. The remaining 35 tablets and fragments, all in the British Museum's Babylonian collections and acquired in the latter years of the last century from dealers or from Rassam's excavations, are attributed by the register to Babylon (18), Sippar-Abu Habba (7) and Dilbat-Dailem (1), or, less specifically, to Babylonia (9), these last being so marked or left without provenance. The lists of sources which below precede each Tablet of *Tintir* follow the register in these matters, but it has to be said that such ascriptions of provenance are not entirely reliable, and that a number of pieces listed as coming from Babylon or Sippar might rather be from Borsippa or other sites.⁸⁸ Except for the tablets of Aššurbanipal (668-27) and the other Neo-Assyrian piece from Aššur, all the tablets are Neo- or Late Babylonian; the latest dated source is ascribed by its colophon to 61 B.C.⁸⁹

So far as it is possible to tell, some manuscripts being but small fragments, five of the 57 sources for *Tintir* were inscribed with two or more Tablets of the series. MS z originally gave the text of all five Tablets, in six, or perhaps eight, columns of about 75 or

⁸³ MSS uvw, followed by K 4153 (part of B); u and w, from the Kiš archive, are apparently from the same hand as t, for which see below.

⁸⁴ MSS C, the school tablet ee, and the 'Greek' tablet c.

⁸⁵ MSS Ekt.

⁸⁶ nn (identified by Gurney in 1975) and mm.

⁸⁷ As Unger records in *WVDOG* 48, p. 85.

⁸⁸ On the problems of provenance in the BM collections see now Reade's introduction to Leichty, *Catalogue* VI.

⁸⁹ MS a; all surviving colophons are edited below, p. 71f.

80 lines each.⁹⁰ MS g is a single-columned tablet inscribed on its obverse with Tablet I, on its reverse with Tablet IV; this may point to the existence of an edition of *Tintir* which omitted Tablets II and III. MS A, the last column of whose obverse gives the text of Tablet IV, and the whole of whose reverse is taken up by Tablet V, can best be imagined as a tablet in four columns of 52 lines.⁹¹ According to such a reconstruction its obverse contained Tablets I, IV and the first few lines of V, its reverse the remainder of Tablet V: it would thus belong to the edition that omitted Tablets II and III.⁹² If the catch-line of MS a is, as proposed, the first line of Tablet V, a recension was also current in which V followed I. Not enough remains of MS F to determine whether it comprised the complete series, for the left hand edge alone is preserved. MS J is a tiny fragment, but looks to be from a multi-columned library tablet which was probably inscribed with the whole series.

Of the 32 tablets which contain material from one Tablet only, all appear to be inscribed in single columns except MSS Bky, which have two columns each side. To these three can perhaps be added MS l, which may belong with k. Of the tablets arranged in single columns, EG probably belong together likewise. Three of these 32 sources contain not the whole text of a Tablet, but excerpts from it: MS C, whose shape sets it apart from the library tablets, is inscribed with two excerpts from Tablet II; d, while not an exercise tablet, apparently had a substantial portion of Tablet V on its obverse, while the reverse contains a topographical text dealing with the locations of cultic daises (text no. 9); what remains of MS c is inscribed with an excerpt from the beginning of Tablet I, with cuneiform on the obverse and a transcription into the Greek alphabetic script on the reverse. Of the single-column manuscripts MSS i and v are, in places, very corrupt, and their clumsy script marks them out as the work of inexperienced scribes.

The remaining twenty manuscripts sources for *Tintir*, a figure which exceeds one third of the extant total, are extracts on school exercise tablets. Some of these, fluently and carefully written, are trustworthy sources. Others, prone to the errors of the novice, are less reliable. Of these last, MS gg is execrable.

New copies of all manuscripts have been prepared, and can be found on pl. 1-19 and 57-58.

⁹⁰ The first column of this MS contained the 51 lines of Tablet I, perhaps a subscript (e.g. dub I^{kam} tin.tir^{ki} = *ba-bi-i-lu*), and Tablet II 1-22, a total of 73 or 74 lines. A few lines must be added to this because, as the extant part of col. ii shows, the often very long lines of Tablet II sometimes run over into a second line on the tablet. This factor makes it impossible to estimate at all accurately how many lines of text (as against lines of tablet) are missing.

⁹¹ The first column of this MS contained the 51 lines of Tablet I, we imagine, and a subscript, if

written; column ii held Tablet IV and a subscript, if written, (43 or 44 lines), and the first dozen or so lines of Tablet V compressed into eight lines of tablet (that short lines such as these could be doubled up in this MS is shown by the remaining text of col. iii); col. iii continued the text up to V 85, leaving 86-104 and the colophon for col. iv.

⁹² The alternative reconstruction of MS A is to imagine it as comprising Tablets III-V in sequence, I-II being consigned to another tablet.

SUMMARY LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS

Sigla in upper case (A) are MSS from Kuyunjik; that in italic upper case (*K*) is from Aššur; those in lower case (a) are of Babylonian origin; reduplicated letters (aa) mark exercise tablets. Details of present publication and line numbering are to be found in the lists of MSS that precede each Tablet of the series. A bibliography of all MSS follows the Summary List.

<i>MS</i>	<i>Museum Number</i>	<i>Tablet(s)</i>
A	K 3089+10924	IV, V
B	K 4153+6410	II
C	K 4714	II
D	K 5848	II
E	K 8515	V
F	K 13644	I, V
G	K 15122	V
H	K 19758	IV
I	Sm 863	II
J	DT 286	I
K	VAT 11904	II
aa	BM 33402+33425 (Rm III 79+102)	II
a	BM 33491+33826 (Rm IV 46+386)	I
b	BM 33737+33818 (Rm IV 295+378)	I
bb	BM 33783 (Rm IV 341)	II
c	BM 34798 (Sp II 291+III 311)	I
d	BM 34878 (Sp II 385)	V
e	BM 34927 (Sp II 444)	IV
f	BM 35838(+)36017 (Sp III 368(+))561)	II
qq	BM 36843 (80-6-17, 583)	II
rr	BM 37592 (80-6-17, 1349)	I
ss	BM 38003 (80-6-17, 1833)	V
g	BM 38442 (80-11-12, 325)	I, IV
h	BM 40151 (81-3-24, 16)	II
i	BM 40480 (81-4-28, 19)	IV
j	BM 41525+41914 (81-6-25, 138+534)	II
k	BM 46070 (81-7-6, 518)	V
l	BM 46207 (81-7-6, 668)	V
m	BM 46279 (81-7-28, 4)	IV
cc	BM 46438 (81-7-28, 164)	V

<i>MS</i>	<i>Museum Number</i>	<i>Tablet(s)</i>
tt	BM 53403 (82-3-23, 4439)	I
dd	BM 53824 (D 82-3-23, 4865)	II
ee	BM 54626 (82-5-22, 946)	II
ff	BM 54752 (82-5-22, 1081)	IV
n	BM 59579 (82-7-14, 3989)	IV
gg	BM 65151 (AH 82-9-18, 5132)	IV, V
hh	BM 75144 (AH 83-1-18, 470)	II
ii	BM 76144 (AH 83-1-18, 1509)	II
o	BM 76297+76459 (AH 83-1-18, 1665+1827) (+) 82888 (83-1-21, 51)	V
jj	BM 76494 (AH 83-1-18, 1864)	IV
p	BM 76517 (AH 83-1-18, 1887)	V
kk	BM 76884 (AH 83-1-18, 2256)	IV
q	BM 77013 (83-1-18, 2388+2435)	IV
r	BM 77029 (83-1-18, 2404)	V
s	BM 77086 (83-1-18, 2464)	I
ll	BM 82897 (83-1-21, 60)	IV
t	Ashmolean 1924-807+1415+1501+1830+2044+2057	V
u	Ashmolean 1924-810	II
v	Ashmolean 1924-846	IV
w	Ashmolean 1924-849	I
mm	Ashmolean 1924-1365	IV
nn	Ashmolean 1930-354./	V
x	VAT 441	IV
y	VAT 554	V
z	VAT 13101	I, II, V
oo	VAT 13200	II
pp	Si 605	V

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

C = Copy P = Photograph T = Transliterated Text Tr = Translation (c, t and tr indicate partial treatment)

Composite Text Editions

MSS	Bibliography	Treatment
AGdxyzoo	1930 E. Unger, Die Stadtbeschreibung von Babylon, <i>WVDOG</i> 48, p. 85 ff. (and again in)	TTr
AGdxyzoo	1931 E. Unger, <i>Babylon</i> , p. 229 ff. (A = K 3089 only)	TTr
AEGdktyz	1974 O.R. Gurney, "The Fifth Tablet of the 'Topography of Babylon'," <i>Iraq</i> 36, p. 42 ff. (Az rev. only)	TTr

Publication of Individual Sources

* The asterisk indicates a composite cuneiform text

MS	Bibliography	Treatment
A	(K 3089 only)	
	1900 T.G. Pinches, <i>PSBA</i> 22, p. 359 ff.	CTTr
	1931 E. Unger, <i>Babylon</i> , pl. 42 and 48*	C
	1933 B. Landsberger, <i>ZA</i> 41, p. 289 f. (K 3089 + 10924)	t
	1959 W.L. Moran, <i>AnBi</i> 12, pl. 18 and p. 259	Pt
B	(K 4153 only)	
	1939 P.E. van der Meer, <i>AfO</i> 13, p. 125f., pl. 8	CT
C	1900 T.G. Pinches, <i>PSBA</i> 22, p. 367 ff.	CTTr
E	1893 C. Bezold, <i>Catalogue</i> , p. 933	c
	1974 O.R. Gurney, <i>Iraq</i> 36, pl. 7	C
G	1914 L.W. King, <i>Cat. Suppl.</i> , p. 159	C
K	1920 O. Schroeder, <i>KAV</i> 85	C

MS	Bibliography	Treatment
c	(rev. only)	
	1902 T.G. Pinches, <i>PSBA</i> 24, p. 116 ff.	PC
	1902 A.H. Sayce, <i>PSBA</i> 24, p. 123	T
	1939 P.E. van der Meer, <i>AfO</i> 13, p. 125 f.	PCT
	1962 E. Sollberger, <i>Iraq</i> 24, p. 67 f.	T
d	1930 E. Unger, <i>WVDOG</i> 48, pl. 83	P
	1931 E. Unger, <i>Babylon</i> , pl. 47 and 48*	PC
	1972 T.G. Pinches, <i>CT</i> 51 92	C
k	1974 O.R. Gurney, <i>Iraq</i> 36, pl. 7	C
t	(807(!) and 1415)	
	1940 P.E. van der Meer, <i>AfO</i> 13, pl. 9 and 10 (807+)	C
	1974 O.R. Gurney, <i>Iraq</i> 36, pl. 5 and 6	C
u	1938 P.E. van der Meer, <i>Iraq</i> 5, pp. 57 f., 62	CT
v	1938 P.E. van der Meer, <i>Iraq</i> 5, pp. 58 f., 63 f.	CT
w	1938 P.E. van der Meer, <i>Iraq</i> 5, pp. 55 f., 60 f.	CTTr
x	1931 E. Unger, <i>Babylon</i> , pl. 41	C
	1933 B. Landsberger, <i>ZA</i> 41, pl. 7 and p. 289 f.	Pt
y	1896 G.A. Reisner, <i>SBH</i> V	C
	1930 E. Unger, <i>WVDOG</i> 48, pl. 82	P
	1931 E. Unger, <i>Babylon</i> , pl. 44, 45*, 48*, 49*	C
z	1930 E. Unger, <i>WVDOG</i> 48, pl. 82	P
	1931 E. Unger, <i>Babylon</i> , pl. 43, 45*, 46a*, 49*	C
	1933 B. Landsberger, <i>ZA</i> 41, p. 292	t
ee	1901 T.G. Pinches, <i>PSBA</i> 23, p. 188, pl. 1-2	C
mm	1939 P.E. van der Meer, <i>Iraq</i> 6, p. 178, no. 84	C
nn	1939 P.E. van der Meer, <i>Iraq</i> 6, p. 164, no. 49	C
	1975 O.R. Gurney, <i>RA</i> 69, p. 95	T
oo	1931 E. Unger, <i>Babylon</i> , pl. 46a*	C
	1933 L. Matouš, <i>LTBA</i> I 72	C
	1933 B. Landsberger, <i>ZA</i> 41, p. 292 and pl. 8	PT

TABLET I

Sources

<i>MS</i>	<i>Museum Number</i>	<i>Lines on</i>		<i>Plate</i>
		<i>obv.</i>	<i>rev.</i>	
<i>Kuyunjik</i>				
F	K 13644	1-25		3
J	DT 286	1-2		1
<i>Babylon</i>				
a	BM 33491 + 33826	1-17	42-51	4
b	BM 33737 + 33818	21-27	28-42	4
c	BM 34798	7-10	1-12	6
rr	BM 37592		17-20	57
g	BM 38442	1-38		2
z	VAT 13101 column i	1-17		1
<i>Babylonia</i>				
tt	BM 53403		8-15	57
s	BM 77086	5-12		1
<i>Kiš</i>				
w	Ashmolean 1924-849	1-23	38-51	5

MSS a and b are not from the same tablet, but very probably from the same hand.

FJagwz	1	tin.tir ^{ki}	<i>ba-bi-lu šá ta-na-da-a-ti u ri-šá-a-ti šar-kaš</i>
c			] ρεισαθ σαρ[
FJagwz	2	tin.tir ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>šu-bat nu-uh-ši</i>
c			] βαβιλ σοβαθα γ[
Fagwz	3	tin.tir ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>šu-bat b[a]-la-tu</i>
c			]γ βαβιλ σοβαθα βα[
Fagwz	4	šu.an.na ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>e-muq šamê^e</i>
c			]γ βαβιλ ηουκ σαυη
Fagswz	5	si.an.na ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>nu-úr šamê^e</i>
c			] βαβιλ νωρ σαυη
Fagswz	6	sa.an.na ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>mar-kás šamê^e</i>
c			]γ βαβιλ μαρχαθ σ[αυη]
Facgswz	7	sa ₄ .an.na ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>ni-bit šamê^e</i>
c			] βαβιλ νιβειθ σ[αυη] tt
Facgswztt	8	uru sig ₄ .bi dub.sag.gá ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>ālu šá li-bit-ta-šú mah-ra-tu</i>
c			]βσεκ βαβιλ αλ / [σ]α λιβιθαζ μαρατ
Facgswztt	9	uru sil ₆ .lá ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>āl ri-šá-a-ti</i>
c			] βαβιλ α ρεισα/[
Facgswztt	10	uru me.bi kal.la ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>ālu šá par-šu-šú šu-qu-ru</i>
c			] βαβιλ α σα φαρ/[
Fagswztt	11	uru billuda.bi suh.suh ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>ālu šá pil-lu-du-šú na-as-qu</i>
c			] βιλλोटω/[
Fagswztt	12	uru lugal dingir.re.e.ne ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>āl šār il^{mes}</i>
c			]α?]
Fagwztt	13	uru gù.dé ^a asar.re ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>ālu ni-bit ^amarduk</i>
Fagwztt	14	uru la.bi nu.gi ₄ .a ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>ālu šá la-lu-ú-šú la iš-šeb-bu-ú</i>
Fagwztt	15	uru guruš ní.dúb ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>ālu mu-šap-ših e[₁-lu-ti-šú</i>
Fagwz	16	uru níg.gi.na ki.ág.gá ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>ālu na-ram k[₁]-na-a-tum</i>
Fagwzrr	17	uru níg.gi.na si.sá ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>āl kit-ti u mi-šá-ri</i>
Fgwrr	18	uru níg.érim hul.gig ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>ālu ze-'ir rag-gu</i>
Fgwrr	19	uru lú.kur ₄ .ra ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>āl kab-tu-tu</i>
Fgwrr	20	dim.me kù.sig ₁₇ ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>ma-ku-ut hu-ra-šu</i>
Fbgw	21	eri.du ₁₀ ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>ālu ta-a-bi</i>
Fbgw	22	ká.dingir.ra ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>nē-reb mas-naq-ti il^{mes}</i>
Fbgw	23	eškiri tab.ba an.ki	KIMIN <i>ta-mi-iḫ šer-re-tu₄ šamê^e ù eršetim^{tim}</i>
Fbg	24	ri.ri nig.érim bānda.x	KIMIN <i>la-git ni-ip-ri a-a-b[₁]</i>

1 g: -b[₁]-li, ta-na-da-a-tum ù a: ta-na-da-a-tú, ri-šá-a-tú šar-ku-uš 2 a: nu-uh-šú 4ff. abgz om. ki 6 g: mar-ka-si 7 s: IR-bit 8 w: <ma>-ah-ra-ta z: mah-ra-ti 8ff. tt om.^{ki} 9 a: EZEN × AM g: A.EZEN.LAL a:]-a-tum 10 tt: kal.ŠE? 11 s: bi-lu-d[u a: na-as-qa 12 agz: šar-ri tt: šar s: ur]u šá[12-19 g: KIMIN MIN 13 a: gudu₄! 14 a: nu.gi.a w: la-

1	Tintir	Babylon, on which fame and jubilation are bestowed;
2	Tintir	Babylon, the seat of plenty;
3	Tintir	Babylon, the seat of life;
4	Šuanna	Babylon, the might of the heavens;
5	Si-anna	Babylon, the light of the heavens;
6	Sa-anna	Babylon, the bond of the heavens;
7	Sa-anna	Babylon, called into being by the heavens;
8	Uru-sigbi-dubsagga	Babylon, the city whose brickwork is ancient;
9	Uru-silla	Babylon, the city of jubilation;
10	Uru-mebi-kalla	Babylon, the city whose ordinances are precious;
11	Uru-billudabi-suh ₁ suh ₂	Babylon, the city whose rites are select;
12	Uru-lugal-dingirrene	Babylon, the city of the king of the gods;
13	Uru-gude-Asarre	Babylon, the city called into being by Marduk;
14	Uru-labi-nugia	Babylon, the city whose luxury is inexhaustible;
15	Uru-guruš-nidub	Babylon, the city which brings peace to its menfolk;
16	Uru-niggina-kiagga	Babylon, the city which loves truth;
17	Uru-niggina-sisa	Babylon, the city of truth and justice;
18	Uru-nigerim-hulgig	Babylon, the city which hates evil;
19	Uru-lukurra	Babylon, the city of men of influence;
20	Dimme-kusig	Babylon, the pole of gold;
21	Eridu	Babylon, the pleasant city;
22	Ka-dingirra	Babylon, the entrance of the mustering of the gods;
23	Eškiri-tabba-anki	Babylon, which grasps the bridle of heaven and underworld;
24	Riri-nigerim-banda...	Babylon, which destroys the offspring of the enemy;

lu-šú 15 tt: ní.dúb.bu g: -ši-iḫ 16 w: <ki>-na-a-tum z: -n]a-a-ti 17 g: kit-tum 'u' [17-18 rr om. KIMIN 19 F om. kur₄ w: lú.kur.ra 19-20 rr: MIN 20 g om. me rr: H]A.'sig₁₇' g: ma-ku-tu₄ 21 g: a-lu 22 b: m]a-as-[n]a[₁g- 23 b om. ba w: š]er-ret!, u 24 g: bā[n.d]a?x, [a-g]i-i-t

Fbg	25	záḫ érim.gú níg.éri[m].x	KIMIN <i>mu-ḫal-liq nap-ḫ[ar] 'a-a'-bi ù z[a]-ma-n[u]</i>
bg	26	kar ḫul.a	KIMIN <i>ša ḫa-ba-lu i-[z]e-er-[ru]</i>
bg	27	nam.šu.du, mu.lu zi.zi	KIMIN <i>la mu-šak-li-lu š[á]-bu-[ú]</i>
bg	28	dúr ^a asar.re	KIMIN <i>šu-bat ^a[marduk]</i>
bg	29	dúr ^a asar.alim.nun.na	KIMIN <i>šu-bat ^aa-nim ^aen-lil ù ^aé-[a]</i>
bg	30	mud dingir sag.gá	KIMIN <i>ba-an ili ù [amēli]</i>
bg	31	á.ág.gá me zu	KIMIN <i>mu-de-e par-si ù te!-re-e-[ti]</i>
bg	32	me da.gan.bi ur ₄ .ur ₄	KIMIN <i>ša kul-lat par-š[u] ḫ[a-am-mu]</i>
bg	33	e.ku.a	KIMIN <i>būt ne-reb mu-x[. . .]</i>
bg	34	gub!.ba.pirig.gá	KIMIN <i>mu-kin šar-[ru-ti]</i>
bg	35	ùz.sag an.ki.a	KIMIN <i>mar-kàs šamē^e [ù eršetim^{tim}]</i>
bg	36	[ig]i.bi igi.gál sukud.da	KIMIN <i>ša [ti]a-mar-t[a-šú . . .]</i>
bg	37	[ig]i?bi dù.dù	KIMIN <i>ša li-[. . .]</i>
bgw	38	x UD igi kur.ra	KIMIN <i>ša 'a?-[na? tab-ra]t? šadī(kur)' u m[a-a-tim? . . .]</i>
bw	39	[bā]r?bār nam.kù.zu ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>ša x-qu-tú šu-^rtam^r-ra-x[(x)]</i>
bw	40	[mù]š? lipiš.bé gù!(SAG).nun.dé.a ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>ša ana lib[bi(šà)-šú] ḫa-bi-bi mātāti (kur.kur) i-ku[n-nu]</i>
bw	41	tu ₆ il.lu ši.ma.al.l[a] ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>ša ana šik-na-at napištim(zi)^{tim} ta-'-ú na-šú-ú</i>
abw	42	dim mud zi ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>bi-nu-tu ^aen-lil</i>
aw	43	mu.lu gub ši.ma.da ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>mu-kin na-piš-ti ma-a-ti</i>
aw	44	uru níg.tuku ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>āl ša-ru-tu</i>
aw	45	uru ùg.bi tuk!.tuk gar.ra ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>ālu ša ni-ša-a-šú meš-ra-a kit-mu-ru</i>
aw	46	uru ḫul ezen gu ₄ .ud. gu ₄ .ud ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>āl i-sin-nu ḫi-du-tu u mi-lul-ti</i>
aw	47	uru ùg.bi ezen zal.zal ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>ālu ša ni-ša-a-šú uš-tab-ra-a i-sin-nu</i>
aw	48	uru ubara si.il.lá duḫ.a ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>āl ki-di-nu pa-ṭi-ri ka-si-i</i>
aw	49	uru kù.ga ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>ālu el-lu</i>
aw	50	uru níg.gál.la níg.ga ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>āl bu-še-e u ma-ak-ku-ru</i>
aw	51	dim kur.kur.ra ^{ki}	KIMIN <i>ri-kis ma-ta-a-ta</i>

28 b: ba-bi-lu 29 b: ^aasar.alim.ma 30 g om. gá b: ba-nu-ú dingir^{mes} 32 b: me da.gan me ur.ur ba-bi-lu g: p[ar-š]i 33 g: [é?].ká.a 36 g: ša a-m[a- 37 b: KIMIN x[x x i]um?i] 38 w: illegible traces 39 b: -q]u-tum š[u- 40 b: lipiš.BA.bé gú.nu.un.d[é, om. ana 41 b:]x

25	Zaḫ-erimgu-nigerim...	Babylon, which annihilates every enemy and foe;
26	Kar-ḫula	Babylon, which hates injustice;
27	Namšudu-mulu-zizi	Babylon, which renders not the arrogant perfect;
28	Dur-Asarre	Babylon, the abode of [Marduk;]
29	Dur-Asaralimnunna	Babylon, the abode of Anu, Enlil and Ea;
30	Mud-dingir-sagga	Babylon, the creator of god and [man;]
31	Aagga-me-zu	Babylon, which knows the ordinances and decrees;
32	Me-daganbi-urur	Babylon, which gathers up all the ordinances;
33	E-ku-a	Babylon, the house of the entrance of...[...;]
34	Gubba-pirigga	Babylon, which establishes kingship;
35	Uzsag-ankia	Babylon, the bond of heaven [and underworld;]
36	Igibi-igigal-sukudda	Babylon, whose sight [...;]
37	Igi(?)bi-dudu	Babylon,...
38	...igi-kurra	Babylon, which [(is established) for the wonder(?)] of the mountains and the [land(?);]
39	Bar(?)bar-namkuzu	Babylon, which diffuses(!) wisdom(!);
40	Muš(?)-lipišbe-gunundea	Babylon, to which the clamour of the lands remains constant;
41	Tu-illu-šimalla	Babylon, which recites incantations for all creation;
42	Dim-mud-zi	Babylon, the creation of Enlil;
43	Mulu-gub-ši-mada	Babylon, which ensures the life of the land;
44	Uru-nigtuku	Babylon, the city of opulence;
45	Uru-ugbi-tuktuk-garra	Babylon, the city whose people are gluttons with wealth;
46	Uru-ḫul-ezen-gudgud	Babylon, the city of festivals, rejoicing and dancing;
47	Uru-ugbi-ezen-zalzal	Babylon, the city whose people continually celebrate festivals;
48	Uru-ubara-silla-duḫa	Babylon, the privileged city, which liberates the captive;
49	Uru-kuga	Babylon, the sacred city;
50	Uru-niggalla-nigga	Babylon, the city of goods and property;
51	Dim-kurkurra	Babylon, the bond of the lands.

(Commentary: p. 237 ff.)

ak a ri?/šid i[45 a: ùg^{mes}-[46 a: ḫi-ālu]-tum u me-lu-lu 47 a: ùg^{mes}-šú 50 a om. āl 51 a: [kur.kur]^{mes} '52' (a) see colophons

TABLET II

Sources

MS	Museum Number	Lines on		Plate
		obv.	rev.	
Kuyunjik				
B	K 4153 + 6410	12-24	23'-41'	6
C	K 4714	1-14	1''-17''	8
D	K 5848		1'-9'	8
I	Sm 863		11''-18''	8
Aššur				
K	VAT 11904		15''-19''	8
Babylon				
aa	BM 33402 + 33425		11-14	9
bb	BM 33783		1-6	8
f	BM 35838(+)36017	9-24, 38-49		7
qq	BM 36843		25-26	57
h	BM 40151	17-50	1'-34'	7
z	VAT 13101 column ii	23-32		1
oo	VAT 13200		23-27	9
Babylonia				
j	BM 41525 + 41914	15-43		7
ee	BM 54626		15-17, 19	10
Dilbat				
dd	BM 53824		10''-13''	9
Kiš				
u	Ashmolean 1924-810	9-33		6
w	Ashmolean 1924-849	(1: catch-line)		5
Sippar				
hh	BM 75144	18'-23'		8
ii	BM 76144	31'-37'		9

MSS DI are probably parts of the same tablet.

Cwbb	1	ti-amat	šu-bat ^a bēl šá ^a bēl ina muḫ-ḫi áš-bu
Cbb	2	[k]i.tilmun ^{ki} .na	šu-[bat] ^a a-nim šá mār(dumu) ^m ú- ^a a-ni[m] ina muḫ-ḫi áš-bu]
Cbb	3	ki.aratta ^{ki}	šu-bat ^a en-lil šá ^a taš-me-tum ina muḫ-ḫi áš-bu]
Cbb	4	engur.ra	šu-bat ^a é-a šá kilzappu(gir.gub.ba) i-na līb-b[i šak-nu?]
Cbb	5	é.du ₆ .kù	šu-bat ^a é-a ša at-ma-nu i-na lī[b-bi šak- nu?]
Cbb	6	é.ga.i.nun.ḫé.du ₇	šu-bat telīti(an.zib) šēp(gir) ^a be- ^r le ^r x[. . .]
C	7	é.ḫal.an.ki	šu-bat ^a zar-pa-n[i-tum . . .]
C	8	aš.te.ki.sikil	šu-bat ^a GIŠ.ŠA[R . . .]
Cfu	9	ki-ir!(NI)-ḫi!(DIN) imitta (zag)	šu-bat ^a en-lil šá x[. . .]
Cfu	10	ki-ir-ḫi šumēla(gùb)	šu-bat ^a a- ^r nim šá a ^r -na tar-[gi . . .]
Cfu _{aa}	11	iku _x (1-iku)	šu-bat ^a é-a šá as-kup bīti šak-nu
BCfu _{aa}	12	é.ú.zu	šu-bat ^a gu-la e-le-nu-ú
BCfu _{aa}	13	é.ub.a.ra.al.li	MIN ^a gu-la šap-lu-ú
BCfu _{aa}	14	ti.la.a	MIN ^a a-la-la u ^a be-li-li šá kak!(NI)-kab- tum ina muḫ-ḫi šak-[n]u
Bfjuee	15	še.er.zi.ki.šár.ra	MIN ^a šamaš šá purussū(eš.bar) ina imitti (zag) ra-[mu-ú?]
Bfuee	16	é.du ₆ .kù.ga	MIN ^a lugal-du ₆ -kù-ga bīt nar-kab-[tī]
Bfhjuee	17	é.umuš.a. ^a asal.lú.ḫi	MIN ^a i-gi-gi bīt ^a nin-u[rta? . . .]
Bfhu	18	é.abzu. ^a asal.lú.ḫi	MIN ^a a-[n]un-na-ki ^r bī ^r [^a nin-urta? . . .]

2ff. bb: MIN 4 bb: GAR.KID-a 10ff. fu: MIN 12 aa: é.ú.su MIN u:]x 13 aa om.
é u:]le.e? 17 ee: ^a15 17-18 f: ^aasal.lú.DIN 18 u: gja?.mes.^aasal.lú.ḫi

1	Ti'amat "Sea"	the seat of Bēl on which Bēl sits;
2	Ki-tilmunna "Place of the Noble"	the seat of Anu [on] which the Son of Oannes [sits;]
3	Ki-aratta "Place of the Noble"	the seat of Enlil on which Tašmētum sits;
4	Engurra "Sweet Water"	the seat of Ea in which the footstool [is put(?);]
5	E-du-ku "House, Pure Mound"	the seat of Ea in which the <i>atmānu</i> [is put(?);]
6	E-ga-inun-ḫedu "House Suited For Milk and Ghee"	the seat of Telītu at the feet of Bēlet-...[...;]
7	E-ḫal-anki "House of the Secrets of Heaven and Underworld"	the seat of Zarpanītum [...;]
8	Ašte-ki-sikil "Throne in a Pure Place"	the seat of...[...;]
9	Kirḫi imitta "Enclosure on the Right"	the seat of Enlil which...[...;]
10	Kirḫi šumēla "Enclosure on the Left"	the seat of Anu which faces [...;]
11	Iku "Acre"	the seat of Ea which is set at the threshold of the chapel;
12	E-u-zu "House which Knows Herbs"	the seat of Gula: Upper (Court);
13	E-ub-aralli "House; Niche of the Netherworld"	the seat of Gula: Lower (Court);
14	Ti-la-a	the seat of Alala and Belili on which a star-symbol rests;
15	Šerzi-kišarra "Splendour of the Universe"	the seat of Šamaš to the right of which the decisions [reside(?);]
16	E-du-kuga "House of the Pure Mound"	the seat of Lugaldukuga: the Chariot House;
17	E-umuša-Asalluḫi "House of Command of Asalluḫi"	the seat of the Igigi: the chapel of Ninurta(?) [...;]
18	E-abzu-Asalluḫi "Apsū-House of Asalluḫi"	the seat of the Anunnaki: the chapel of [Ninurta(?);...]

Bfhjuee	19	é.a.ra.zu.giš.tuku. ^a asal.lú.ḫi	MIN ^a n[i?]-x-ti ki-'da-nu' šá 'kisal bīt ^a [...]
Bfhu	20	é.ḫal.an.ki	MIN ^a i'ē' -[a...]
Bfhju	21	ēš.gar	MIN ^a qin-g[u...]
Bfhu	22	du ₆ .šuba	MIN ^a du[mu-zi...]
Bfhjuzoo	23	dúr.an.na	MIN ^a ušumgalli(ušumgal) 2 parakkū (bára) ^{meš} šá ^a ba-aš-mu 'ina muḫ-ḫi uš-šá'- bu
Bfhuzoo	24	ki.gal.la	MIN ^a nin-giš-zi-da šá ^a irḫan ḫu? x[...] x zik?
hjuzooqq	25	šu.gi ₄ .gi ₄ .nigin.šu.a.bi	MIN ^a a-nun-na-ki šá ^{im} [iltāni? ...] 'šá' gaš-ša ina muḫ-ḫi uš-šá-bu
hjuzooqq	26	é.níg.érim.ḫul.e.dè	MIN ^a kur.zi.gim.mu ₇ . [mu ₇] šá sip-pu imitti(zag) [šá] u ₄ -gal-lu ina muḫ-ḫi uš-šá- bu
hjuzoo	27	é.gúr.ḫur.sag	MIN ^a kur.gi.gim.ša ₅ .ša ₅ šá sip-pil(UD) šumē[li(gùb) šá ... ina muḫ-ḫi uš-šá-bu]
huz	28	ki.šá.du ₁₀ .ga	M[IN ...]
j	28a	[x.(x)].nar	MIN ^a dunga šá ¹⁰ nāru it-ti-i uš-x[...]
huz	29	ki.zalag.ga	[MIN ...]
hjuz	30	du ₆ .ki.sikil	MIN ^a en-me-'šār-ra' ú ^a en-bi-lu-lu 2 p[arakkū ^{meš} ...]
hjuz	31	ki.ùr.kù.ga	MIN ^a gu ₇ .bi.sig.sig u ta!-ma-a-tú 2 para[kkū ^{meš} ...]
hjuz	32	é.'gir ₄ ?' .kù	MIN ^a nuska šá niqī(siskur) šarri u x[...]
hju	33	'é.idim?' .[sag?].gá	MIN ^a idiqlat(^a idigna) u purattil(^a <UD> .KIB.NUN.KI) šá 'bū?' [...]
hj	34	[x.(x)].kù	MIN ^a sîn(30) bītu šá ^{im} amurri(4) šá ku-tal bur-tum
hj	35	é.x[.an.k]i.a	MI[N ...]
hj	36	é.ad.[gi ₄ .g]i ₄	MIN ^a en.nun.gá.ḫé.du ₇ maššār(en.nun) [...]
hj	37	é.a.si[kil].la	MIN ^a na-din-mē ^{meš} -qātī ^{min} u ^a mu-kil- mē ^{meš} -balāṭi(tin) [...]

22 f: š]úba 23-27 oo: šu-bat 23 z: ^au'-šum-gal-[um oo: ^agal.ŠA.BI 24 oo: ^anin-giš-zi-
UŠ 25 u: UŠ.gi₄.gi₄ oo: nigin.BA.a.b.[i] j: n]a.šu.a.bi oo: ^aa-NIM-DI j: [l]- qq: ina
muḫ-<...> 26 u: níg.ĀG.RU qq: ^akur.GI.gim.mu₄.mu₄ 27 j: ša₄.ša₄, sip-p[i 30 u: sikil.
la 31 u: ki.ùru.kù.ga

19	E-arazu-gištuku-Asalluḫi	the seat of...outside the courtyard of the chapel of [...]; "House of Asalluḫi which Hears Prayers"
20	E-ḫal-anki	the seat of Ea [...]; "House of the Secrets of Heaven and Underworld"
21	Eš-gar	the seat of Qingu [...]; "House which is Set up"
22	Du-šuba	the seat of Dumuzi [...]; "Mound of the Shepherd"
23	Dur-anna	the seat of the Dragon: two daises on which the Serpent sits; "Heavenly Abode"
24	Kigalla	the seat of Ningišzida, which Irḫan...[...]; "Great Place"
25	Šugigi-nigin-šuabi	the seat of the Anunnaki to the north(?) [...] on which Gypsum sits;
26	E-nigerim-ḫulede	the seat of Kurzigimmumu at the righthand door-sill on which the Lion Monster sits; "House which Destroys Evil"
27	E-gur-ḫursag	the seat of Kurgigimšaša at the lefthand door-sill [on which... sits]; "House which Subdues the Mountains"
28	Ki-ša-duga	the [seat of...]; "Place of the Happy Heart"
28a	[...]-nar	the seat of Dunga, which the singer...[...];
29	Ki-zalagga	[the seat of...]; "Bright Place"
30	Du-ki-sikil	the seat of Enmešarra and Enbilulu: two daises [...]; "Mound in a Pure Place"
31	Kiur-kuga	the seat of Gubisigsig and the Seas: two daises [...]; "Pure Foundation"
32	E-gir(?) -ku	the seat of Nuska where the sacrifices of the king and...[...]; "House of the Pure Oven(?)"
33	E-idim(?) -sagga(?)	the seat of Tigris and Euphrates in the chapel(?) [...]; "House of the Foremost(?) Spring(?)"
34	[...]-ku	the seat of Sîn: the chapel in the west, behind the well;
35	E-...-ankia	the seat [of...]; "House...of Heaven and Underworld"
36	E-adgigi	the seat of Ennungaḫedu, the guardian [...]; "House of the Counsellor"
37	E-a-sikilla	the seat of Nādin-mê-qātī and Mukīl-mê-balāṭi [...]; "House of Pure Water"

fhj	38	é.eš.bar.an.ki	MIN ^a šamaš bītu šá ^{im} iltāni(2) šá qé- reb!(É) šub-tum
fhj	39	é.u ₄ .gal.gal.la	MIN ^a [...]
fhj	40	x.x.ku ₄ .ra	MIN ^a da-gan šá ká.u ₆ .de.babbar áš-ruk- ka-ti[i imitta?]
fhj	41	[úm]un.sag	MIN ^a [be]-let-ilī ^{meš} šá ká.u ₆ .de.babbar áš-r[uk-ka-ti šumēla?]
fhj	42	'ěš'.maḥ	MIN ^a ē'-a šá ká.maḥ šá ^{gš} sussullu (bugin.tur) šá mē ^{meš} ? ...]
fhj	43	ěš.bàn.da	MIN ^a nanše šá ká.maḥ' šá áš-la-a-tú šá nī[qī(siskur) ...]
fh	44	'šu'.luḥ.bi.kù.ga	MIN ^a [...]
fh	45	.di.ku ₅ .ka.aš.bar.si.sá	MIN ^a [...]
fh	46	'é?'.nir.gál.an.na	MIN ^a [...]
fh	47	'é?'.galam.an.ki.a.šu.du ₇	MIN [...]
fh	48	[é?].nam.ḥé.PAP.TIN?.AŠ.na	MIN ^a [...]
fh	49	'é'.máš.da.ri	MIN ^a [...]
h	50	[é].dumu.nun.na	MIN [...]

* * * * *

The gap between lines 50 and 1' is probably partly to be filled by the following:

C	1''	di.x[...]	[šu-bat ...]
C	2''	é.'zi'.da	š[u-bat ...]
C	3''	é.šid.dù	šu-bat [...]

38	E-ešbar-anki	the seat of Šamaš: the chapel in the north, inside the "House of the Decisions of Heaven and Underworld"	shrine;
39	E-u-galgalla	the seat of [...]	
	"House of Tempests"		
40	...kura	the seat of Dagān in Ka-ude-babbar: the lobby [on the right(?);]	
41	Umun-sag	the seat of Bēlet-ilī in Ka-ude-babbar: the lobby [on the left?;]	
	"Foremost Craft"		
42	Eš-maḥ	the seat of Ea in Ka-maḥ, [at?] which the water(?) basin "Exalted House"	[...;]
43	Eš-banda	the seat of Nanše in Ka-maḥ, [at?] which the sacrificial "Little House"	ewes [...;]
44	Šuluḥbi-kuga	the seat of [...]	
	"Its Cleansing Ritual is Pure"		
45	Diku-kašbar-sisa	the seat of [...]	
	"Judge who Pronounces a Just Verdict"		
46	E(?) -nirgal-anna	the seat of [...]	
	"House(?) of the Heavenly Prince"		
47	E(?) -galam-ankia-šudu	the seat of [...]	
	"Skilfully-Built House(?), Perfect in Heaven and Underworld"		
48	[E(?)]-namḥe-...	the seat of [...]	
	"House(?) of Plenty..."		
49	E-mašdari	the seat of [...]	
	"House of Offerings"		
50	[E]-dumu-nunna	the seat of [...]	
	"House of the Son of the Prince"		

* * * * *

1''	Di...[...]	[the seat of...]
2''	E-zida	the [seat of...]
	"True House"	
3''	E-šiddu	the seat of [...]
	"House of the Director"	

C	4''	é.sag.gá.an.[na/ki]	[š]u-bat ^a [. . .]
C	5''	é.húl.[la]	[š]u-bat ^a x[. . .]
C	6''	é.nigin.n[a]	[š]u-bat ^a n[in?-. . .]
C	7''	é.pirig	[š]u-bat ^a m[adānu(di.ku ₅)? . . .]
C	8''	é.gú.si.sá	šu-bat ^a muš-[te-šir-ḫab-lim . . .]
C	9''	é.ur ₅ .šà.ba	šu-bat ^a n[a-na-a . . .]
Cdd	10''	é.maḫ.ti.la	šu-bat ^a marduk bītu šanū ^u [. . .]
Cidd	11''	é.igi.du	šu-bat ^a lil-lum šā ēš.šà.ZU[+AB . . .]
Cidd	12''	É.GĒŠTU. ^a NISSABA	šu-bat ^a nissa[ba . . .]
Cidd	13''	é.ēš.gār	šu-bat ^a uttu ^u -tum bū HAR-r[i . . .]
CI	14''	ki.ūnu.ga	šu-bat [. . .]
CIK	15''	é.gír.lá.t[i].la	šu-ba[t . . .]
CIK	16''	é.di.[m]aḫ	šu-bat [. . .]
CIK	17''	é.ḫé.[g]ál	šu-bat [. . .]
IK	18''	[. . . g]a?	šu-bat [. . .]
K	19''	[. . .]	šu-bat [. . .]

* * * * *

The text resumes:

Dh	1'	[. . .]x.maḫ	[MIN ^a]x nu[n . . .]
Dh	2'	[x x e]n?.ad.gi ₄ .gi ₄	MIN ^a mard[uk . . .]
Dh	3'	[nu ₁₁ ?].g]al.an.na	MIN ^a iš-tar [. . .]

4''	E-sagga-anna/-anki	the seat of [...]; "Foremost House in Heaven (and Underworld)"
5''	E-ḫulla	the seat of...[...]; "Joyful House"
6''	E-niginna	the seat of...[...]; "House of the Chamber"
7''	E-pirig	the seat of Madānu(?) [...]; "House of the Lion"
8''	E-gu-sisa	the seat of Muštēšir-ḫabli [...]; "House which Provides Justice for the Wronged"
9''	E-ur-šaba	the seat of Nanāy [...]; "House...of the Heart"
10''	E-maḫ-tila	the seat of Marduk: the other chapel [...]; "Exalted House which Gives Life"
11''	E-igidu	the seat of Lillu in Eš-ša-abzu [...]; "House of the Leader"
12''	É.GĒŠTU. ^a NISSABA	the seat of Nissaba [...]; ("House of the Wisdom of Nissaba")
13''	E-ešgar	the seat of Uttu: chapel...[...]; "House of the Assigned Task"
14''	Ki-unuga	the seat of [...]; "Place of the Food Offering"
15''	E-gir-la-tilla	the seat [of...]; "House of the Exterminating(?) Butcher"
16''	E-di-maḫ	the seat of [...]; "House of the Exalted Verdict"
17''	E-ḫegal	the seat of [...]; "House of Abundance"
18''	[...]....	the seat of [...];
19''	[...]	the seat of [...];

* * * * *

1'	[...]....-maḫ	[the seat of]...[...]; "Exalted..."
2'	[...]-en(?) -adgigi	the seat of Marduk [...]; "...Lord(?) Counsellor"
3'	[Nu(?)]-gal-anna	the seat of Ištar [...]; "Great Light(?) of Heaven"

Dh	4'	[é].akkil	MIN ^a ma-n[un-gal . . .]
Dh	5'	[é].á.zág	MIN ^a a-sa[k-ki . . .]
Dh	6'	[é].gi ₆ .pàr	MIN ^a e ¹ -[ni . . .]
Dh	7'	[é].lú.maḥ	MIN ^a [ú-maḥ-ḥi . . .]
Dh	8'	á.sud.a ki.dúr.'gar.pàd'.da	MIN ^a [. . .]
Dh	9'	'gišgal'.sag.gá	MIN ^a šamaš [. . .]
h	10'	é.a.r[a?].x.na	MIN ^a x[. . .]
h	11'	[x (x) x].ra	MIN ^a [. . .]
h	12'	[é.me.lá]m.ḥuš	MIN ^a [. . .]
h	13'	'é'.[m]e.lám.ma	MIN ^a [. . .]
h	14'	'ki'.šú.kù	MIN ^a [. . .]
h	15'	é.gi ₆ .pàr.kù	MIN ^a [. . .]
h	16'	u[b.š]u.ukkin.na me.zu.ḥal.ḥal.[la]	[MIN . . .]
h	17'	[d]u ₆ .k[ù] ki.nam.tar.tar.re.'e'.[dè]	[MIN ^a lugal-dim-me-er-an-ki-a šá ub.šú.ukkin.na . . .]
hhh	18'	[g]iš.ḥur.an.ki.a	M[IN] ^a a-nim šá ub.š[u.ukkin.na šá] ^a madānu(di.ku ₅) ana tar-ši 'i'-x[x x]
hhh	19'	'é'.dúr.maḥ	M[IN] ^a en-lil šá ub.šú.ukkin.[na šá] ^a zar-pa-ni-tum [x x]
hhh	20'	[d]úr.an.ki.a	[MIN] ^a é-a šá ub.šú.ukkin.na a-šar ^a é-a [x x]
hhh	21'	ka.aš.bar.kalam.ma	M[IN] ^a šamaš šá ub.šú.ukkin! (MAḤ).na šu-b[at? x x]
hhh	22'	'é'.sag.kal	M[IN] ^a nin-urta šá ub.šú.ukkin.na š[á x x]
Bhhh	23'	eš.bar.me.si.sá	M[IN] ^a n[abû(ná?) šá ub.šú. ukkin.na . . .]

4'-5' D: š[u-bat 5' D:].azag 18'-22' hh: šubat 18' hh: 'é.giš'.ḥur.anl.ki.a 21' hh:
'é'.ka.aš.bar.kalam.GAL {MIN}

4'	[E]-akkil	the seat of Manungal [...]
	"House of Lamentation"	
5'	[E]-azag	the seat of the <i>Asakku</i> -Demon [...]
	"House of Taboo"	
6'	[E]-gipar	the seat of the divine <i>En</i> -Priest [...]
	"House of the <i>Giparu</i> "	
7'	[E]-lumah	the seat of the divine <i>Lumah</i> -Priest [...]
	"House of the <i>Lumah</i> "	
8'	A-suda Ki-durgar-padda	the seat of [...]
	"Long Side, Place of the Chosen Throne"	
9'	Gišgal-sagga	the seat of Šamaš [...]
	"Foremost Station"	
10'	E-a-...na	the seat of [...]
11'	...ra	the seat of [...]
12'	[E]-melam-ḥuš	the seat of [...]
	"House of Awesome Radiance"	
13'	E-melamma	the seat of [...]
	"House of Radiance"	
14'	Kišu-ku	the seat of [...]
	"Pure Ordinance"	
15'	E-gipar-ku	the seat of [...]
	"House of the Pure <i>Giparu</i> "	
16'	Ubšu-ukkinna Me-zu-ḥal- ḥalla	[the seat of...]
	"Court(?) of the Assembly, which Allots the Known <i>Me</i> 's"	
17'	Du-ku Ki-namtartarrede	[the seat of Lugaldimmerankia in Ubšu-ukkinna...]
	"Pure Mound, where Destinies are Decreed"	
18'	Gišḥur-ankia	the seat of Anu in Ubšu-[ukkinna] facing [which] "Ordinances of Heaven and Underworld" Madānu...[...]
19'	E-dur-maḥ	the seat of Enlil in Ubšu-ukkinna [which] Zarpanitum "House of the Exalted Abode/Bond" [...]
20'	Dur-ankia	the seat of Ea in Ubšu-ukkinna where Ea [...] "Abode/Bond of Heaven and Underworld"
21'	Kašbar-kalamma	the seat of Šamaš in Ubšu-ukkinna: the seat(?) [of...] "Decisions of the Land"
22'	E-sagkal	the seat of Ninurta in Ubšu-ukkinna which [...] "House of the Leader"
23'	Ešbar-me-sisa	the seat of Nabû [in Ubšu-ukkinna...] "Director of Decisions and <i>Me</i> 's"

Bh	24'	túl.idim.an.ki	M[IN ^a . . . šá ub.šu.ukkin.na . . .]
Bh	25'	é.til.la.šár.šár.ra	m[anzāz(ki.gub) . . .]
Bh	26'	é.ka.aš.bar	MIN ^a x[. . .]
Bh	27'	é.giš.hur.an.na	MIN ^a e[n.n]un.gá.ḥ[é.du ₇ . . .]
Bh	28'	é'.gēstu.diri	MIN ^a indagar(NÍNDA × GU ₄) šá būt ^a [x x]
Bh	29'	du ₆ .maḥ imitta(15)	MIN ^a aba-ba ₆ šá sip-pi [MIN]
Bh	30'	du ₆ .maḥ šumēla(150)	MIN an.ta.durun.nu šá sip-pi MIN
Bhii	31'	é.níg.érim.nu.dib suk-ku imitta(15)	[M]IN ^a madānu(di.ku ₅) šá kisalmāḥi (kisal.maḥ)
Bhii	32'	é.níg.érim.nu.si.sá suk-ku šumēla(150)	MIN ^a nergal(u.gur) šá kisalmāḥi (kisal.maḥ)
Bhii	33'	é.dumu.nun.na	[MI]N ^a madānu(di.ku ₅) šá á.sud.a
Bhii	34'	é.di.ku ₅ .maḥ	[MI]N ^a muš-te-šir-ḥab-lim MIN
Bii	35'	ki.du.du giš.hur é.sag.il.la.ke ₄	bīt mar-[kas . . .]
B	36'	[bābu] šá bābi rabī ^a [k]a-mi-i	k[á . . . šumšū]
ii		[bābu] ka-mi-i	ká.sik[il.la šumšū]
B	37'	[bāb] ašruk[kati(ašlug) šá k]á.á.utu.è	k[á . . . šumšū]
ii		[bābu] šá ^{im} iltāni(2) kamû(lá)	k[á . . . šumšū]
B	38'	[2?] bābātu š[á . . .]x-tu	k[á . . . šumšunu]
B	39'	[bāb] a-gur-[ri šá ki-sal-ḥi elēni (an.ta) ⁱ	k[á . . . šumšū]
B	40'	[x] a.lá x[. . .]x.kám a.lá ki.gub lugal ki.gal [. . .]	
B	41'	[x] ma-mit [. . .]x šá tēḥ(da)? x x [. . .]	

24' h: túl.MAN.an.ki 25' h: é.ti.la.šár.šár.ra g[is]gal 27'-28' B om. é 29' h: zag 30' h:
gub 31' h: sug z[ag] 32' ii: di]b.'ba' 33'-34' ii: g[is]gal 34' ii om. ku₅?

24'	Tul-idim-anki	the seat of [...in Ubšu-ukkinna...;] "Well of the Springs of Heaven and Underworld"
25'	E-tilla-šaršarra	the station of [...;] "House which Makes Living Things Multiply"
26'	E-kašbar	the station of...[...;] "House of Decisions"
27'	E-gišhur-anna	the station of Ennungaḥedu [...;] "House of the Ordinances of Heaven"
28'	E-gēstu-diri	the station of Indagar in the chapel of [...;] "House of Surpassing Wisdom"
29'	Du-maḥ on the right	the station of Ababa at the door-sill of [ditto;] "Exalted Mound"
30'	Du-maḥ on the left	the station of Antadurunnu at the door-sill of ditto; "Exalted Mound"
31'	E-nigerim-nu-dib:	the station of Madānu in the Grand Court; the shrine on the right "House which Lets not Evil Pass"
32'	E-nigerim-nu-sisa:	the station of Nergal in the Grand Court; the shrine on the left "House which Lets not Evil Flourish"
33'	E-dumu-nunna	the station of Madānu in A-suda; "House of the Son of the Prince"
34'	E-diku-maḥ	² the station of Muštēšir-ḥabli, ditto. "House of the Exalted Judge"
35'	Rites and ordinances of E-sagil, House of the Bond [of...]	
36'	[The outer gate] of the Great Gate [is called] Ka-[...;] [the] outer [gate is called] Ka-sikilla ("Pure Gate");	
37'	[the gate of] the lobby [of] Ka-Utu-e [is called] Ka-[...;] [the] outer north [gate is called] Ka-[...;]	
38'	[the two(?)] gate(s) of [...]...[are called] Ka-[...;]	
39'	[the gate of] baked brick [of the] Upper Court [is called] Ka-[...;]	
40'	[...]...[...]-station of the king, platform [...]	
41'	[...] oath [...]...next to(?)[...]...	

(Commentary: p. 268 ff.)

TABLET III

(*Tintir* III remains lost or as yet unidentified: see p. 11)

TABLET IV

Sources

MS	Museum Number	Lines on		Plate
		obv.	rev.	
Kuyunjik				
A	K 3089 + 10924	1-24		3
H	K 19758	7-11		11
Babylon				
e	BM 34927	15-26	27-36	10
g	BM 38442		19-43	2
i	BM 40480	2-21	25-43	12
m	BM 46279	1-23	24-43	11
x	VAT 441	6-19	29-43	10
Babylonia				
ff	BM 54752		37-43	14
n	BM 59579	1-26	27-41	13
q	BM 77013	8-26	31-39	13
ll	BM 82897		12-17	13
Kiš				
v	Ashmolean 1924-846	1-23	24-43	12
mm	Ashmolean 1924-1365		19-23	14
Sippar				
gg	BM 65151		17-20	18
jj	BM 76494		1-10	14
kk	BM 76884		35-39	13

The third sub-column of MS e is edited in Chapter 2 as text no. 4.

Amnvjj	1	é.sag.il	<i>mehret(gaba.ri) apsi(abzu)</i>
Aimnvjj	2	é.te.me.en.an.ki	<i>mehret(gaba.ri) é.šar.ra</i>
Aimnvjj	3	é.kar.za.gin.na	<i>bāb apsi(abzu)</i>
Aimnvjj	4	é.rab.ri.ri	<i>būt ^amadānu(di.ku₅)</i>
Aimnvjj	5	é.gal.maḥ	<i>būt ^agu-la</i>
Aimnvjj	6	é.nam.tag.ga.duḥ.a	<i>būt ^aamurru(mar.dú)</i>
AHimnvjj	7	é.al.ti.la	<i>būt ^aadad</i>
AHimnvjj	8	é.tūr.kalam.ma	<i>būt ^abe-let-bābili(tin.tir)^{ki}</i>
AHimnvjj	9	é.ni.te.en.na	<i>būt ^asīn(30)</i>
AHimnvjj	10	é.sag.dil.an.na. ^{sis} gidru.tuku	<i>būt ^apap-sukkal</i>
AHimnvjj	11	é.zi.da.giš.nu ₁₁ .gal	<i>būt ^adumu-zi šā ki-me-tú</i>
Aimnvxll	12	é.giš.lā.an.ki	<i>būt ^anabû(nā) šā nikkassi(níg.ka₉)</i>
Aimnvxll	13	é.gu.za.lā.maḥ	<i>būt ^anin-giš-zi-da</i>
Aimnvxll	14	é.sag.gá.šar.ra	<i>būt ^aa-nu-ni-tum lib-ba eri-du₁₀^{ki}</i>
Aimnvxll	15	é. ^{sis} níg.gidar.kalam.ma.	<i>būt ^anabû(nā) šā ḥa-re-e</i>
		sum.ma	
Aimnvxll	16	é.máš.da.ri	<i>būt ^abēlet(gašan)-a-kā-dē^{ki}</i>
Aimnvxll	17	é.ḥi.li.kalam.ma	<i>būt ^aaš-ra-tum</i>
Aimnvxll	18	é.maḥ	<i>būt ^abe-let-ili lib-ba ká.dingir.ra^{ki}</i>
Aegimnvxll	19	é.ḥur.sag.til.la	<i>būt ^anin-urta</i>
Aegimnvxll	20	é.šā.sur.ra	<i>būt ^aiš-ḥa-ra lib-ba šu-an-na^{ki}</i>

1 m: ap-[s]i-ij: ab.z[u] 2 v: e]n.ʿan.ki MIN¹ 3 i om. gin im: ap-si-i ij: a[b.zu] 6 i: é.nam.tag.ga.duḥ v: é.nita.ág.duḥ.a ij: é.nam.tag.TA.duḥ.a mjj: ^aAN.mar.dú 7 A: ti]l v: é.ḥal.ti.l[u?] 8 inv: ^aMÜS m: {dingir} ^aMÜS 9 m: e]n.du₁₀ v: é.n[fi.te]en 10 mv om. na n: ^{sis}níg.gidar v: níg.gidar.UR₄ 11 Hmn: é.zi.da.nu.gál q: sa]g?gal x: n]u₁₁.gál A: ki-mit i: ki-m[fi-t]um 12 v: é.giš.MA.an.ki.a m: {dingir} [ʿn]à q: ^amuati v: ^aEN iv om. šā 13 v: é.gu.ME.maḥ 14 n: é.me.si.kalam.ma.šar.r[a] q om. gá ll: é.me.si.ga.k[alam] m: ^aa-nu-[n]i-tú lib-UD qv: ^aa-nu-ni-tum A: šā lib-bi Ai?: eridu^{ki} v om. du₁₀ 15 v: é.níg. gidar.kalam.ma.an.sum m: sum.TIM qx: sum.mu iq: ^amuati šā ḥa-r[u]-ú v: ^aEN A: ḥa-ri-i m: ḥa-ar-e 16 v: é.KUN.da.ra Aimq: ^aMÜS e: k]ā-<dē>^{ki} 17 m: S]AR.[kala]m.ma gg om. ^a 18 A: dingir].maḥ m: ^abe-let-dingir.dingir n: ^ab[e-le]t-i-li v: ^agašan-ili gg om. ili i: lib-bi! [k]ā.dingir.x 19 nqmm: ti.la 20 n: é.sa-ʿas³-su-ru A: lib-bi šu-an-na e: li]b-bi n: tin.tir*[] gg: ^ax šu-an-na

1	E-sagil	the Replica of Apsû;
	"House whose Top is High"	
2	E-temen-anki	the Replica of E-šarra;
	"House, Foundation Platform of Heaven and Underworld"	
3	E-kar-zaginna	the Gate of Apsû;
	"House of the Quay of Lapis Lazuli"	
4	E-rab-riri	the temple of Madānu;
	"House of the Shackle which Holds in Check"	
5	Egal-maḥ	the temple of Gula;
	"Exalted Palace"	
6	E-namtagga-duḥa	the temple of Amurru;
	"House which Dispels Guilt"	
7	E-al-tila	the temple of Adad;
	"House of the Life-Giving Mattock"	
8	E-tur-kamma	the temple of Bēlet-Bābili;
	"House, Cattle-Pen of the Land"	
9	E-nitenna	the temple of Sīn;
	"House of Rest"	
10	E-sagdil-anna-gidru-tuku	the temple of Papsukkal;
	"House of the Heavenly Secrets, Holding a Sceptre"	
11	E-zida-gišnu-gal	the temple of Dumuzi of Captivity;
	"True House of Great Light"	
12	E-gišla-anki	the temple of Nabû of Accounting;
	"House of the Auditor of Heaven and Underworld"	
13	E-guzala-maḥ	the temple of Ningišzida;
	"House of the Exalted Chamberlain"	
14	E-sagga-šarra	the temple of Anūnītum; in Eridu.
	"Foremost House in the Universe"	
15	E-niggidar-kamma-summa	the temple of Nabû of the ḥarû;
	"House which Bestows the Sceptre of the Land"	
16	E-mašdari	the temple of Bēlet-Akkade;
	"House of Offerings"	
17	E-ḥili-kamma	the temple of Ašratum;
	"House of the Luxuriance of the Land"	
18	E-maḥ	the temple of Bēlet-ilī; in Ka-dingirra.
	"Exalted House"	
19	E-ḥursag-tilla	the temple of Ninurta;
	"House which Exterminates the Mountains"	
20	E-šasurra	the temple of Išḫara; in Šuanna.
	"House of the Womb"	

Aegimnqvm	21	é.ùru.na.nam	parak(bára) ^a nabû
Aegimnqvm	22	é.ki.tuš.gir ₁₇ .zal	bīt ^a bēlet(nin)-é-an-na
Aegimnqvm	23	é.an.da.sá.a	bīt ^a iš ₈ -i[ár]-kakkabī(mul) ^{mes} lib- ba āli-ešši(gibil) ^{ki}
Aegimnqv	24	[é.ki]š.nu ₁₁ .gal	bīt ^a sîn(30)
egimnqv	25	[é.me.kilib.u]r ₄ .ur ₄	bīt ^a šarrat(gašan)-larsa ^{ki}
egimnqv	26	[é.ú]r.gub.ba	bīt ^a pisan _x (MES) ^{sag} .unug ^{ki}
egimnv	27	é.sag	bīt ^a lugal-bàn-da lib-bi kul-aba ₄ ^{ki}
egimv	28	é.dúr.kù.ga	parak(bára) ^a i-gi-gi
egimnvx	29	é.ká.gu.la	parak(bára) ^a a-nun-na-ki
egimnvx	30	é.me.ur ₄ .ur ₄	bīt ^a na-na-a lib-ba TE.E ^{ki}
gimqv	31	é.nun.maḥ	bīt ^a nuska
egimnqv	32	é.giš.ḥur.an.ki.a	bīt ^a bēlet(gašan)-ni-nú-a
egimnqv	33	é.bur.sa ₇ .sa ₇	bīt ^a šara lib-ba bāb- ^a lugal-ir ₉ -ra
egimqv	34	é.nam.ti.la	bīt ^a bēl-mātātī(kur.kur)
egimqvkk	35	é.ēš.maḥ	bīt ^a é-a
egimqvkk	36	é.ka.dím.ma	bīt ^a be-li-li
gimnqvffkk	37	é.me.sikil.la	bīt ^a amurru(AN.mar.dú)
gimnqvffkk	38	é.di.ku ₅ .kalam.ma	bīt ^a šamaš
gimnqvffkk	39	é.e.sír.kalam.ma	bīt ^a pisan _x (MES) ^{sag} .unug ^{ki}
gimnvx	40	é.nam.ḥé	bīt ^a adad lib-ba ku-mar

21 q: ur₁u.na.nam v: é.úr.nam 22 nv: zal.la q: zil v: ^agašan 23 n: sa₅ v: sá.(KI).
a m: ^a15 qmm: ^aiš-tar n om. ^{mes} e: lib-bi An om. ^{ki} 25 i: ^aMUŠ n: ^ašar-
ra[^a] 27 v om. ^a g: lib-ba TAR-[m: lib-ba NU-aba₄^{ki}] 28 glosses: g: é-dúr-kù-ga-
ri^a i: é-tur-ku₆-ga-ri v: ŠU-ki? m: kù-ga bára é 29 glosses: gm: é-ká-gu-la-u i: é-ká-ga-
la-e v: ŠU-ki i: GAR-Ú-na-ki 30 e: TE.E^{ki} i: LA.A m: A.ḤA^{ki} 31 v: é.nu.maḥ
32 e: IN-nú-a^{ki} i: IR-nú-a 33 mq: ^ašara v: ^aša-ra! ev: ká-lugal-ir₉-ra i: ká-^alugal-ir-ra-x
34 q: [é].ZI.ti.la i: ^aRU-kur.kur 35 e: ^ajidim 36 i: é.ka.edin!x.ma q: [é].ká.dím.ma v:
é.ká.edin.na, EN-li-li 37 i: é.me.sikil.BA v: é.maḥ, ^akur.gal 39 i: [é].x.kalam.ma m:]e.sír.
galam.ma v: é.x.PA.kalam.ma kk: jx.da.kalam.ma 40 gv: é.nam.maḥ ff: é.nam.tj i: v: ku-
ma-ri

21	E-uru-nanam	the throne-dais of Nabû; "House, the Very City"
22	E-kituš-girzal	the temple of Bēlet-Eanna; "House, Abode of Joy"
23	E-anda-saa	the temple of Ištar-of-the-Star; in Newtown. "House which Rivals Heaven"
24	[E]-gišnu-gal	the temple of Sîn; "House of the Great Light"
25	[E]-mekilib]-urur	the temple of Šarrat-Larsa; "House which Gathers All the Me's"
26	[E]-ur-gubba	the temple of Pisangunuk; "House which Makes Firm the Oracle(?)"
27	E-sag	the temple of Lugalbanda; in Kullab. "Foremost House"
28	E-dur-kuga	the throne-dais of the Igigi; "House, Pure Abode"
29	E-ka-gula	the throne-dais of the Anunnaki; "House of the Great Gate"
30	E-me-urur	the temple of Nanāy; in TE.E ^{ki} . "House which Gathers the Me's"
31	E-nun-maḥ	the temple of Nuska; "House of the Exalted Prince"
32	E-gišḥur-ankia	the temple of Bēlet-Ninua; "House of the Ordinances of Heaven and Underworld"
33	E-bur-sasa	the temple of Šara; in Bāb-Lugalirra. "House of Beautiful Jars"
34	E-namtila	the temple of Bēl-mātātī; "House of Life"
35	E-eš-maḥ	the temple of Ea; "Exalted House"
36	E-ka-dimma	the temple of Belili; "House which Creates..."
37	E-me-sikilla	the temple of Amurru; "House of the Shining Me's"
38	E-diku-kalamma	the temple of Šamaš; "House of the Judge of the Land"
39	E-esir-kalamma	the temple of Pisangunuk; "House of the Street of the Land"
40	E-namḥe	the temple of Adad; in Kumar. "House of Plenty"

gimvxff	41	é.ki.tuš.garza	<i>bīt^a bēlet(nin)-ē-an-na</i>
gimvxff	42	é.sa.bad	<i>bīt^a gu-la</i>
gimvxff	43	é.šid.dù.ki.šár.ra	<i>bīt^a nabû(nà) lib-ba tu!-ba^{ki}</i>

41	E-kituš-garza	the temple of Bēlet-Eanna; "House, Abode of the Regulations"
42	E-sa-bad	the temple of Gula; "House whose Ear(?) is Open"
43	E-šiddu-kišarra	the temple of Nabû; in Tuba. "House of the Director of the Universe"

(Commentary: p. 294ff.)

41 i: [é.g]arza v: é.ki.x[d]ug^a?g[a i: ^abe-let-an-na 43 i: 'é'.MES.I.I.ki.šár.ra m: šjid.
BAD?.[v: ^aEN m: A.ĤA^{ki} v: KU-ba

TABLET V

Sources

MS	Museum Number	Lines on		Plate
		obv.	rev.	
Kuyunjik				
A	K 3089+10924	65-85		3
E	K 8515	23-48		17
F	K 13644	84-104		3
G	K 15122	49-56		17
Babylon				
a	BM 33491 + 33826	(1: catch-line)		4
d	BM 34878	71-85		18
ss	BM 38003	47-52		57
k	BM 46070	78-88		17
l	BM 46207	89-96		17
cc	BM 46438	39-53		19
y	VAT 554	i 10-33 iii 74-90 ii 47-59 iv 98-104		17
z	VAT 13101	v 49-64 vi 99-104		1
Babylonia				
r	BM 77029	80-92		16
Kiš				
t	Ashmolean 1924-807+	7-49	50-97	15
nn	Ashmolean 1930-354.l	92-93		18
Sippar				
gg	BM 65151	93-94		18
o	BM 76297+76459	15-40	80-92	16
	(+) 82888	1-7	95-103	
p	BM 76517	87-104		16
pp	Si 605	69-76		58

MSS EG are very probably reverse flakes of a single tablet; kl could well be from column iii of the same four-column tablet. The reverse of MS d is edited in Chapter 2 as text no. 9.

ao	1	bára šu-nu-ḫu bābili(E) ^{k1} 'bára i-šem'-me 'su-pe'-a
o	2	bára i-be-[. . .]
o	3	bára i-be-[. . .]
o	4	bára i-b[e- . . .]
o	5	bára i-[. . .]
o	6	bára 'i'-[. . .]
ot	7	bára 'i'-[. . .]
t	8	bára i-[. . .]
t	9	bára šu-[lul . . .]
ty	10	bára šu-[lul . . .]x [x]
ty	11	bára šu-[lul (. . .)]x ^{mes} -šú
ty	12	bára tu-kul-[tí] é.sag.íl
ty	13	bára tu-kul-t[í] um-ma-ni-šú
ty	14	[bára t]a-lim-tu ₄ aḫḫē(šeš) ^{mes} -šú
oty	15	[bára] ku-ru-ub [liš-m]e UD šá ekalli(é.gal)-ia
oty	16	[bára] ku-ru-ub liš-me
oty	17	[bára] ku-ru-ub [liš-me]
oty	18	[bára] is-ḫur i-di bābili(E) ^{k1} ^a marduk
oty	19	[bára] šá lib-bi il ^{mes} u ^a ištarāti(15) il-ma-d[u] ^a marduk
oty	20	[bára] 'i'-qu-ul-lu ilū ^{mes} a-na ^a marduk
oty	21	[bár]a it-bal i-di bābili(E) ^{k1} ^a marduk
oty	22	[bár]a e tam-ši bābili(E) ^{k1} ^a marduk
Eoty	23	[bár]a li-bur dan-nu ^a pa-bil-sag
oty	24	[bár]a kisal ḫaluppi(ḫa.lu.úb)
Eoty	25	bára ub.saḫar.ra
Eoty	26	[bára] ú-suḫ iš-di rag-gu ^a marduk
Eoty	27	[bára] ḫul-liq nap-ḫar a-a-bi ^a marduk
Eoty	28	[bára] lu-mur di-in-šú
Eoty	29	bára uk-ku-mi
Eoty	30	[bár]a i-šem-mi ik-kil-la-šú
Eoty	31	bára mut-tab-bil nar-bi-šú
Eot	32	bára za-nin sak-ke-e-šú
Eoty	33	bára [r]ē'ú(sipa) šá ma-ti-šú
Eot	34	bára mu-dam-mi-iq ma-gi-ri-šú
Eot	35	bára ^a aba-ba ₆ na-si-iḫ rag-g[í]
Eot	36	bára i-le-'i re-'i ra-i-me ^a marduk

18 y: TU]R(i!)?-di o: k]á.dingir.r[a t: ḫu]r? 'á? ba-bi-lí 19 t: ^aiš-tar la-[y: il-mad 20 t:]-
 qu-lu y: ana 21 y: TU]R(i!)?-di o: ká.dingir.r[a t: á ba-b[í]-li 22 o: ká.dingir.r[a t: ba-
 bi-li 23 y: d]a?-mu 25 t: ub-sa-ḫa-ri 26 o: suḫuš E: 'rag-gí 27 o: IGI+L]U-liq 28 o:

- 1 Dais: "Babylon is Exhausted;" Dais: "He Hears my Supplications;"
- 2 Dais:...[...;]
- 3 Dais:...[...;]
- 4 Dais:...[...;]
- 5 Dais:...[...;]
- 6 Dais:...[...;]
- 7 Dais:...[...;]
- 8 Dais:...[...;]
- 9 Dais: "Protection [of...;]"
- 10 Dais: "Protection [of...;]..."
- 11 Dais: "Protection of his...[...;]"
- 12 Dais: "Mainstay of E-sagil;"
- 13 Dais: "Mainstay of his People;"
- 14 [Dais]: "Twin of his Brothers;"
- 15 [Dais]: "Pray, that he may Hear...of my Palace!"
- 16 [Dais]: "Pray, that he may Hear!"
- 17 [Dais]: "Pray, [that he may Hear!]"
- 18 [Dais]: "Marduk Sought the Might(?) of Babylon;"
- 19 [Dais]: "Marduk Learnt the Thoughts of Gods and Goddesses;"
- 20 [Dais]: "The Gods Pay Heed to Marduk;"
- 21 Dais: "Marduk Carried off the Might(?) of Babylon;"
- 22 Dais: "Do not Forget Babylon, O Marduk!"
- 23 Dais: "May the Mighty Flourish, O Pabilsag!"
- 24 Dais: "Court of the Ḫaluppu-Tree;"
- 25 Dais: Ub-saḫarra ("Earthen Niche");
- 26 [Dais]: "Uproot the Foundations of the Wicked, O Marduk!"
- 27 [Dais]: "Destroy Every Enemy, O Marduk!"
- 28 [Dais] of Lūmur-dīnšu;
- 29 Dais of Ukkumu;
- 30 Dais: "He Hears his Cry;"
- 31 Dais: "Minister of his Greatness;"
- 32 Dais: "Provider for his Cult;"
- 33 Dais: "Shepherd of his Land;"
- 34 Dais: "One who Shows Favour to those who Obey him;"
- 35 Dais: "Ababa is the Uprooter of the Wicked;"
- 36 Dais: "Marduk, the Loving One, is Expert at Ruling;"

m]u-ur E: di-in-šú 30 o: 'i'-šem-mu 32 E: sa-ke-šú 33 E: re-é-a-um, om. šá o: re-'i šá
 KU-[34 E: mu-dam-me-eq 35 E: ^aaba-ba 36 o: 'i'-le-'i i-re-'i r[a t: i-[l]e-ḪUR-i r[e

Eot	37	bára ^a e ₄ -ru ₆ -u ₈ re-'-a-ti nišī(ùg) ^{mes} -š[á]	
Eot	38	bára ma-ši a-di ma-ti iq-bi-šú ^a šamšu ^[u]	
Etcc	39	bára li-im-mir bābili(ká.dingir.ra) ^[k¹]	
Eotcc	40	bára li-bur za-nin é.sag.'il'	
Etcc	41	bára še-ti-ma e-ti-iq	
Etcc	42	bára šilli(gissu) an-ḥu-ti-šú	
Etcc	43	bára ^a nabû(nà) da-a-a-an <ni>-š-i-šú	
Etcc	44	bára ta-a-bi šilla(gissu)-šú	
Etcc	45	bára i-re-mu en-šú ^a marduk	
Etcc	46	bára i-šem-me šu-nu-ḥu ^a marduk	
Etyccss	47	bára ta-a-bi ina pi-i nišī(ùg) ^{mes} ^a marduk	
Etyccss	48	bára kun ₄ .kur.ra.ke ₄ ká.gal ^a ištar(15).k[e ₄]	
Gtyzccss	49	ká.gal ik-kib-šú na-ka-ri	abul ^a uraš'
Gtyzccss	50	ká.gal i-ze-er ár-šú	abul ^a za-ba ₄ -ba ₄
Gtyzccss	51	ká.gal šu-a-šú re-'i	abul ^a marduk
Gtyzccss	52	ká.gal ^a ištar(15) sa-ki-pat te-bi-šú	abul ^a ištar(15)
Gtyzcc	53	ká.gal ^a en-lil mu-nam-bir-šú	abul ^a en-lil
Gtyz	54	ká.gal li-bur na-du-šú	abul šarri(lugal)
Gtyz	55	ká.gal ^a adad napišti(zi) ^{ti} ummāni (érin) ^{mes} ušur(ùru)	abul ^a adad
Gtyz	56	ká.gal ^a šamaš išid(suḥuš) ummāni (érin) ^{mes} kīn(gi.na)	abul ^a šamaš
tyz	57	bād im-gur ^a en-lil	d[ūr(bād)]-šú
tyz	58	bād ni-mit ^a en-lil	šal-[ḥu-u]-šú
tyz	59	id a-ra-aḥ-t[um]	[nār(id)] ḥengalli(hé.gál)
z	60	id ḤU-du-uk-[. . .]	
tz	61	[i]d li-bil hé-gál-la	palag(pa ₅) šīt šamši(^a utu.'è')
tz	62	š[ila] i-šem-me še-'-a-šú	'sūqu(sila)' rapšu(da[ga].l.la) ^{rsm}
tz	63	sila ku-nu-uš kád-ru	sūqu(sila) qatnu(sig) ^{nu}
tz	64	sila a-a 'i'-[bur šá-bu]-ú	sulê(sila) b[a-bi-lí]
At	65	sila ta-a-bi [eli ú]-la-lu šilla(gissu)-[šú]	
At	66	sila a-ú ilu ki-i ^a marduk e ta-p[ah?-. . .]	

37 o: ^ae₄-ru₆-u₈-a re-é-a-at t: ^ae₄-ru₆-ú-a 38 E: ma-a-ši o: 'qi-bī IGII 39 t: lim-mir ba-bi-
[u...]-b[u?]
[...]-na E: úg^{mm} ^ašú 46 t:]-mi 47 y: ka 49 y: AŠ-kib-šú na-ka-ri cc: DA-kib-šú 49-
56 z om. ká.gal 50 cc: i-ze-ri a[r 51 t: 'i'-re-'i y: še-'-a-šú i-re-mu 52 z: ^aiš-tar y: šá-ki-
pat t: zi-šú, ^aiš-[tar] 53 t: mu-na[m-mir](EZEN)-šú 54 t: [lugal] 57-58 z om. bād 58 y
om. bād 61 z: hé-gál-lim, om. id 62-64 z om. sila [65]-82 A om. sila

- 37 Dais: "Eruea is the Shepherdess of her People;"
38 Dais: "Šamaš Said to him, 'Enough! How Long?'"
39 Dais: "May Babylon Become Resplendent!"
40 Dais: "May he Flourish who Provides for E-sagil!"
41 Dais: "Leave aside and Pass by!"
42 Dais: "The Shelter of his Weariness;"
43 Dais: "Nabû is the Judge of his People;"
44 Dais: "His Protection is Good;"
45 Dais: "Marduk Shows Compassion to the Weak;"
46 Dais: "Marduk Hears the Exhausted;"
47 Dais: "Marduk is Spoken Well of by the People;"
48 Dais: "The Ištar Gate is the Threshold of the Land."

49	City Gate: "The Enemy is Abhorrent to it"	the Uraš Gate;
50	City Gate: "It Hates its Attacker"	the Zababa Gate;
51	City Gate: "Its Lord is Shepherd"	the Marduk Gate;
52	City Gate: "Ištar Overthrows its Assailant"	the Ištar Gate;
53	City Gate: "Enlil Makes it Shine"	the Enlil Gate;
54	City Gate: "May its Founder Flourish!"	the King's Gate;
55	City Gate: "O Adad, Guard the Life of the Troops!"	the Adad Gate;
56	City Gate: "O Šamaš, Make Firm the Foundation of the Troops!"	the Šamaš Gate.
57	Wall: Imgur-Enlil "Enlil Showed Favour"	the city wall;
58	Wall: Nimit-Enlil "Bulwark of Enlil"	its rampart.
59	River: Araḥtu	[River] of Abundance;
60	River: ḤU-du-uk-[...]	[...];
61	River: Libil-ḥengalla "May it Bring Abundance!"	the Eastern Canal.
62	Street: "He Hears his Seeker"	the Wide Street;
63	Street: "Bow down, O Haughty One!"	the Narrow Street;
64	Street: Ay-ibūr-šabû "May the Arrogant not Flourish!"	the Street of Babylon;
65	Street: "[His] Protection is Good [for the] Feeble;"	
66	Street: "What God Compares with Marduk? Do not...[...];"	

At	67	silā ^a nabû(muati) da-a-a-an ni-ši-šû	sūq(silā) abul [^a uraš]
At	68	silā ^a za-ba ₄ -ba ₄ mu-ḫal-liq ga-ri-šû	sūq abul ^a z[a-ba ₄ -ba ₄]
Atp	69	silā ^a marduk re-'i māti(kur)-šû	sūq abul ^a ma[rduk]
Atp	70	silā ^a iš-tar la-mas-si um-ma-ni-šû	sūq abul ^a [iš]-tar
Adtp	71	silā ^a en-lil mu-kin šarru-ti-šû	sūq abul ^a [en-]lil
Adtp	72	silā ^a šin(30) mu-kin agê(aga) be-lu-ti-šû	sūq abul ^a [ša]rri
Adtp	73	silā ^a adad za-nin ni-ši-šû	sūq abul ^a [ad]ad
Adtyp	74	silā ^a šamaš šu-lul ummāni(érin) ^{mes} -šû	sūq abul ^a šamaš
Adtyp	75	silā ku-ru-ub liš-me-e me-e ú-su	
Adtyp	76	silā sūq(e.sír) damiq(sig ₅)-ili-šû :	
Adty	77	sūq(e.sír) erbetti(ká.limmu.[ba])	
dkty	78	silā sūq(e.sír) ^a sebeti(imin.bi) :	
dt	79	sūq(e.sír) ^a māšu(maš.tab.ba)	
Adkory	80	silā ḫu-ud-da māt(kur)-su ṭa-at-su ka-ra-bi	
Adkory	81	silā i-šem-mu ana ru-ú-qa	su-ul-a ^a marduk
Adkory	82	napḫar(šu.nigin) 43 ma-ḫa-zu il ^{mes} rabûti ^{mes}	
dkory	83	lib-bi bābili(ká.dingir.ra) ^{ki} 55 parakkū(bára) ^{adi} ^a marduk(amar.utu. ke ₄)	
AFdkory	84	2 kir-ḫu 3 nārātu(id) ^{mes} 8 abullātu(ká.gal) ^{mes} 24 sūqāt(silā) bābili(E) ^{ki}	
AFdkory	85	300(5.giš) parak(bára) ^a i-gi-gi u 600 parak(bára) ^a a-nun-na-ki	
Fkory	86	180(3.giš) ibrat(ub.lil.lá) ^a ištar(inanna) 180(3.giš) man-za-za ^a lugal-ir ₉ -ra ù ^a mes-lam-ta-è-a	
Fkoprt	87	12 manzāz(ki.gub) ^a sebeti(imin.bi) 6 manzāz(ki.gub) ^a kù-bu	
koprt	88	4 manzāz(ki.gub) ^a manzāt(tir.an.na) 2 manzāz(ki.gub) ili lemni(dingir. ḫul.a) 2 [manzā]z(ki.gub) rābiš āli(maškim.uru)	
Floprt	89	ká.dingir.ra ^{ki} SA ₇ .ALAM dingir.gal.gal.e.ne	
loprt	90	ba-bi-li bu-un-na-an-né-e il ^{mes} rabûti ^{mes}	
Floprt	91	eri-du ₁₀ ^{ki} šá é.sag.íl ina qer-bi-š[ú] (x x)]x x x	
loprt	92	ultu(ta) abul(ká.gal) maḫīri(ganba) adi(en) abulmāḫi(ká.gal.maḫ) eri-du ₁₀ ^{ki} [šūm-šū]	
Flptgg	93	ultu abul maḫīri adi abul ^a uraš šu-a[n-na ^{ki}] šūm-šū	
Flptgg	94	ultu abulmāḫi adi abul ^a ištar(15) ká.dingir.ra ^{ki} šūm-šū	
lopt	95	ultu abul ^a ištar(15) adi b[ī]t ^a bēlet(nin)-é-an-na šá kišād(gú) palg[ī](pa ₅) āl[u] eš[šū](gibil) ^{ki} šūm-šū]	

67 A: ūg^{me}-šū 69 A: sipa kur-šū pp: re-'-um 70 t: ^aiš₈-tār pp: ^a15 t: ^alamma pp: um-man-n[ī] 71 A: nam.lugal.la-šū pp: mul-nam!(MUD)-mir-[šū] 72 A: MIN, nam.lugal.la-šū d: en-ī[ī]-šū pp: mu-kin!(KU), be-lu(BA)-[73 dpp: ūg^{me}-šū A: zi¹⁶ um-ma-ni-ia ū-šur 74 tpp: um-ma-ni-šū A: sjuḫuš um-ma-ni-ia gi.n[a 75 t: liš-me-e-ka {U} y: liš-me-ka 76 A: <da>-mi-īq,

67	Street: "Nabû is the Judge of his People"	the Street of the [Uraš] Gate;
68	Street: "Zababa is the Destroyer of his Foes"	the Street of the Zababa Gate;
69	Street: "Marduk is the Shepherd of his Land"	the Street of the Marduk Gate;
70	Street: "Ištar is the Guardian Angel of her Troops"	the Street of the Ištar Gate;
71	Street: "Enlil is the Establisher of his Kingship"	the Street of the Enlil Gate;
72	Street: "Šin is the Establisher of his Lordly Crown"	the Street of the King's Gate;
73	Street: "Adad is the Provisioner of his People"	the Street of the Adad Gate;
74	Street: "Šamaš is the Protection of his Troops"	the Street of the Šamaš Gate;
75	Street: Pray, that he may Hear!..."	
76	Street: Street of Damiq-ilīšu;	
77	(Street:) Four Ways;	
78	Street: Street of the Divine Heptad;	
79	(Street:) Street of the Divine Twins;	
80	Street: "Gladden(?) his Land! Worship is his Gift!"	
81	Street: "He Listens to the Distant"	the Street of Marduk.
82	Total: 43 cult-centres of the great gods	
83	in Babylon; 55 daises of Marduk;	
84	2 circumvallations; 3 rivers; 8 city gates; 24 streets of Babylon;	
85	300 daises of the Igigi and 600 daises of the Anunnaki;	
86	180 shrines of Ištar; 180 stations of Lugalirra and Meslamtaea;	
87	12 stations of the Divine Heptad; 6 stations of Kūbu;	
88	4 stations of the Rainbow; 2 stations of the Evil God; 2 stations of the Watcher of the City.	
89	Babylon, the place of creation of the great gods!	
90	Eridu, in which E-sagil [(...)]...!	
92	From the Market Gate to the Grand Gate [is called] Eridu;	
93	From the Market Gate to the Uraš Gate is called Šuanna;	
94	From the Grand Gate to the Ištar Gate is called Ka-dingirra;	
95	From the Ištar Gate to the temple of Bēlet-Eanna on the canal bank [is called] Newtown;	

om. e.sír 77 d: limmu.ba 79 t: ^aAN.maš.tab.[ba] 80 A: ḫu-du-ud t: {e.sír} ṭa-as-su y: ḫu-ud ma-a-šū ṭa-a-šū ka-ra-b[a] r: tar-ba-as-s[u?] 'ka'-r[a?] 81 A: i-šem-mi k: i-šem y: i-šem-ma or: m]e kot: a-na rt: ru-ú-qu ry: su-la-a 82 d: 53 l: 23 A: ma-ḫa-a[š] d: m[a-a]ḫ-zi r: ma-ḫa-zi t: m[a-ḫa-zi 83 ko: lib-ba dky om. ^{ki} 84 dkr: kir-ḫi A: sila^{mes} 85 AFk om. 2nd bára y: an-nun-na-ki 86 r: ^ainanna.a.ke₄ F: 4.giš man-[y: ^alugal-AN-ra kry: u 87 p:] 'gišgal?' ^ak[ū] y: KUN(^akū-bu!) 88 o om. 3rd ki.gub t: 2 ki.gub ma-a[n y om. ^a 89 t: u ká.dingir.ra^{ki} r: S[A₇.ALAM]^{BI} 90 op: ká.dingir.[y:] 'i bi?' x] x (x)] 91 l: qe-reb-šū 92 nn: a-āi lpr: ká.gal.é.maḫ o: eri-āi? 93 F: ká.gal.maḫ gg: en^{a-di} nn: a-di pt: tin.tir^{ki} gg: šu-ma-an 94 gg: ká.gal] ganba en^{a-di}

- Flopt 96 *ultu bīt 4bēlet(nin)-é-an-na šá kišād palgi adi abul 4marduk kul-aba₄[^{k1} šum-šú]*
- Fopt 97 *ultu abul 4za-ba₄-ba₄ adi bára i-qu-ul-lu ilū^{me} ana 4marduk TE.E^{k1}[^{k1} šum-šú]*
- Fopy 98 *6 ālānu(urū)^{meš} [ba]l-ri šīt šamši(4utu.4é.a')*
- Fopyz 99 *ultu abul 4adad adi abulli 'a-ku-si-tum' nu-x-ù?^{k1} šumšu(mu.ne)*
- Fopyz 100 *ultu abulli a-ku-si-tum adi é.nam.ti.la šá èš.maḥ ina qer-bi-šú ib-ba-nu-ú kumar(HA.A) šumšu(mu.ne)*
- Fopyz 101 *ultu abunnat(li.dur) 4šgašti(pan) šá bīt 4bēlet(gašan)-ni-nú-a adi kišād (gú) nāri(id) bāb-4lugal-ir₉-ra šumšu(mu.ne)*
- Fopyz 102 *ultu abul 4šamaš a-di nāri(id) tu-ba šumšu(mu.ne)*
- opyz 103 *4 ālānu(urū)^{meš} bal-ri ereb šamši(4utu.šú.a)*
- Fpyz 104 *10 ālānu^{meš} šá ta-mir-ta-šú-nu ḥengallu(ḥé.gál)*

96 From the temple of Bēlet-Eanna on the canal bank to the Marduk Gate [is called] Kullab;

97 From the Zababa Gate to the dais "The Gods Pay Heed to Marduk" [is called] TE.E^{k1}.

98 The 6 city-(quarters) of the East Bank.

99 From the Adad Gate to the Akus Gate is called...;

100 From the Akus Gate to E-namtila, (the area) in which Eš-maḥ is built, is called Kumar;

101 From the Navel of the Bow of the temple of Bēlet-Ninua to the river bank is called Bāb-Lugalirra;

102 From the Šamaš Gate to the river is called Tuba.

103 The 4 city-(quarters) of the West Bank.

104 10 city-(quarters) whose surrounding fields (yield) abundance.

(Commentary: p. 333ff.)

96 t: ta ká 'é'(erased!) 99 y: a-ku-ši-tú, nu-HAR-UD^{k1} 100 y: é.nam.til, qé-re-bi-šú 101 y: 4GIM z: šá ká é, a-di 102 p: e[_n] y: tu-bi 104 y: šú-na ḥé-gál-la

BM 33491 + 33826 (a) Tablet I 61 B.C. (pl. 4)

[51 m]u^{d1d1} bābili(KIMIN) ti[n].tir^{k1}.ke₄

[bára š]u-nu-ḥu bābili(E)^{k1} 'bára i-šem'-me 'su-pe'-a
[kīma la-bi-r]i-šú igi.tab u igi.kár dub ^{men}-ZI? a-'šú' šá m[. . .]
[mār ^{mu}]-še-zib šu^{min} ^{mden}-mu-ùru a-š[ú] šá m[x x[. . .]
[^{it1}x u₄ x^{kam} mu] 1 me 87^{kam} šá šī-i mu 2 me [51^{kam}] ^{ma}[r-šá-ka-a]
[šā]r lugal[^{meš}]

BM 38442 (g) Tablets I and IV (pl. 2)

(blank) [94^a]m mu.šid.[bi.(im) . . .]
[z]ag.til.la.bi.'šē libir.ra.bi.gim ab'.sar ba.an.è u u[ppuš . . .]
[^{md}x]x-ke-šir ma-ár ^{mba}-si-iá pa-liḥ 'a[. . . lā itabba]

BM 40480 (i) Tablet IV (pl. 12)

[k]i-[ma] la-bir-ri-šú up-pu-uš ú? x igi?.kár? gaba.r[i? . . .]
[^mx]-ri dumu-šú šá ^{md}nā-re- <man> -nu d[umu ^m . . .]
[x] x x x 'i' ^ax x[. . .]

BM 46070 (k) Tablet V (pl. 17)

. . .]x
. . . -š]eš-šú
. . .]x-šeš-šú
. . .]x

BM 46279 (m) Tablet IV (pl. 11)

[du]b? ^{mden}-x[x]-šú dumu šá ^mx[. . .]x dù[^u]s ig[i.tab]

BM 76297 + 76459(+)82888 (o) Tablet V (pl. 16)

g[ab]a.ri bār-sipa^{k1}[. . .]

BM 76517 (p) Tablet V (pl. 16)

[. . . ^an]ā?-ku-šur-šú [a]-šú šá ^{mden}-su a ^{mkin}-[x] 'še bī' [. . .]
[. . . ^{it1}x u₄ 30^{kam} mu [. . .]

BM 77086 (s)	Tablet I	(pl. 1)
	...]x šār kur.[(kur) ^{meš}]	
Ashmolean 1924-846 (v)	Tablet IV	(pl. 12)
	[...]x hi še x me <i>tup-pi</i> [... ^{md} amar.u]tu-mu-dù a-šú šá ^{md} amar.utu-numun-dù [<i>pa-lih</i> ^d amar.ut]u! u ^r d ¹ zar ¹ -pa-ni-tum ^r la! ¹ < i > -tab- ^r bal! ¹ [^t i ¹ si]g ₄ ? u ₄ ¹ kam	
Ashmolean 1924-849 (w)	Tablet I	(pl. 5)
	im ¹ kam <i>nis-hu</i> tin.tir ^{k1} ^r mu'.ši[d.bi 51] <i>gaba-re-e</i> tin.tir ^{k1} <i>ki-m</i> [a <i>labirīšu</i> ša ^r ir-(ma)] igi.tab šu ^{min} ^m ki-din- ^d amar.u[tu <i>māri-šú</i> šá ^m . . .]	
VAT 441 (x)	Tablet IV	(pl. 10)
	...] UD u ₄ .kúšu* ^r . . .	
VAT 554 (y)	Tablet V	(pl. 17)
	...] ^r é ¹ .sag.il ... d]ub	
VAT 13101 (z)	Tablets I-V	(pl. 1)
(Hunger, <i>Kolophone</i> , no. 163)		
dub ⁵ kam tin.tir ^{k1} <i>ba-bi-i-lu</i> zag.til.la.bi.šè <i>ki ka</i> dub ^{meš} <i>gaba.ri</i> ká.dingir.ra ^{k1} ab.sar igi.kâr dub ^{md} nâ-ki-in-ap-lim dumu ^m i-le-'i- ^d amar.utu		

BABYLON: RELATED TEXTS AND FRAGMENTS

EXPLANATIONS OF THE CEREMONIAL NAMES OF THE TEMPLES OF BABYLON
(nos. 2-5)

By the 'Ceremonial Name' of a temple is meant here its Sumerian name. In usual practice a Babylonian temple was given two names: a Sumerian one, normally comprising the word "House" with an appended epithet of the kind found commonly in Sumerian temple hymns; and a more practical designation in Akkadian, *bīt DN*, "Temple of the god So-and-so". The Sumerian name is that most often used to refer to the building in royal inscriptions and in literary works, such as hymns and litanies. The Akkadian name is favoured in more secular documents, such as legal and commercial records, and letters, but is also found in rituals and other religious texts of a practical nature. The evidence suggests that the Sumerian name had a rather more sacred application than its Akkadian counterpart, which was itself the name in everyday use. True to the time-honoured lexical tradition of explaining the obscure by the familiar, there exist lists which explain the ceremonial Sumerian names of Babylonian temples in terms of their everyday Akkadian names, and the temple list of Babylon, Tablet IV of *Tintir* = Babylon, is one of several such lists.¹

A rather different approach to the Sumerian temple names is adopted by the four texts edited in the following pages. While they hold in common with *Tintir* IV their subject matter, in form they belong more nearly with *Tintir* I, which gives Akkadian explanations for Babylon's Sumerian names and epithets. In bilingual texts of this type the Sumerian can be translated into Akkadian word for word, by paraphrase, or by speculative etymology: this last in a manner which, to our modern way of thinking, is unscientific in the extreme. Where a text gives several or many Akkadian interpretations of a Sumerian name, it is readily apparent that the compiler takes full advantage of the opportunities for etymological extrapolation offered to him by the flexibility of the cuneiform syllabary and the large number of homophones in Sumerian vocabulary (thus, in a typical case, the syllable *sa* in the temple name E-sagil is translated as "leader", "counsel" and "favourable", all in a single line of interpretation;² justification of the three translations — none

¹ For a brief review of the extant temple lists see p. 2.

² The E-sagil Commentary, VAT 17115, obv. 17.

of which is correct by our standards — is provided by quoting the lexical entries $sa_{12} = ašarēdu$, $sá = milku$ and $sa_6 = damāqu$.³ The purpose of such involved “etymologizing” is theological and cosmological speculation, of the kind that became popular in scholarly circles in the Kassite period, and it is clear that such texts are the work of erudite and widely read scribes. Their work in the field of speculative explanation was by no means confined to temple names and city epithets: probably the best known of all such material, and that displaying the most ingenious etymologizing, is the exposition of the names of Marduk at the end of the Creation Epic, where each name in turn is the subject of several involved interpretations, some straightforward, some abstruse, but all designed to shed light on the character and achievements of the god. This list is itself the subject of detailed commentaries, which give the lexical background to each interpretation.⁴

Against this background the four texts which explain in Akkadian the ceremonial names of the temples of Babylon can be seen to belong to a well-established scribal tradition of speculative scholarship. Their general format, with Sumerian and Akkadian juxtaposed in complementary columns, demonstrates the reliance of this type of scholarship on the lexical tradition. Similar explanatory temple lists also exist for Nippur, Aššur and Kiš.⁵ The lists concerned with the temples of Babylon survive only in Neo- or Late Babylonian copies, and the tablets are probably all from Babylon itself.⁶ Three of the texts — those in the British Museum — are dependent on *Tintir* IV for the order of the temples in their lists. One of these, BM 34927 (no. 4), is in fact no more than an expansion of *Tintir* IV, to whose two sub-columns of text it adds a third containing Akkadian explanations.⁷ The small Seleucid or Parthian period fragment, Rm 788 (no. 2, so dated by its colophon), preserves a sub-column with Akkadian explanations only, and it is not certain whether this sub-column was preceded by one or two others: accordingly it is possible that Rm 788 was originally inscribed, like BM 34927, with the text of *Tintir* IV as well as the existing, additional material. On the other hand it may have followed the format of the third tablet in London, BM 34850 (no. 3), which gives Sumerian temple names and Akkadian explanations in two sub-columns. In this text the most important

³ For a discussion of the tradition of “artificial etymology”, see Livingstone, *MMEW*, p. 49ff.

⁴ King, *STC* II 51-63: on these texts see most recently the article of Bottéro in *Finkelstein Memorial Volume*, p. 5ff.

⁵ Nippur: the Nippur Temple List and §6 of the Nippur Compendium; Aššur: the Assyrian Temple List (no. 20, GAB §4); Kiš: VAT 13817 ii and KAV 82 (nos. 22 and 23); all are edited below in Chapters 4-6. A fragment of an explanatory temple list, not of a city but of a deity (probably Ištar), is IM 65063 (no. 31).

⁶ VAT 17115 (BE 39122) was excavated at Babylon; BM 34850 and 34927 are from the second

Spartali collection, which is thought largely to originate in the city; Rm 788, with its post-Persian colophon, is one of those Babylonian tablets bought by Rassam from Marini in 1877 (see Reade's introduction to Leichty, *Catalogue* VI, p. xivf.). At least some of this batch once belonged with the Spartali tablets (which also derived in part from Marini), as joins between the collections prefixed Rm and Sp show (for examples see Walker, *CT Index*, p. 67).

⁷ The text of the left hand sub-columns of this tablet — of which only the second survives however — is incorporated in the edition of *Tintir* IV in Chapter 1 as MS e, and for this reason only its third sub-column is edited below.

temples, E-sagil and E-temen-anki among them, are the subject of multiple interpretations. These three texts are far from complete, but where they deal with the same ceremonial names they have very few explanations in common; what agreement there is seems to be restricted to those interpretations which are straightforward or obvious translations (e.g. E-temen-anki = *bīt(u) temen šamē u eršeti*; E-kituš-girzal = *bītu šubat tašīliti*). Where the Sumerian is not translated literally there is no sign of any interdependence between the three fragments.

The fourth text edited here, VAT 17115 (no. 5), is known as the E-sagil Commentary. Like BM 34850 the text of this tablet is arranged in two sub-columns, in which the Sumerian is equated with Akkadian explanations. Unlike the pieces discussed above the E-sagil Commentary is devoted to the exposition of the name of a single temple, the great cult-centre of Marduk which gives the text its modern name. The first two lines of the tablet offer literal explanations of the temple name, one of which is also found in Rm 788 and the Assyrian Temple List, and both of which are perhaps traditional. In the ensuing text the scribe juggles with the writing of the temple name, doing so to demonstrate the etymological methods by means of which he arrives at his fanciful Akkadian interpretations. He justifies these interpretations lexically by means of an interlinear commentary, and this again sets the text apart from the others edited in this chapter. The scribe employs considerable ingenuity and erudition in his methods, which, as noted earlier in this introduction, allow him great scope for theological and cosmological exegesis. The playing with the orthography of the Sumerian temple name E-sagil finds a parallel in the Nippur Temple List, where E-kur (although all but lost) and E-kiur are treated in similar fashion; in the Nippur Compendium, where the name E-kišnu-gal is manipulated; and in *Tintir* I 5-7, where *šu.an.na*, the name of Babylon, is written *si.an.na*, *sa.an.na* and *sa₄.an.na*, thus allowing greater opportunity for speculative interpretation. The exact orthography of the temple name in the E-sagil Commentary is problematical in some lines, however, for the left-hand sub-column which contained these various orthographies is severely damaged. In some cases the orthography can be restored from the Sumerian halves of the lexical equations of the interlinear commentary. Elsewhere the would-be restorer is hampered by the fact that, even when the text is in good repair, there are often inconsistencies of etymology and derivation (e.g. *an* in ll. 13 and 17 is unnecessary orthographically and, not being picked up in the commentary, looks redundant; again, in l. 21 the final syllable of the temple name is rendered *ki.il*, but in the commentary on this line as *gi*: neither orthography could be reconstructed from its commentary accurately). Accordingly it cannot always be certain that any given restoration is exclusively correct and not one of a number of possibilities.

2

Rm 788

Plate 19

obverse

- 1 [é.sag.íl] *bītu šá re-šá-a-šú šá-qa-a*
 2 [é.te.me.en.an.ki] *bīt(u) te-me-en šamê^e u eršetim^{tim}*
 3 [é.kar.za.gin.na] *bīt(u) ka-a-ri el-íl*
 4 [é.rab.ri.ri] *[b]ītu la-qit! ra[b-bi]*

reverse

catch-line: [. . .] *šá ina muḥ-ḫi áš-[bu]*
 colophon: [. . .] *mdmuati-mu-ùru MIN-šú^u du₆ u₄ 18^{<kam>} mu [x^{kam}]*
 [. . .] *lugal^{meš}*

(Commentary: p. 382.)

3

BM 34850 (Sp II 354)

Plate 19

Bibliography: 1972 T.G. Pinches CT 51 90 (Copy)

obverse

- 1' [é.sag.íl] *'bītu mu-kap'-p[it . . .]*
 2' [é.sag.íl] *bītu ni-bīt!(KID) [. . .]*
 3' [é.te.me.en.an.ki] *bīt(u) te-me-en šamê^e u eršetim^{tim}*
 4' [é.te.me.en.an.ki] *bīt nab-nit šam[ê^e u eršetim^{tim}]*
 5' [é.te.me.en.an.ki] *bīt bu-kūr šam[ê^e u eršetim^{tim}]*
 6' [é.te.me.en.an.ki] *bītu le-qu-ú pa-r[a-aš šamê^e u eršetim^{tim}]*
 7' [kar.za.gin.na] *ka-a-ri el-íl*
 8' [kar.za.gin.na] *mut-ta-'id pi-i x[. . .]*
 9' [kar.za.gin.na] *aš-ri ellu(kù) šá ana ta-na-da-t[i kun-nu?]*
 10' [é.rab.ri.ri] *bīt rab-bi la-'íl[. . .]*
 11' [é.rab.ri.ri] *bītu ra-ḫi-iš né-bé-ri [. . .]*
 12' [é.rab.ri.ri] *bītu ra-si-ip bi-nu-ut [. . .]*
 13' [é.gal.maḫ] *[bī]t 'ru-ba'-ti ra-[bi-ti]*
 14' [é.gal.maḫ] *[bīt(u) x x]x^aen-líl x[. . .]*
 15' [é.gal.maḫ?] *[bīt(u) . . .]x [. . .]*

reverse

- 1' [é.šā.sur.r]a *'bītu šá' [ina] 'lib-bi-šú' x x [x] d[a x]*
 2' [é.ùru.na].nam *bītu na-ši-ru ši-mat niš[ī(ùg)^{meš}]*
 3' [é.ki.tuš].gir₁₇.zal *bītu šu-bat t[a]-š[īl-ti]*

2

Rm 788

obverse

- 1 [E-sagil] House whose top is high;
 2 [E-temen-anki] House (of the) foundation platform of heaven and underworld;
 3 [E-kar-zaginna] House (of the) brilliant quay;
 4 [E-rab-riri] House which destroys the shackle;
 (remainder lost)

3

BM 34850

obverse

- 1' [E-sagil] House which musters [...];
 2' [E-sagil] House called into being by [...];
 3' [E-temen]-anki House (of the) foundation platform of heaven [and underworld];
 4' [E-temen]-anki House of the creation of heaven [and underworld];
 5' [E-temen]-anki House of the son of heaven [and underworld];
 6' [E-temen]-anki House which performs the rites [of heaven and underworld];
 7' [Kar-zaginna] Brilliant quay;
 8' [Kar-zaginna] Lauded in the mouth of...[...];
 9' [Kar-zaginna] Pure place, which is [established(?)] for fame;
 10' [E-rab-riri] House of the shackle which constrains [...];
 11' [E-rab-riri] House which swamps the river-crossings [...];
 12' [E-rab-riri] House which smites the creatures of [...];
 13' [Egal-maḫ] House of the great lady;
 14' [Egal-maḫ] [House...] Enlil [...];

reverse

- 1' [E-šasurra] House in which...[...];
 2' [E-uru]-nanam House which guards the destiny of the people;
 3' [E-kituš]-girzal House, abode of joy;

4'	[é.an.d]a.sá.a	<i>bītu šá šamê^e šá-a[n-nu]</i>
5'	[é.gi]š.nu ₁₁ .gal	<i>bīt nu-úr šamê^e ra-b[u-ti]</i>
6'	[é.ki]š.nu.gál	<i>bītu na-šir kiš-šat nišī(ùg)[^{mes}]</i>
7'	[é.me.ki]lib.ur ₄ .ur ₄	<i>bītu šá nap-ḥar par-ši ḥa-a[m]-m[u]</i>
8'	[é.úr?].gub.ba	<i>bītu mu-kin te-re-e-ti</i>
9'	[é].sag	<i>bītu reš-tu-ú</i>
10'	[é.me.u]r ₄ .ur ₄	<i>bītu šá par-ši ḥa-am-m[u]</i>
11'	[é.nun.m]aḥ	<i>bīt ru-bé-e ra-bi-[i]</i>
12'	[é.giš.ḥu]r.an.ki.a	<i>bīt ú-šu-rat šamê^e [u eršetim^{tim}]</i>
13'	[é.nam.ti].la	<i>bīt bu-un-na-an-[né-e]</i>
14'	[é.nam.ti].la	<i>bīt ba-la-[ti]</i>
15'	[(é).èš.maḥ]	<i>bīt ru-b[é-e]</i>
16'	[é.ka.dī]m.ma	<i>bīt nab-nit [. . .]</i>
17'	[é.me.sikil.l]a	<i>'bīt par-ši' [el-lu-ti]</i>

(Commentary: p. 382ff.)

4

BM 34927 (Sp II 444) sub-column iii

Plate 10

obverse

17	(é.ḥi.li.kalam.ma)	<i>bīt 'kuz'-b[u ma-a-ti]</i>
18	(é.maḥ)	<i>bītu ra-b[i-i]</i>
19	(é.ḥur.sag.ti(l).la)	<i>bītu šá ultu(ta) ḥur-š[á-an . . .]</i>
20	(é.šā.sur.ra)	<i>bīt nab-[ni-ti]</i>
21	(é.ūru.na.nam)	<i>bītu šá man-za-zu-š[u nak-lu?]</i>
22	(é.ki.tuš.gir ₁₇ .zal)	<i>bītu šu-bat ta-ši[l-ti]</i>
23	(é.an.da.sá.a)	<i>bītu šá i[t-ti šamê^e šit-nu-nu?]</i>
24	(é.giš.nu ₁₁ .gal)	<i>bīt(u) [. . .]</i>
25	(e.me.kilib.ur ₄ .ur ₄)	<i>b[īt(u) . . .]</i>

reverse

30	(é.me.ur ₄ .ur ₄)	<i>b[īt(u) . . .]</i>
32	(é.giš.ḥur.an.ki.a)	<i>bītu š[á . . .]</i>
33	(é.bur.sa ₇ .sa ₇)	<i>bītu šá [. . .]</i>
34	(é.nam.ti.la)	<i>b[īt(u) . . .]</i>

(Commentary: p. 385f.)

4'	[E]-anda-saa	House which rivals the heavens;
5'	[E]-gišnu-gal	House of the light of the great heavens;
6'	[E]-kišnu-gal	House which protects all the people;
7'	[E]-mekilib-urur	House which gathers all the ordinances;
8'	[E-ur]-gubba	House which makes firm the decrees;
9'	[E]-sag	Foremost house;
10'	[E-me]-urur	House which gathers the ordinances;
11'	[E-nun]-maḥ	House of the great prince;
12'	[E-gišḥur]-ankia	House of the ordinances of heaven [and underworld;]
13'	[E]-namtila	House of creation(?);
14'	[E]-namtila	House of life;
15'	[(E)-eš-maḥ]	House of the prince;
16'	[E-ka]-dimma	House of the creation of [...];
17'	[E-me-sikilla]	House of the [shining] ordinances;

(the remaining 6 lines, corresponding to *Tintir* IV 38-43, are lost)

4

BM 34927 sub-column iii (see p. 74⁷)

obverse

17	(E-ḥili-kalamma)	House of the luxuriance [of the land;]
18	(E-maḥ)	Great house;
19	(E-ḥursag-tilla)	House which [(saves)] from the river-ordeal;
20	(E-šasurra)	House of birth;
21	(E-uru-nanām)	House whose socles [are artfully wrought(?);]
22	(E-kituš-girzal)	House, abode of joy;
23	(E-anda-saa)	House which [compares(?) with the heavens;]
24	(E-gišnu-gal)	House [...];
25	(E-mekilib-urur)	House [...];

reverse

30	(E-me-urur)	House [...];
32	(E-gišḥur-ankia)	House which [...];
33	(E-bur-sasa)	House which [...];
34	(E-namtila)	House [...];

Bibliography: 1956 F. Köcher, *AfO* 17, p. 131ff. and pl. 6 (Copy, Text and Translation)

obverse

- 1 [é.sag.il] *bītu na-ša-a re-e-š[il]*
- 2 [é.sag.il] *bītu ša re-ša-šu 'ša'-qa-[a]*
- 3 [é.sa.ág.gil] *[b]ītu na-ra-am ^am[arduk]*
- 4 [ág na-ra-mu gil] *^am[arduk]*
- 5 [é.sag.il.la] *[e]kal(é.gal) la-le-e il^{mes} 'ša šamē^a[(x x)]*
- 6 [é.sag e-kal-lum] *la la-lu-ú il i-lu il ša-mu-ú' [(x x x)]*
- 7 [é.sa₇.kil] *bītu ba-nu-ú nap-ḥar il^{mes}*
- 8 [sa₇ ba-nu-ú] *kil nap-ḥa-ru il i-[lu]*
- 9 [é.sa₄.ki].il' *bītu na-bu-ú nap-ḥar is-ra-a-t[il]*
- 10 [sa₄ na-b]u-ú *ki.il nap-ḥa-ru ša is-ra-a-ti*
- 11 [é.sa₁₂.a]n.gil *bītu šu-bat ru-bé-e ^amarduk*
- 12 [s]ag a-ša-bu 'gi' ru-bu-ú *gil ^ama-ru-du-uk*
- 13 [é.s]a₁₂.an.aga.il *bītu na-šu- <ú> a-ge-e šarru-ú-ti*
- 14 [s]a₁₂ šar-ru sa₁₂ a-gu-ú *aga a-gu-ú il na-šu-ú*
- 15 [é.s]a.an.gi.il *bītu na-šu-ú ša-ru-ru*
- 16 [sa] ša-ru-ru *il na-šu-ú*
- 17 [é.s]a₆.an.gil *bīt a-ša-re-du ša me-lik-šu dam-qu*
- 18 [sa₁₂] 'a'-ša-re-du *sa mil-ku sa₆ da-ma-qu*

reverse

- 19 [é.sa.ág.gi].il *bītu e-piš kul-la-ti ra-'im kit-ti*
- 20 [ág e-pe-šu] *gi e-pe-šu gi kul-la-tum gi kit-tum ág ra-a-mu*
- 21 [é.si.a]n.ki.il *bītu sa-pi-in a-a-bi*
- 22 [si s]a-pa-nu *gi a-a-bi*
- 23 [é.sá].gil *bītu ka-šid nap-ḥar qar-da-mu*
- 24 [sa ka-ša]-du *kil nap-ḥa-ru gil qar-da-mu*
- 25 [é.sa.an].gil *bītu mar-kas₄ šamē^a rabūt^{mes}*
- 26 [sa mar-ka]-su *an ša-mu-ú gil ra-bu-ú*
- 27 [é.si.an.gi]il *bītu nu-úr^a il^{mes} rabūt^{mes}[š]*
- 28 [si nu-ú-ru a]n i-lum *gil ra-bu-úr^a*
- 29 [é.sa₄.an.gi]l *bītu ni-bit ^aa-nim u ^aen-lil*
- 30 [sa₄ ni-bi-t]ú *an ^aa-num gil(KUR₄) : kur ^aen-lil*
- 31 [ēš.gú.zi] *bītu na-si-iḥ nap-ḥar a-a-bi*
- 32 [ēš bi-i-tú z]i na-sa-ḥu *gú nap-ḥa-ru gú a-a-bi*
- 33 [ēš.gú.zi] *[bīt]u [m]u-kin ki-nim*
- 34 [ēš bi-i-tú z]i ka-a-nu *zi ki-i-nu*

35 [. . . níg.d]im.dím.ma

(Commentary: p. 386ff.)

obverse

- 1 E-sagil House with top raised (high);
- 2 E-sagil House whose top is high;
- 3 E-sagil House, beloved of Marduk;
- 4 [ag = beloved] *gil* = Marduk;
- 5 E-sagil Palace of the pleasure of the gods of heaven [(...);]
- 6 [E-sag = palace] *la* = pleasure *il* = god *il* = heaven [(...);]
- 7 E-sagil House which creates all the gods:
- 8 [sa = create] *kil* = all *il* = god;
- 9 E-sagil House which calls into being all meadows(?):
- 10 [sa] = call *kil* = all *ša* = meadows(?);
- 11 E-sagil House, abode of the prince Marduk:
- 12 *sag* = abide *gi* = prince *gil* = Marduk;
- 13 E-sagil House which bears the royal crown:
- 14 *sa* = king *sa* = crown *aga* = crown *il* = bear;
- 15 E-sagil House which bears radiance:
- 16 [sa] = radiance *il* = bear;
- 17 E-sagil House of the leader whose counsel is favourable:
- 18 [sa] = leader *sa* = counsel *sa* = be favourable;

reverse

- 19 E-sagil House which makes everything and loves truth:
- 20 [ag = make] *gi* = make *gi* = everything *gi* = truth *ag* = love;
- 21 E-sagil House which flattens the enemy:
- 22 [si] = flatten *gi* = enemy;
- 23 E-sagil House which captures all villains:
- 24 [sa] = capture *kil* = all *gil* = villain;
- 25 E-sagil House, bond of the great heavens:
- 26 [sa] = bond *an* = heavens *gil* = great;
- 27 E-sagil House, light of the great gods:
- 28 [si = light] *an* = god *gil* = great;
- 29 E-sagil House called into being by Anu and Enlil:
- 30 [sa = called] *an* = Anu *gil* = *kur* = Enlil;
- 31 Eš-guzi House which uproots all enemies:
- 32 [Eš = house] *zi* = uproot *gu* = all *gu* = enemy;
- 33 Eš-guzi House which establishes the steadfast:
- 34 [Eš = house] *zi* = be established *zi* = steadfast.

GATE LISTS OF E-SAGIL
(nos. 6-8)

Two lists survive which deal with the various gates of the complex of religious buildings around E-sagil, the temple of Marduk. These are BM 35046 and BM 38602, column i // VAT 13817, column i, both published here for the first time.⁸ There also appears to have been a list of some of the gates of E-sagil at the end of Tablet II of *Tintir* = Babylon, making up a short section of text introduced by the words "Rites and ordinances of E-sagil..." (II 35'-41'), but the ceremonial names of the gates are almost completely lost, and the explanatory information with which each is introduced is badly broken and not always helpful. For the purposes of the present chapter this list is thus of little value, but reference is made to it, where relevant, in the commentary.

BM 35046 (no. 6) is a Late Babylonian tablet from the second Spartali collection, and thus probably from Babylon itself. No colophon is subscribed, although ample room for one remains on the tablet. The text is prone to errors of haplography and dittography, and in places certainly corrupt. It begins with a list in two sub-columns in which the ceremonial Sumerian names of the gates are explained by location or function. The list treats in turn the cellae (*papāhu*) of Marduk and Zarpanītum, his consort, in E-sagil, together with their gates (ll. 1-8); and goes on to list the gates of the ziqqurrat, E-temen-anki (9-13), of Ea's temple, E-kar-zaginna (14-16), of the temple of Madānu, E-rab-riri (17-18), and of the temple of Bēlet-Bābili, or Ištar of Babylon, E-tur-kalamma (19-22). The format of the list then changes: the ceremonial names and their explanations are reversed, with no attempt being made to divide the two halves of each line into separate columns. Instead the equation is indicated by the appearance of *šumšu*, "(is) its name", at the end of the line. The same device is probably used in the now fragmentary gate list of *Tintir* II, and certainly in *Tintir* V 92-102 for the list of city quarters of Babylon. It is also found in texts which deal with the names and locations of cultic daises (edited later in this chapter). Outside topographical contexts this format of list appears in a text which gives the names of Marduk according to his progress in procession from E-sagil to the Akītu Temple.⁹

Some of the gates in this second section of BM 35046 appear also in the first section, and this may be evidence that the two parts of the list were at one time independent. A

⁸ Attention was brought to VAT 13817 by Weidner, *IAK*, p. 91³, and by W.L. Moran, *AnBi* 12, p. 260⁴, who kindly ceded to me his prior right of publication.

⁹ No. 59 (pl. 55) // Cavigneaux, *Textes scolaires* I, p. 175, 79.B.1/30; we read ll. 3-6:
i-na šu-bat ^ames *ki-i uš-ša-bu* ^ames ^amarduk ^amarduk
šumšu(mu.ne)

ša-niš ša a-na tar-ši du₆.ki.sikil *uš-ša-bu* ^aen-bi-lu-lu
šumšu

i-na muḫ-hi parak šimātī^{mes} *uš-šab-ma* ^alugal-dim-me-
er-an-ki-a *šumšu*

i-na lib-bi ^ama.umuš.a *i-na muḫ-[hi]* x x la *uš-šab-ma*
^asirsir *šumšu*

When he sits on the Seat of Marduk (^ames), his
name is Marduk (^ames = Marduk);

ruling divides the gate list from a short third section of text, whose subject matter is not temple gates but cultic daises (*parakku*): it lists four of these shrines in E-sagil itself (ll. 31-34). One of these daises may be that found by the excavators in Room 12 of the temple, once thought by some to have been a sanctuary of Ea (see further the commentary on l. 31). The format of the dais list follows the pattern of the second part of the preceding gate list, its lines also ending with *šumšu*. It may be that this third section is excerpted from one of the dais lists mentioned above and edited below (nos. 9-11), and this further suggests that BM 35046 is a compilation of related material culled from various sources.

BM 38602, from the left edge of a four-columned Neo- or Late Babylonian tablet (probably from Babylon), and its partial duplicate VAT 13817, a large fragment from the middle of a four-columned Neo-Assyrian tablet from Aššur, offer in their first columns a list (no. 7) of the gates of E-sagil and nearby sanctuaries that has a number of parallels with the list of BM 35046. Duplication between BM 38602 and VAT 13817 — in their present states — is confined to this gate list. The second column of BM 38602 is entirely missing, but the text resumes in the third column with a list of names and locations of cultic daises of Babylon (no. 10). Its fourth column contains three extracts of a non-topographical nature, which are not edited here.¹⁰ The text of VAT 13817 is also something of a miscellany. Part of the first column only is given over to the gate list of E-sagil and nearby temples; the contents of the section that preceded this list, which as we see it ended at line 1' of the surviving fragment, are unknown. Much of the second column of VAT 13817 is concerned with sanctuaries not in Babylon, but in Kiš (and is edited accordingly in Chapter 6, no. 22). What remains of the colophon (for this, and the rest of the reverse, see p. 195) suggests that this tablet was copied after an original from Babylon. This original was in imperfect condition, as can be seen from the annotation *he-pi* in col. i, ll. 9'-11', of the copy; a number of errors in the text are attributable to the miscopying of damaged signs.

The gate list of BM 38602 // VAT 13817 itself is of the two sub-column type. Its first section opens with the two gates of the cellae of Marduk and Zarpanītum in E-sagil (VAT 13817, i 2'-3'), which are followed by other gates inside the temple (4'-6'). Then the list, as we have restored it, turns to exterior gates of E-sagil (7'-11' // BM 38602, i 1'-3').

secondly, (Marduk) who sits facing Du-ki-sikil, his name is Enbilulu; he sits on the Dais of Destinies, and his name is Lugaldimmerankia; he sits on...in Ma-umuša, and his name is Sirsir.

A text which deals with the same subject, but in different format, is KAR 142, i 1ff. // CT 46 53, 12ff. (the Archive of Mystic Heptads).

¹⁰ BM 38602, iv 1'-9' may be a missing part of the Epic of Anzû, or some other literary composi-

tion in which Anzû appears frequently; 10'-15' lists the "12 gods of the bronze kettle-drum", a list which is also found in the Archive of Mystic Heptads (KAR 142, iii 1-2) and in rituals (Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, p. 14ff., iii 1-14; IV R² 23, no. 1, i 1-7. Note the cultic Sitz im Leben of the twelve images in Thureau-Dangin, op. cit., p. 28, ii 8-9). The third excerpt of this column is another 'esoteric' list, probably of the seven Daises of Destiny (read in 16'-17': [ina] tin.tir^{ki} / [ina bā]-sipa^{ki}, and cf. again the Archive of Mystic Heptads, KAR 142, ii 11ff.).

These are followed by two of the four gates of E-temen-anki, the ziqqurrat, with explanations that agree closely with the list of BM 35046 (VAT 13817, i 12'-13' // BM 38602, i 4'-5'). Then are listed the gates of E-kar-zaginna of Ea and E-rab-riri of Madānu (14'-16' // 6'-8'). The order of the temples in this gate list, and in that of BM 35046, so far follows their order in the temple list of Babylon, *Tintir* IV, and its associated texts (Rm 788 and BM 34850, the explanatory temple lists), and no doubt this is a traditional sequence. The gate list concludes its first section with two gate-rooms, or "lobbies", of E-sagil (17'-18' // 9'-10'). Following a ruling the text, now preserved only on BM 38602, continues with a second section, unfortunately fragmentary but listing more gates of E-sagil (11'-16').

BM 35046 and BM 38602 // VAT 13817 are the major sources for the names of the gates of the E-sagil temple complex. They are supplemented by a small Late Babylonian fragment from Sippar, BM 76312, which has the appearance of coming from the middle of a comprehensive list of such gates, including those of the Grand Court (of E-sagil?), Ubšu-ukkinna, and various daises. The fragment might, in fact, help to bridge the gap between columns i (gates) and iii (daises) of BM 38602, and it takes its place accordingly as the third text edited in this section (no. 8).

Other sources for the gates of the temple complex are royal inscriptions, the E-sagil Tablet (text no. 13) and the fourth Tablet of *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*. For convenience the relevant lines of these texts are reproduced here, allowing easy comparison with the gate lists. We begin with the gates of E-sagil itself. Six gates of the temple are listed in the E-sagil Tablet, ll. 12-13 (as p. 114):

ká.maḥ	Exalted Gate;
ká.utu.è.a	Gate of the Sunrise;
ká.gal	Great Gate;
ká.ḏamma.ra.bi	Gate of the Guardian Angel...;
ká.ḥé.gál	Gate of Abundance;
ká.u ₆ .de.babbar.ra	Gate of Dazzling Wonder;
6 bābāt nēreb(i) ana ili	6 gates of entry to the god.

Four gates of E-sagil (ká.ká é.sag.il) are listed in an inscription of Neriglissar, at whose door-sills (*sippu*) he placed eight silver-plated copper representations of *mušhuššu*-dragons (I R 67, i 23, 29):

ká.utu.è	Gate of the Sunrise;
ká.ḏamma.a.ra.bi	Gate of the Guardian Angel...;
ká.ḥé.gál	Gate of Abundance;
ká.u ₆ .de.babbar	Gate of Dazzling Wonder.

The ground plan of the Neo-Babylonian temple of Marduk recovered by the German expedition to Babylon, led by Koldewey at the turn of the century, shows the main structure of E-sagil to be a regular, almost square building served by a large monumental

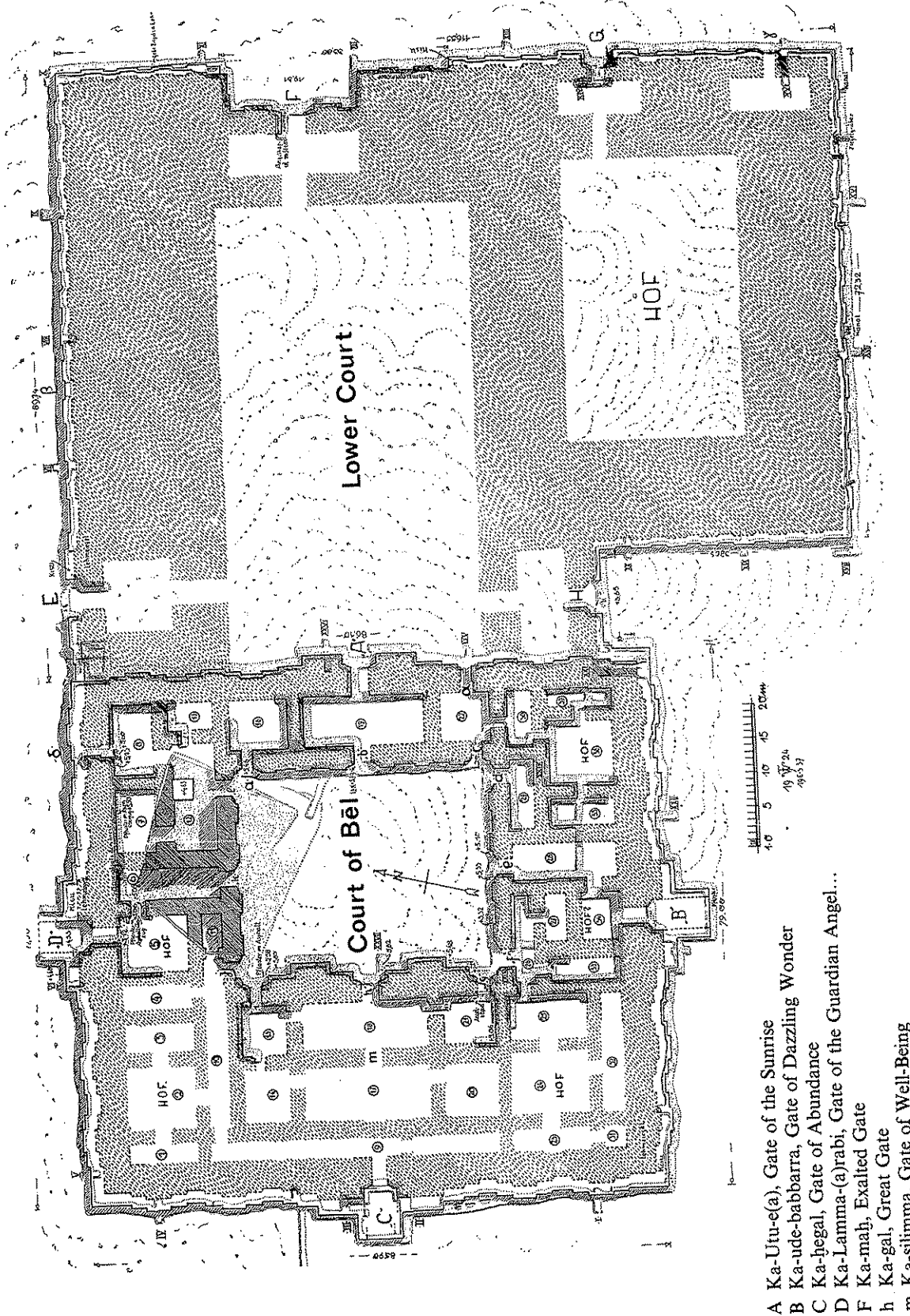


Fig. 6. Ground Plan of E-sagil.

gateway in each of its four sides (the excavators' Gates A-D).¹¹ This main building is abutted on its east front by a substantial extension, which is known to archaeology as the Eastern Annexe; this extension is provided with another four monumental gates (E-H), of which the largest, Gate F in the east front of the annexe, is undoubtedly the principal entrance to the whole sanctuary. The four gates of the main building are almost certainly to be identified with the four gates refurbished by Neriglissar. Two of these, Ka-Lamma-(a)rabi and Ka-ude-babbar, are shown by a metrological text to be respectively the gate of the north front and the gate of the south front (VAT 9961+10335, 5-13: the Measurements of E-sagil and E-zida, text no. 14). Given that Ka-Utu-e, the "Gate of the Sunrise", can hardly be other than the gate of the east front, it is apparent that Ka-ḥegal, the "Gate of Abundance", is that of the west front of E-sagil, and fittingly so, for it would then give access to the left bank of the Araḫtu-Euphrates, itself the "river of abundance".¹² Neriglissar, then, listed the gates of the main building in anti-clockwise order, from east round to south. The same order of these four gates is to be observed in the E-sagil Tablet's list, which, however, includes with them a further two gates, Ka-maḥ and Ka-gal, these obtruding into the sequence in first and third place respectively. Given that the order of such lists is not normally arbitrary, we are encouraged to seek some significance in the interpolation of the two extra gates into the sequence of the four great gates of the main building. Bearing in mind the rubric of the E-sagil Tablet, which describes its six gates as "gates of entry to the god", one is inclined to view its list in terms of the temple's processional topography. Now as we have seen, Ka-maḥ, although the first in the list of "gates of entry to the god", is not one of the great gates of the main building, as listed in anti-clockwise sequence by Neriglissar; but as the first gate of the E-sagil Tablet's list it must be a very important gate indeed, and we are urged to identify it with the sanctuary's principal entrance, the monumental east gate of the Eastern Annexe (F). The second gate in the list of six is Ka-Utu-e(a), the east gate of the main building. This is significant, for — as far as it is possible to be certain in the absence of further excavation — a procession entering E-sagil at Ka-maḥ (Gate F) and making its way towards the cella of Marduk in the west wing of the main building would soon have to pass through Ka-Utu-e, which stands on the temple's east-west axis between Ka-maḥ and the great courtyard of the main building. Next in the list is Ka-gal, which interrupts the anti-clockwise sequence of the four gates of the main building. We suspect that it takes its place at this point in the list, as the third "gate of entry to the god" after Ka-maḥ and Ka-Utu-e, by virtue of the processional topography, and would place it as the monumental gate giving access from the central courtyard of the main building to the complex of rooms around Marduk's cella (the excavators' Gate h, significantly explained in VAT 13817 as *bābu rabû ša kisal Bēl*: see further below). The sequence Ka-maḥ—Ka-Utu-e—

¹¹ For the ground plan of E-sagil see fig. 6. The archaeology of the gates of the main building and its annexe is discussed by Wetzel, *WVDOG* 59, pp. 6-

13.

¹² *nār hengalli*: for this epithet of Babylon's river see *Tintir* V 59 and commentary.

Ka-gal would then list the principal gateways along the temple's east-west axis: to a procession such as the return of Marduk from the Akītu Temple these three gates would afford access in turn from the temple precinct to the Eastern Annexe; from the Eastern Annexe to the main building and its central courtyard; and from this courtyard to the antechambers of Marduk's cella.

To sum up in terms of the temple's ground plan one may note that Neriglissar's list comprises a sequence Gates A-D-C-B, while the E-sagil Tablet offers a refinement, Gates F-A-h-D-C-B as we see it, reflecting not architecture but ritual. We are now in a position to compare these conclusions with a detailed examination of the gate lists BM 35046 and BM 38602 // VAT 13817. In the former five gates are listed for E-sagil, the attention of the text then turning to the gates of the ziqqurrat. Of these five gates, four are described as the gates of the cella of Marduk, and one as the gate of the cella of Zarpanītum. This last is the well-known Ka-ḫilisu (for which see the commentary ad loc.), but the ceremonial names of the four gates of Marduk's cella are all but lost, there remaining on the tablet just a trace of the last sign of the fourth gate. Four gates, indeed, seems rather too many for a cella, a temple's inner sanctum, and it is significant that the second gate list, BM 38602 // VAT 13817, lists only one such gate.¹³ This fact, and the observation that no gates are listed for E-sagil in BM 35046 besides these four and Ka-ḫilisu, obliges one to consider the possibility that these four "gates of Marduk's cella" are in fact to be understood as the main gates of the main building of E-sagil, which, as we have seen, are four in number. Indeed, if we restore the ceremonial names of these gates in the text of BM 35046, in the same sequence as that followed by Neriglissar, the E-sagil Tablet and BM 38602 // VAT 13817, we note that the trace on the tablet of the end of the name of the fourth "gate of Marduk's cella" could well be of [r]a, and this would agree with the name of the fourth main gate of the temple, Ka-ude-babbar, which can be written with, or without, final -ra. If the restoration of the names of the four main gates in these four lines of BM 35046 is correct, then we must accept that the description of them in that text as *bāb papāḫ Marduk* means not so much "gates of Marduk's cella", as "gates to Marduk's cella" (comparing the description of the same gates in the E-sagil Tablet as *nēreb(i) ana ili*, "entrances to the god"). Alternatively, one might suppose that *papāḫu* is used here exceptionally, with reference to the main building of Marduk's temple as a whole (a solution which seems unlikely). In any case the restoration of the four main gates in these lines is supported by the consideration that it would be most surprising if they were omitted from a list of this kind.

The second gate list, BM 38602 // VAT 13817, lists ten gates of E-sagil in its first section, before it too turns to the gates of the ziqqurrat temple, E-temen-anki. As already mentioned, only one of these ten is described as a gate of Marduk's cella, and it takes its

¹³ Marduk's cella in E-sagil remains unexcavated, and so archaeology is of no help in determining the number of its entrance gates. However, excavated temples of similar design and date are E-zida of

Nabû at Borsippa and the temple (of Ištar?) at Inghara (Hursagkalamma), and the cellae of these are provided with a single entrance.

place at the head of the list, followed by a gate described as that of the cella of Erua (Zarpanītum). As with the following five gates, their ceremonial names are broken away, but they can undoubtedly be restored as Ka-silimma and Ka-ḫilisu (see the commentary). Where, at the end of the list, the gate names can be read (despite the scribal mistakes due to the damaged condition of VAT 13817's original), it is clear that the four main gates of E-sagil's main building are once again the subject. And once again the sequence follows the order found in Neriglissar's inscription and the E-sagil Tablet. Between the cella gates at the beginning of the section, and the main gates at its end, are listed four more gates of the temple, whose ceremonial names cannot all be restored with certainty. The first two of these gates are certainly interior gateways: one the entrance to an otherwise unattested sanctum, the "Cella of the Linen Curtain", and the other, explained as the "great gate of the Court of Bēl", very probably the monumental gate which gave access from the central courtyard of the main building (the Court of Bēl: see the commentary) to the antechambers of Marduk's cella (Gate h, the largest interior gate of E-sagil, whose ceremonial name, as we have noted earlier, is probably to be restored as Ka-gal). The third and fourth of these gates, explained as the "gate of the *arkapinnu*" and the "east gate", cannot easily be assigned ceremonial names (though the latter could conceivably explain Ka-maḫ, which fits the trace: see the commentary).

Turning from the gates of E-sagil itself we come in both lists to the gates of E-temen-anki, the ziqqurrat temple. Before the discovery of BM 35046 and BM 38602 // VAT 13817 the only sources for the names of the gates of this temple were an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II and the E-sagil Tablet. Nebuchadnezzar's list is badly broken but can now be accurately restored following BM 35046 (Wadi Brisa A iv 10-13):

ká.nun.abzu	Gate of the Prince of Apsû;
k[á.(é).temen.an.ki]	Gate of E-temen-anki;
ká.nun.ḫé.gál	Gate of the Prince of Abundance;
ká.u[₆ .nir]	Gate of the Ziqqurrat:
bābāti(ká.ká)-šu šá-ad-[la-a-ti]	(the ziqqurrat's) massive gates, around E-temen-
i-ta-at é.teme[n.an.ki]	anki.

E-temen-anki, while often a term for the ziqqurrat as a whole, must here refer to Marduk's sanctuary at its summit (called in the E-sagil Tablet *kissu elû*, "upper sanctum", to distinguish it from E-sagil, his temple below), for BM 35046 makes it clear that these are gates of the ziqqurrat temple itself (*bīt ziq-rat*), and should therefore be sought not at ground level but on the temple tower's upper structure. Some further information is provided by the gate lists which allows speculation as to the gates' locations. Ka-nun-abzu and Ka-nun-ḫegal are described as gates with "bronze doors", the former being the "upper" set, the latter the "lower". "Upper" and "lower" do not appear to be directional qualifications here,¹⁴ and we should probably imagine them to

¹⁴ As in one of Nabopolassar's Imgur-Enlil cylinders, where "upper" implies north (i.e. up-

stream) and "lower" south (downstream): for the passage see the commentary on *Tintir* V 57-58.

have been a pair of monumental gateways on a stairway leading into the ziqqurrat temple, but close enough to it to be accounted part of the temple's structure. The other two gates are simply "gates of the ziqqurrat temple", and thus perhaps less important gates in the exterior wall of the upper sanctum. Ka-E-temen-anki opened westwards, Ka-unir to the south.

Four more gates of the ziqqurrat temple occur in the E-sagil Tablet (l. 35):

<i>bāb šūt šamši</i>	Gate of the Sunrise (or East Gate);
<i>bāb šūti</i>	South Gate;
<i>bāb ereb šamši</i>	Gate of the Sunset (or West Gate);
<i>bāb iltāni</i>	North Gate.

In view of the context in which list occurs, it seems likely that these were the names of the gates which led from the roofed courtyard of the ziqqurrat temple to the four separate parts of the building described in the text as *bīt šadi* (cella of Marduk), *bītātu ša iltāni* (chapels of Ea and Nuska), *bītu ša šūti* (chapel of Anu and Enlil) and *bītu ša amurri* (*tu'um* and staircase); these interior gates are thus not to be identified with the four gates of E-temen-anki discussed above.

A final source for the gates of the E-sagil temple complex is, as mentioned above, *Ludlul* IV. The ceremonial names of various gates are used by the composer of *Ludlul* to illustrate the narrator's return to favour. The passage in question is *BWL*, p. 60, 78-90, from which the following list of gates can be extracted:

<i>ká.ḫé.gál</i>	Gate of Abundance;
<i>ká.ḏamma.ra.bi</i>	Gate of the Guardian Angel...;
<i>ká.silim.ma</i>	Gate of Well-Being; ¹⁵
<i>ká.nam.ti.la</i>	Gate of Life;
<i>ká.ḏutu.u.ḏe</i>	Gate of the Sunrise; ¹⁵
<i>ká.u.ḏe.babbar.ra</i>	Gate of Dazzling Wonder;
<i>ká.nam.tag.ga.ḏuḫ.a</i>	Gate which Dispels Guilt;
<i>ká.ka.tar.ra</i>	Gate of Praise;
<i>ká.a.še.er.ḏuḫ.ù.da</i>	Gate of the Dispelling of Woe;
<i>ká.a.sikil.la</i>	Gate of Pure Water;
<i>ká.ḫi.li.sù</i>	Gate Sprinkled with Luxury.

Wetzel, in *WVDOG* 59, p. 65ff., understood the whole passage to refer to a ritual procession of the worshipper around E-sagil, and on this basis attempted to identify all the gates with the interior and exterior gateways and doorways of the temple. This idea must now be abandoned, for the gate lists show that some of the gates named in *Ludlul* IV were not in E-sagil itself, but in other temples nearby. Thus Ka-katarra and Ka-ašer-ḏuḫuda were gates of E-rab-riri, the temple of Madānu (BM 35046, 17-18; BM 38602 // VAT 13817, i 15'-16'); the name of Ka-namtagga-ḏuḫa strongly suggests that it was the

¹⁵ Mentioned twice in the text.

main entrance of the temple of Amurru, E-namtagga-ḏuḫa (*Tintir* IV 6), just as Ka-E-temen-anki, Ka-(E)-kar-zaginna and Ka-E-tur-kalamma were gates of temples whose names they share. It is most probable, in view of this, that the composer of *Ludlul* used these gates not so much because of their topography — beyond their common location within the precinct of the E-sagil complex — but rather because their meanings suited his literary purpose, namely the illustration of the worshipper's redemption in the presence of Marduk. To review the gates mentioned in *Ludlul* IV briefly: the four gates of the main building are present (Ka-Utu-e, Ka-Lamma-(a)rabi, Ka-ḫegal and Ka-ude-babbar), as are the gates of the cellae of Marduk and Zarpanitum in E-sagil (Ka-silimma and Kaḫilisu), and gates of the temples of Madānu and Amurru. This leaves two gates unaccounted for, namely Ka-namtila and Ka-a-sikilla; both of these appear in the fragment BM 76312 (no. 8) in connection with the Grand Court (Kisalmah), itself adjacent to the temple of Marduk, not within it.

Ludlul IV and the gate lists are the clearest evidence we have for the nature and extent of the complex of buildings surrounding E-sagil. It is clear from the fact that the gates of Marduk's temple and other sanctuaries were grouped together both in the lists and in a literary composition, that these buildings formed an identifiable unit. We have already noted the presence in this group of temples of Ea, Madānu, Amurru and Bēlet-Bābili along with E-sagil and E-temen-anki, the sanctuaries of Marduk; the temple of Papsukkal also belonged to it.¹⁶ All these temples are located by the temple list of Babylon, *Tintir* IV, in the quarter of Eridu, and it may very well be that most, if not all, the temples listed for this quarter (ll. 1-14) are to be sought in the E-sagil complex. The ziqqurrat, E-temen-anki, stood in a precinct of its own, of course, which has been excavated, and it is a moot point whether a second precinct wall surrounded E-sagil and the other sanctuaries to the south.¹⁷ Other features of the E-sagil complex are two spacious courtyards, the Grand Court (Kisalmah) and the Court of Ištar and Zababa, whose dimensions are given in the E-sagil Tablet (ll. 1-10); and the Garden of Apsū near Ea's temple, E-kar-zaginna (BM 35046, 26-28). Access to the complex was probably gained by means of several gates, but the most important of these seems to have been Kasikilla, "Pure Gate", which most likely lay to the east of E-sagil.¹⁸

In addition to the gate lists edited in this chapter one may also note the existence of two small fragments which might be parts of similar lists: BM 74167 and K 20081 (nos. 32 and 33). But whether the topographical context of these is Babylon is not decided. Lists of gates in other temples are known for E-šarra in Aššur (no. 20: GAB § 7), and probably for the temple complex of Uruk (IM 65063, rev.: no. 31). Other gate lists appear not in 'topographical' texts but in the lexical corpus (see above, p. 2).

¹⁶ The gate of the temple of Papsukkal, E-sagdil-anna-gidru-tuku, can be recognized in BM 35046, 30.

¹⁷ The precinct wall of E-temen-anki is, however, perhaps not to be associated with Nebuchadnezzar II's city (von Soden, *UF* 3, p., 254¹). It may be

somewhat younger (see Joan Oates, *Babylon*, p. 159).

¹⁸ For Ka-sikilla and the question of the precinct wall, see the commentary on the E-sagil Tablet, l. 15.

- 20 [k]á.igi.du.NAM.a.ni.šē.gub.ba *bāb- <šú> šá pān(igi) kisallī(kisal) {ká}*
 21 [k]á.é.tūr.kalam.ma *bāb pa-ṭa-ri ka-mi-i*
 22 [k]á.u₆.nir *bāb-šú šá {ana} pān(igi) kisallī(kisal)*
 23 [bāb]u šá ^anabû(nà) u ^abēlet(MÜŠ)-bābili(tin.tir)^{k1} ina l[ib]-bi i-ru-ub- <bu>
bāb né-reb ^anabû(nà) u ^abēlet(MÜŠ)-bābili(tin.tir)^{k1} šum-šú
 reverse
 24 [bāb]u šá {aš} šī-iz-bi šá gi-né-e ina lib-bi i-ru-ub-bu ká.é.te.mén.an.k[ī] šum-šú
 25 [bā]bu <šá> ina ¹¹¹tebēti(ab) u₄ 15^{kam} riqqu(šim)^{hā} šá mār(dumu) ¹¹⁴rab(gal)-ba-né-e ina
lib-bi i-ru-ub-bu ká.é.kar.za.gin.na šum-šú
 26 bābu šá ana muḥ-ḥi ¹¹⁵kiri(kiri₆) apsū(abzu) <petū(bad)> ^aká.šid šum-šú
 27 bābu pe-ḥu-ú šá ana ¹¹⁵kiri(kiri₆) petū(bad)^a ká.šis₆kiri₆.abzu šum-šú: bābu 'šá' pāt(ka)
il^{meš} ippette'ā(bad)^{te-a}
 28 bābu šá a-na ta-ra-aḥ-ḥa petū(bad)^a ká.zag.¹¹⁵kiri₆ šum-šú
šá-niš bāb ka-lak-ka-ti {ia} šum-šú
 29 bāb né-reb ^agu-la ká.gūn.a šum-šú
 30 bāb šu-tūm-mu šarri(lugal) <ká> .é!(AN).sag.dil.a.na.¹¹⁵gidru.tuku šum-šú
 31 parakku(bára) šá ina bīt ^anin-urta šá kisallī(kisal) ina igār(é.gar₈) ¹¹⁶iltāni(sī.sá) ana tar-ši
bābi nadū(šub)^a parak(bára) ^aasar-re šum-šú
 32 parakku(bára) šá ina bāb bīt ^agu-la {meš} šá kisallī(kisal) nadū(šub)^a parak(bára)
šarri(lugal) šum-šú
 33 parak(bára) ^{na4}a-lal-lum šá ina kisal ^abēlti(gašan)-iá ina igār(é.gar₈) ¹¹⁶amurri(mar.dú)
na-di <parak(bára) . . . šum-šú>
 34 [p]arakku(bára) šá ina igār(é.gar₈) ¹¹⁶iltāni(sī.sá) ina ku-tal ^abēlti(gašan)-iá <nadū(šub)^a>
<parak(bára)> ^anissaba šum-šú

(Commentary: p. 389ff.)

7 BM 38602 (80-11-12, 486), col. i // VAT 13817 (Assur 13956ft), col. i

Plate 22

- | | | |
|---|------------------|---|
| | MS a | MS b |
| b | 1' [. . .] | [x]x ^a nabû(nà) x x ¹ |
| b | 2' [ká.silim.ma] | [bāb p]a-paḥ ^a bēl |
| b | 3' [ká.ḥi.li.sù] | [b]āb pa-paḥ ^a e ₄ -ru ₆ |

- 20 Ka-igidu-NAM.aniše-gubba its gate facing the courtyard;
 "Gate of the Leader, Standing at his..."
 21 Ka-E-tur-kamma the gate of the liberation of the prisoner (or
 "Gate of E-tur-kamma" the outer gate of liberation);
 22 Ka-unir its gate facing the courtyard.
 "Gate of the Ziqqurat"
 23 The gate through which Nabû and Bēlet-Bābili enter is called the Entrance Gate of
 Nabû and Bēlet-Bābili.

reverse

- 24 The gate through which the milk of the regular offerings enters is called Ka-E-temen-
 anki.
 25 The gate through which, on the 15th day of Tebēt, the incense of the noblemen
 enters is called Ka-E-kar-zaginna.
 26 The gate which opens on to the Garden of Apsû is called Ka-Id ("Gate of the River
 God");
 27 The closed gate which opens on to the garden is called Ka-kiri-abzu ("Gate of the
 Garden of Apsû"): the gate (at) which the mouths of the gods are opened.
 28 The gate which opens on to the bank is called Ka-zag-kiri ("Gate at the Garden's
 Edge"); alternatively it is called Gate of the Trenches.
 29 The entrance gate of Gula is called Ka-guna ("Coloured Gate").
 30 The gate of the king's warehouse is called Ka-E-sagdil-anna-gidru-tuku ("Gate of E-
 sagdil-anna-gidru-tuku").
 31 The dais which is situated in the chapel of Ninurta of the courtyard, on the north
 wall opposite the gateway, is called Dais of Asarre.
 32 The dais which is situated at the gate of the chapel of Gula of the courtyard is called
 Dais of the King.
 33 The limestone dais which is situated in the Court of Bēltiya, on the west wall, is
 called Dais....
 34 The dais which is situated on the north wall, behind Bēltiya, is called Dais of
 Nissaba.

7

BM 38602 // VAT 13817

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1' [. . .] | [. . .] Nabû . . . |
| 2' [Ka-silimma] | [the gate] of Bēl's cella; |
| "Gate of Well-Being" | |
| 3' [Ka-ḥilisu] | the gate of Erua's cella; |
| "Gate Sprinkled with Luxury" | |

b	4'	[ká . . .]	<i>bāb pa-paḥ gadalalê(gada.lal)</i>
b	5'	[ká.gal?]	<i>bābu rabû^u šá kisal^a bēl</i>
b	6'	[ká . . .]	<i>bāb ar-ka-pi-in-ni</i>
b	7'	[ká.maḥ?]	<i>[b]āb ši-i^a šamši^{si}</i>
b	8'	[ká.utu.è(UD.D)U)?	<i>bābu šá ana kisalli(kisal) šaplî(ki.ta) petû(bad)^u</i>
b	9'	'ká.amma'.RI ^{he-pi}	<i>bāb bēli(gašan)-ia</i>
ab	10'	[ká.ḥé.gál]	<i>bāb [k]u-tal [(^a)bēli(en)?-ia]</i>
ab	11'	ká.u ₆ .de.babbar	<i>bābu šá x[. . .]</i>
ab	12'	ká.nun!(UR).abzu	<i>bāb^{is} dalāt(ig)^{meš} siparri(zabar) elâti(an.ta)^{me}</i>
ab	13'	ká.nun.ḥé.gál	<i>bāb^{is} dalāt(ig)^{meš} siparri(zabar) šaplâti(ki.ta)^{me}</i>
ab	14'	ká.kar.za.gin.na	<i>bābu šá mul-te-šir-ḥab-lim u₄-gal-lu bābili(tin.tir)^{ki} i-na libbi(šá) ir-ru-bu</i>
ab	15'	ká.ka.tar.ra	<i>bāb da-li-li bāb bīt^a madānu(di.ku₅)</i>
ab	16'	ká.a.še.er.duḥu.da	<i>bābu mu-paṭ-ṭir ta-ni-ḥi bāb^a gu-la bīt^a madānu(di.ku₅)</i>
ab	17'	'é'.ká.šà.abzu	<i>ašrukkatu(ašlug) šá bi-rit kisallâti(kisal)^{meš} šá^a bēl(en) u^a bēltiya(gašan)</i>
ab	18'	'du ₆ ?' šà.abzu	<i>ašrukkat(ašlug) né-reb^a [x (x)] šá é.'sag.íl'</i>
a	19'	[ká.x].zu.pād.da	<i>bābu rabû^a 'šá é.sag?' i[!]</i>
a	20'	[ká x (x)]x	<i>bāb tar-ta-mi né-reb^a a-nim k[á.maḥ?]</i>
a	21'	[ká x x x]x	<i>bāb^{im} šūti(u₁₈.lu)</i>
a	22'	[ká x x x x l]a?	<i>bāb tak!-bit-ti mu-ta[l-li?]</i>
a	23'	[(ká . . .)]?	<i>bāb^{im} šadî(k[ur.r]a)</i>
a	24'	[. . .] x[. . .]	

(Commentary: p. 401ff.)

10' b: ká I^{he-pi} = *bāb ku^{he-pi} ia* 11' b: *bāb a-ḥi-ia^{he-pi}* 12'-13' b: U.KA.bar 14' a:
^am[us? 16' a: duḥ.ud.da, om. 2nd ká 17' a om. é a: *aš-ruk-ka-ti* b: [šá bi-ri]t!

4'	[Ka-...]	the gate of the cella of the linen curtain;
5'	[Ka-gal(?)]	the great gate of the Court of Bēl;
	"Great Gate" (?)	
6'	[Ka-...]	the gate of the <i>arkapinnu</i> -(door);
7'	[Ka-maḥ(?)]	the east gate (<i>or</i> the gate of the sunrise);
	"Exalted Gate" (?)	
8'	[Ka-Utu-e(?)]	the gate which opens on to the Lower Court;
	"Gate of the Sunrise" (?)	
9'	Ka-Lamma-(a)rabi(!)	the gate of Bēltiya;
	"Gate of the Guardian Angel..."	
10'	Ka-ḥegal	the gate behind [Bēl(?);]
	"Gate of Abundance"	
11'	Ka-ude-babbar	the gate which...[....]
	"Gate of Dazzling Wonder"	
12'	Ka-nun-abzu	the gate of the upper bronze doors;
	"Gate of the Prince of Apsû"	
13'	Ka-nun-ḥegal	the gate of the lower bronze doors.
	"Gate of the Prince of Abundance"	
14'	Ka-kar-zaginna	the gate through which Muštēsir-ḥabli, the Lion Monster of Babylon, enters.
	"Gate of E-kar-zaginna"	
15'	Ka-katarra	the gate of praise: the gate of the temple of Madānu;
	"Gate of Praise"	
16'	Ka-ašer-duḥuda	the gate which dispels sighs: the gate of Gula (in) the temple of Madānu.
	"Gate of the Dispelling of Woe"	
17'	E-ka-ša-abzu	the lobby which is between the courtyards of Bēl and Bēltiya;
	"House of the Gate in the Midst of Apsû"	
18'	Du(?) ša-abzu	the lobby of the entrance of [...] into E-sagil.
	"Mound in the Midst of Apsû"	
19'	[Ka-...]-zu-padda	the great gate of E-sagil(?);
20'	[Ka-...]	the gate of whispers: the entrance of Anu (in) Ka-[maḥ(?);]
21'	[Ka-...]	the south gate;
22'	[Ka-...]-la(?)	the gate of the honouring of the noble one(?);
23'	[(Ka-...)]?	the east gate;

8

BM 76312 (AH 83-1-18, 1680)

Plate 19

1' ... k]á.'nam'.t[i].la ...
 2' ... k]á.hé.gál' [...
 3' ... k]á.á.sikil.la k[á ...
 4' ... bā]bāt(ká.ká) *kisalmāhi*(kisal.mah) 'é'.[sag.íl? ...
 5' ... n]a? bāb ub.šu.[ukkin.na ...
 6' ...] *man-nu* tar x[...
 7' ... b]āb *parak*(bára) *a-kà-dè^{k1}* x[...
 8' ...]x *parak*(bára) *a⁴mar[duk* ...
 9' ...]x 'é?' [...

1' Ka-namtila "Gate of Life"
 2' Ka-ḫegal "Gate of Abundance"
 3' Ka-a-sikilla "Gate of the Pure Arm"

4' Ka-...
 4' ...the] gates of the Grand Court of E-[sagil(?)...]

5' ...]...the gate of Ubšu-[ukkinna...
 6' ...] who ...[...
 7' ...] the gate of the Dais of Akkade...[...
 8' ...] ...the Dais of Marduk [...]

(Commentary: p. 408f.)

NAMES AND LOCATIONS OF CULTIC DAISES (nos. 9-11)

Large numbers of cultic throne-daises (*parakku*) are known to have been scattered throughout the city of Babylon, not only in consecrated buildings but also in more public places.¹⁹ Some of them were clearly outdoor shrines of some importance, and one in particular, "the Gods Pay Heed to Marduk", was a landmark well enough known to be used in *Tintir* V 97 as a point of reference for a whole city quarter. Four Late Babylonian fragments set forth the names of these cultic daises, listing them according to location. The only one of these previously available was BM 34878, a tablet from Babylon whose obverse contains an excerpt from Tablet V of *Tintir* = Babylon;²⁰ its reverse, which interests us here, was included by Unger in his edition of the *Stadtbeschreibung von Babylon* as Abschnitt F, but finds no place in the present reconstruction of the text.²¹ However, it may be that in some recensions the series of *Tintir* = Babylon was followed by the text of which BM 34878 is a part. BM 34878 is now duplicated by BM 77236, a fragment from the reverse of a multi-columned tablet (from "Babylonia", according to the inventory). Their combined text (no. 9) deals with daises in and around E-guzalamah, the temple of Ningišzida; E-ḫursag-tila, the temple of Ninurta; the Bīt Qulê; and E-tur-kalamma, the temple of Bēlet-Bābili. These last three sanctuaries have strong associations with the rituals of the Divine Love Lyrics, and the description afforded the dais "the Goddesses Pay Heed to Zarpanītum" in the Bīt Qulê probably alludes to them.²² Indeed, considerations such as this may account for the order of the list: the temples mentioned do not form a logical sequence from the topographical point of view.

Our second text (no. 10) is the fragmentary third column of BM 38602, whose first column gave one of the gate lists of E-sagil edited above. This part of BM 38602 is too poorly preserved to yield much of topographical interest, but note the appearance in l. 18' of the dais "May Babylon Become Resplendent!", already known from *Tintir* V 39. The surviving list is very probably part of the same text as BM 34878 // 77236, but there is as yet no point of contact between the two. However, the format of both lists is that in which a description — topographical or cultic — of the listed structure precedes its ceremonial name, each line being concluded by the word *šumšu*. This format, discussed above in reference to a gate list of E-sagil (see p. 83), is also probably to be found in BM

¹⁹ The statistical summary in *Tintir* V 82-88 knows of 55 daises of Marduk (whose names are listed in ll. 1-48 of that Tablet), as well as 300 of the Igigi and 600 of the Anunnaki; 7 daises of the *Asakku*-demons are listed in *KAR* 142, ii 1-10: on these and *parakku* in general, see further above, p. 12.

²⁰ Our MS d: see p. 31.

²¹ Unger mistook the reverse for the obverse, and vice versa, as noted by C.B.F. Walker, *CT* 51, p. 5.

²² For documentation see the commentary, ad loc.

41138, a fragment from Babylon (Amran ibn Ali), and is the principal reason for provisionally identifying it as a dais list (no. 11); locations mentioned are the Ištar Gate and a Street of the Market Gate. An edition follows that of BM 38602. An excerpt of two lines, badly broken, on the exercise tablet Ashmolean 1924-1538 (no. 48, copy pl. 52, rev. 8'-9'), may be part of a similar text.

9 BM 34878 (Sp II 385), rev. // BM 77236 (83-6-30, 16)
MS a Plate 18 MS b Plate 19

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b 1' [x] x x x x x[. . .]
b 2' x^{mes} šá lild[u(gar₁₀)]? ina muh-ḫi ša[k-nu . . .]
b 3' parakkū(bāra)^{mes} šá ina bāb bīt ⁿⁱⁿgiš-z[i-da . . .]
ab 4' šid-ma lu!-mur-di-in-šú para[kku . . .]
ab 5' parakkū^{mes} šá iēh(da) bīt ⁿⁱⁿurta é.ḫur.sag.ti.l[a]
ab 6' [it-ti a]-ḫa-meš nadû(šub)^a parakku šá ina a-za-me-e
ab 7' é.ḫur.sag.ti.la a-na ^{im}šadi(3) nadû(šub)^a
ab 8' parakku [f]i-im-lak-e-ḫi-is šum-šú
ab 9' parakku šá ana tar-ši-šú nadû(šub)^a ta-AD-DAL-al-ku
a 10' [x x a]m-mu šum-šú parakku šá ina <bīt> qu-le-e ina pa-na-at
a 11' [ⁿ]i-na-a-tum na-du-ú
a 12' [šá ina ^{iti}x u₄] ^{7kam}šar-rat šamê^e ina muh-ḫi-š[ú]
a 13' [áš-bat i-q]u-lu ⁱštarātu(15)^{mes} ana ^azar-pa-ni-tum šum-š[ú]
a 14' [parakku šá ina kisallī(kisal) šap-l]i-i 'šá é.tūr.kalam.ma' n[adû(šub)^a]
a 15' [. . .]x x[. . .]

5' b om. ⁿⁱⁿurta 6' b: a-za-RE-e šá 8' b: til-la-ak

10 BM 38602 (80-11-12, 486), column iii Plate 22

1' x[. . .]
2' lu x[. . . šumšu?]
3' parakku šá libit[ti(sig₄) . . .]
4' parakku [. . . šumšu]

9 BM 34878, rev. // BM 77236

2' The...on which cream(?) is put [...]
3' The daises which [...] at the gate of the temple of Ningišzida [...]
4' ...(Dais of) Lūmur-dīnšu, Dais [...]
5' The daises which are situated together next to the
6' temple of Ninurta, E-ḫursag-tila: the dais which is
7' situated at the *azamū* of E-ḫursag-tila, to the east,
8' is called the Dais Timlak-eḫis;
9' the dais situated opposite it is called
10' ...[...]. The dais which is situated in the
11' Bīt Qulê, in front of Nināyītum,
12' on which, on the 7th [day of....] the Queen of Heaven
13' [sits,] is called "The Goddesses Pay Heed to Zarpanītum".
14' [The dais which] is [situated in the] Lower [Court] of E-tur-kalamma
15' [is called....]...[...]

(Commentary: p. 409 ff.)

10 BM 38602, column iii

1' ...[...]
2' [is called(?)]...[...]
3' The dais of brick [...]
4' [is called] the Dais [...]

- 5' *ib-ra-[tu . . .]*
 6' *ib-ra-[tu . . .]*
 7' *é SA[L(+X) . . .]*
 8' 2 *parakk[ir^{mes} šá . . .]*
 9' *na-d[u-ú . . .]*
 10' 'in du' [. . . *šumšu*]
 11' 'ibratu(ub.líl.lá)?' [. . .]
 12' x x [. . . *šumšu?*]
 13' *ibratu(ub.líl.lá)* [. . .]
 14' x x x [. . . *šumšu*]
 15' *parakku rabû^u 'šá ina¹ x [. . .]*
 16' *parakku (ras.?) BAD gal x [. . . šumšu]*
 17' *parakku šeḫru(tur.ra?) šá ina ku-[tal? . . .]*
 18' *parakku lim-mir [bābilu^{k1} šumšu]*
 19' *parakku [r]abû^u šá ana!(GAR) tar-š[i . . .]*
 20' *parakku li[p?- . . . šumšu]*
 21' *[para]kku rab[û^u . . .]*

11

BM 41138 (81-4-28, 685)

Plate 23

- 1' . . .]x x x 'aé?-a x x [. . .
 2' . . .]x-šú-nu-ši [. . .
 3' . . . *parakku?* šá ina *sūq(sila) abul(ká.gal) maḫīri(ganba)* [. . .
 4' . . . *ina b[i-ri-tum ana imitti(15) nadû(šub)^u* [. . .
 5' . . . *parakku?* šá ina *p]ān(igi) abul⁴ištar(15) ana ki-da-nu* [. . .
 6' . . . *ana?* 'mšadī(kur.ra) *parakku rabû^u šá a-[na . . .*
 7' . . . *parakku?* i-š]em-me še-ḫI-s[a? šum-šú? . . .
 8' . . .]^amarad[uk . . .

- 5' The shrine [...]
 6' The shrine [...]
 7' ...[...]
 8' The two daises [which] are situated
 9' [...are called...and]
 10' ...[...]
 11' The shrine(?) [...]
 12' [is called(?)]...[...]
 13' The shrine [...]
 14' [is called]...[...]
 15' The large dais which [(is situated)] in [...]
 16' [is called] the Dais...[...]
 17' The small(?) dais which [(is situated)] behind(?) [...]
 18' [is called] the Dais "May [Babylon] Become Resplendent!"
 19' The large dais which [(is situated)] opposite [...]
 20' [is called] the Dais...[...]
 21' The large dais [...]

(Commentary: p. 411)

11

BM 41138

- 1' ...]...Ea(?)...[...
 2' ...] to them....[...
 3' ...the dais(?) which [(is located)] in the Street of the Market Gate [(is called)...
 4' ...in the] middle on the right is located [(is called)...
 5' ...the dais(?) which (is located) in] front of the Ištar Gate, on the outside, [(is called)...
 6' ...to(?) the] east; the large dais which...[...
 7' ...[(is called)] "She] hears her(?)...[...]"...
 8' ...] Marduk [...]

(Commentary: p. 412)

A LIST OF SHRINES AND GODS IN E-RAB-RIRI
(no. 12)

This previously unpublished list is inscribed on the first column of the reverse (probably column iii) of a large library tablet from Kuyunjik, K 2107+6086.²³ What remains of the text is divided into five sections by rulings. The first of these contains a list of shrines, each designated *šubtu* (ll. 1'-7'?, 9'-10', 12'-17') or *manzāzu* (ll. 8' and 11'?).²⁴ The ceremonial names of some of these are common to the *šubtu*-list of E-sagil, which makes up the bulk of Tablet II of *Tintir* = Babylon, but no other connection between the two texts is apparent. Given that the second section of the list deals with divinities resident in E-rab-riri, the temple of Madānu in the temple complex of E-sagil, it is most likely that the shrine list is also concerned with this sanctuary, and nothing about the text suggests otherwise.²⁵ The third and fourth sections of the text list more divinities, perhaps divine weapons, and the fifth apparently a further four shrines (*šubtu*).

²³ The obverse of this tablet gives the text of a scholarly commentary on the names of Marduk, and is published by King, *STC* II 61-62.

²⁴ For *šubtu*, at smallest a symbol pedestal, see above, p. 9f.; for *manzāzu*, the podium or socle on which a divine image could be put, see the commen-

tary on *Tintir* V 86-88.

²⁵ Indeed, one notes the presence in the list of shrines of Gula and her court (ll. 9'ff.): Gula is probably the spouse of Madānu of Babylon (see p. 304). On E-rab-riri see further *Tintir* IV 4 and commentary.

K 2107 + 6086, rev.iii

Plate 23

12

1'	[é?.da]lla.ùru	MIN ^a x[. . .]
2'	é.nir.gál.an.na	MIN ^a na-bi-[um]
3'	é.u ₄ .gal	MIN ^a en-líl ^{be} [pí]
4'	ki.du ₆ .kù.ga	MIN ^a šul-pa-è-x ^{be} -p[í]
5'	é.sag.kal	MIN ^a nè-eri ₁₁ -gal
6'	é.sag.dil.an.na. ^{si} gidru.tuku	MIN ^a nin-šubur
7'	é.kurun.na	MIN ^a siraš
8'	é.di.ku ₅ .gal	manzāz(gišgal) ^a šamaš
9'	ú.su	šubat(únu) ^a gu-la
10'	é.ir.in.DU	MIN ^a pa-bil-sag
11'	gišgal. ^a imin.bi	ilī ^{mes} rabûti ^{mes}
12'	en.zag.kù.ga	MIN ^a ur-ma-šum
13'	é.ušumgal.an.na	MIN ^a nin-kar-nun-na
14'	é.ad.gi ₄ .gi ₄	MIN ^a da-mu
15'	é.me.lám.ḫuš	MIN ^a lugal-ir ₉ -ra u ^a mes-lam-ta-è-a
16'	é.an.kù.ga	MIN ^a gu-nu-ra
17'	é.ḫi.li.sig ₅ .ga	MIN ^a šillu(MI)-uš-tāb(du ₁₀) u ^a ká-tun-na
18'	^a qudmu	^a [x]
19'	^a dūnga	^a [umḫa]
20'	[^a . . .]	^a kala.ga.dab.b[a]
21'	[^a . . .]	7 dingirgubbû(dingir.gub.ba) ^{mes} šá é.rab.ri.ri

12

A List of Shrines and Gods in E-rab-riri

1'	[E(?)]-dalla-uru	the seat of...[...];
	"House(?) of the Lofty(?) Hero"	
2'	E-nirgal-anna	the seat of Nabû;
	"House of the Heavenly Prince"	
3'	E-u-gal	the seat of Enlil...;
	"House of the Tempest"	
4'	Ki-du-kuga	the seat of Šulpae-...;
	"Place of the Pure Mound"	
5'	E-sagkal	the seat of Nergal;
	"House of the Leader"	
6'	E-sagdīl-anna-gidru-tuku	the seat of Ninšubur;
	"House of the Heavenly Secrets, Holding a Sceptre"	
7'	E-kurunna	the seat of Sirāš;
	"House of Liquor"	
8'	E-diku-gal	the seat of Šamaš;
	"House of the Great Judge"	
9'	Usu	the seat of Gula;
10'	E-ir-in-DU	the seat of Pabilsag;
	"House..."	
11'	Gišgal-Iminbi-ilī-rabûti	
	"Station of the Divine Heptad, the Great Gods"	
12'	Enzag-kuga	the seat of Urmašum;
	"Pure..."	
13'	E-ušumgal-anna	the seat of Ninkarnunna;
	"House of the Dragon of Heaven"	
14'	E-adgigi	the seat of Damu;
	"House of the Counsellor"	
15'	E-melam-ḫuš	the seat of Lugalirra and Meslamtaea;
	"House of Awesome Radiance"	
16'	E-an-kuga	the seat of Gunura;
	"House of Pure Heaven"	
17'	E-ḫili-sigga	the seat of Šilluš-tāb and Katunna.
	"House of Beauteous Adornment"	
18'	Qudmu;	[...];
19'	Dunga;	Lumḫa;
20'	[...];	Kalagadabba ("Seizer of the Strong");
21'	[...];	the 7 Divine Attendants of E-rab-riri.

22' [...]	é.rab.ri.ri
23' [^d ...]	^d mu-tu
24' [^d ...]	^d hur-ba-šu
25' [^d ...]	^d nap-paḥ-tum
26' [^d ...]	le-mi-šú
27' [^d ...]	a-a-bi
28' [^d ...]	za-ma-nu
29' [^d ...]	a-na šēpī(gir) ^{min} šarri(lugal)
30' [^d ...]	raggūt(érin) ^{mes} ^d en-lil
31' [^d ...]	[l]ib-bi ¹ uqardammi(gil)
32' [...]	[š]ubat(únu) ^d asal-lú-ḫi
33' [...]	[MIN] ^d na-bi-um
34' [...]	[MIN] ^d n]è-eri ₁₁ -gal
35' [...]	[MIN] u ₄ -m]u la pa-de-e

22' [...]	E-rab-riri.
23' [...]	Death;
24' [...]	Horror;
25' [...]	Revolt.
26' [(Crusher of)]	those who Disobey him;
27' [(Destroyer of)]	the Enemy;
28' [(Annihilator of)]	the Foe;
29' [(Subduer of the Insubmissive)]	at the King's Feet;
30' [(Exterminator of)]	those Wicked to Enlil;
31' [(Piercer of)]	the Heart of the Villain.
32' [...]	the seat of Asalluḫi;
33' [...]	[the seat] of Nabû;
34' [...]	[the seat of] Nergal;
35' [...]	[the seat of] the Merciless Storm.

(Commentary: p. 412f.)

3

BABYLON: METROLOGICAL TEXTS

E-sagil

There exists a small genre of late texts which deal with the dimensions of temples. Not surprisingly, several of them are concerned with the great temple of Marduk in Babylon. These are the famous E-sagil Tablet from Uruk, for which a duplicate from Babylon (Jimjima) is now known; VAT 9961 + 10335, known as the Measurements of E-sagil and E-zida, from Aššur; and, in the New York Metropolitan Museum, 86-11-102, perhaps also from Babylon. Such metrological texts bear no close resemblance to any part of *Tintir* = Babylon and its related texts, but they do provide a certain amount of topographical information on the ground plans and general lay-out of the great sanctuaries E-sagil and E-temen-anki, and are on that account central to our understanding of the location within them of various gates, courtyards and chapels known from *Tintir* and other sources. New editions of the E-sagil Tablet and the Measurements of E-sagil and E-zida are offered in this chapter.¹

THE E-SAGIL TABLET
(no. 13)

Such is the content of the E-sagil Tablet that it could easily serve as the subject of a small monograph. But in view of the scope of the present work, the writer declines for the moment to add his name to the long list of scholars who have made special studies of the relevant metrology and archaeology, and their historical and architectural implications. Consequently this introduction limits itself to a brief review of the text, and the commentary is concerned principally with topographical matters (in particular with points of contact with other texts edited in this book). Other topics are treated only in passing, and readers who wish to pursue them further are referred to the work of those who have gone before, especially to the study of Weissbach, and, in metrological matters, to the work of Marvin Powell.²

¹ The third metrological text, 86-11-102, is edited by the writer elsewhere (see above, p. 10, note 45), where also can be found an account of the other texts belonging to the genre. Editions of the metrological tablets BM 56073 and 78905, dealing with the temples of Šamaš and Bunene at Sippar, appear below as nos. 36 and 37. Note also a text, probably of MB date, listing the areas of temples of Nippur:

Bernhardt and Kramer, *OrNS* 44, p. 96ff.; and a fragment giving measurements of the temple of Anu at Aššur: Weidner, *AfO* 8, p. 43, Assur 19763. Three small OB tablets giving dimensions of temples have been edited by Charpin (*MARI* I, p. 137ff.; *Iraq* 45, p. 56ff.).

² For a selective bibliography of the E-sagil Tablet see below, p. 113f.

As mentioned above, two manuscripts are now available for the text of the E-sagil Tablet. AO 6555, a fine Late Babylonian tablet from Uruk, was copied in 229 B.C. (Seleucid Era 83) from an original from Borsippa, and rests now in the Louvre.³ The new duplicate is BM 40813, a considerable fragment out of the middle of the reverse of a large Late Babylonian tablet; the text finishes at line 35 and then, after a ruling, resumes again from the beginning, a circumstance which suggests that the tablet is a repeated writing exercise. Nevertheless, variant readings from this fragment do clear up more than one problem caused by scribal errors in the tablet from Uruk, which, while calligraphically pleasing, is not always reliable. Quotations from the E-sagil Tablet, or a text on the same subject, in a previously unavailable commentary, BM 54311, are also of help in confirming an old emendation and a new reading.⁴ These considerations are the principal justification for a new edition of the whole text.

As Powell notes in his article on the metrology of the E-sagil Tablet, two systems of measurement are used in the text: the Kassite and Early Neo-Babylonian system, and the later Standard Neo-Babylonian system, each of which uses a different cubit standard and a different seeding ratio (the latter used to convert measurements of surface area into volume of grain). The compilation of the text as we know it presumably dates to a period when both systems were in use, or at least understood, and this suggests a date in the period when the later metrological system began to supersede the earlier one as the standard system of measurement: probably the late eighth or early seventh century. A later date cannot be ruled out, however, for the vocabulary of the E-sagil Tablet places it firmly in the mathematical tradition, and thus metrological criteria are here of less chronological significance than they would be in a document of more practical use (such as, for example, a deed of sale).

A cursory glance at the text of the E-sagil Tablet reveals that its traditional modern name is really a misnomer: very little of the text is concerned with the great temple of Marduk itself, being mostly given over to the consideration of Marduk's ziqqurrat, E-temen-anki, and the temple at its top. Only the opening sections of the text (ll. 1-15) deal with E-sagil, and then only with two courtyards whose very size prohibits their identification with the interior courtyards of the temple, and which must be seen instead as courtyards of the temple precinct. The temple buildings themselves are not considered.

The first four lines of the text, which are now restored and corrected by the new duplicate, deal with the approximate areas of the Grand Court (Kisalmah) and the Court of Ištar and Zababa, respectively 1 ikû and $\frac{1}{2} \text{ ikû}$; the text then goes on to demonstrate that, while their combined area remains $1\frac{1}{2} \text{ ikû}$, the larger courtyard can be enlarged by a small area ($2\frac{1}{2} \text{ mušaru}$) and the smaller courtyard reduced by the same amount: the whole section is set out as a mathematical problem. The exact significance of making the

³ The archive to which the tablet belongs, that of the *kalû*-priest Anu-bêlšunu, is now known to originate in a room of the *Bīt-rēš* temple: G.J.P.

McEwan, *BiOr* 38, p. 639.

⁴ See the commentary on ll. 5 and 26. A copy of the reverse of BM 54311 (no. 62) appears on pl. 56.

addition and subtraction is not certain, for although the two areas of $2\frac{1}{2} \text{ mušaru}$ are neatly explained in architectural terms, these unfortunately do not lend themselves to easy interpretation. What is clear, however, is that these added and subtracted areas, although of equal size, are topographically separate, and therefore this passage cannot be used as evidence that the two courtyards abutted. It is apparent that the real interest of the text is not topographical but mathematical, and consequently how far the figures of length, breadth and area presented in this section, and probably also in other sections of the text, can be taken as actual physical dimensions is uncertain. The figures for the lengths and breadths of the two courtyards suppose that each is a regular rectangle, and this immediately raises a suspicion that we are dealing with hypothetical dimensions, in length and breadth if not, indeed, in area.

Hypothetical or not, the lengths and breadths of the two courtyards are given in terms of whole measures (*nindanu*, the 12 cubit measure) and their sexagesimal fractions (e.g. $11 + \frac{23}{60} + \frac{20}{3600}$); these lengths and breadths are then multiplied to give the areas of each courtyard in linear-based surface units (*mušaru*, the area of a square with sides of 1 *nindanu*), and these are converted in turn into capacity-surface units (*qû*) by multiplication with the reciprocal $\frac{18}{60}$.⁵ Finally the text converts the capacity-surface units back into linear measure (*mušaru* and its multiple, *ikû*), as if to confirm the arithmetic. Lines 11-12, which open the third section of the E-sagil Tablet, summarize the text so far. The remainder of the section enumerates the main gates of E-sagil, and continues with the apparent comment that the temple itself, together with the precinct of Ka-sikilla (on the interpretation see the commentary, ad loc.), are not taken into consideration for statistical analysis (*lā manû*, "not reckoned"). And so they are not, for the rest of the text is concerned with the ziqqurrat.

The fourth section of text (ll. 16-19) gives the length and breadth of the ziqqurrat's base according to the later Neo-Babylonian cubit standard (3 *šuppān*, or 180 cubits, both ways), and calculates from this the area of the base in square *šuppān*. This, a linear-based measure, is then converted into capacity-surface measure (*sûtu*, the 6 *qû* measure in this system) by multiplication with the factor 2.⁶ In the fifth section of the text (ll. 20-24) the

⁵ In the Kassite and Early Neo-Babylonian metrological system used in this section of text, the conventional method of surface measurement expressed area in terms of volume of grain required to seed it (capacity-surface measure); this was worked out at the standard ratio of $3\frac{1}{2} \text{ mušaru} : 1 \text{ qû}$, which is conventionally expressed (e.g. in boundary stones and land grants) as *ikû*(1.iku) *šimid*(baneš), "1 *ikû* (100 *mušaru*) : 1 *šimdu* (30 *qû*)". To convert area expressed in linear-based units (*mušaru*) into area expressed in capacity-surface measure (*qû*) one must accordingly divide by a factor of $3\frac{1}{2}$; this is, of course, the same as multiplying by the reciprocal of

$3\frac{1}{2}$, which, in the sexagesimal system, is the fraction $\frac{18}{60}$. See Marvin Powell, *ZA* 72, p. 112f.

⁶ In the later Neo-Babylonian system the linear-based unit of area 1 *šuppān*² corresponds to 2 *sûtu* in capacity-surface measure, a ratio of 1 : 2, which explains the use of the factor 2 in the conversion process (in the present text $9 \text{ šuppān}^2 = 18 \text{ sûtû}$, i.e. 108 *qû* or 3 *pānu*). The same ratio is expressed differently by Powell, loc. cit., p. 116, for whom the figure 2 is the sexagesimal fraction $\frac{2}{60}$, the reciprocal of 30, this being relevant because 30 square cubits corresponds to 1 *akalu* ($\frac{1}{10} \text{ qû}$). The present calculation would accordingly read $180 \times 180 \text{ (cubits)} = 9$

same calculations are made, but in the older and larger units of the Kassite and Early Neo-Babylonian metrological system. Thus the base of the ziqqurra measures 10 *nindanu* (120 cubits) both ways, and its area, 100 *mušaru* (= 1 *ikū*), is converted into the capacity-surface system at the old standard rate of 1 *šimdu* per *ikū* using the reciprocal $\frac{18}{60}$: this gives a figure of 30 *qū* (= 3 *sūtu* = 1 *šimdu*). The end of the section records the additional statistic that the length, breadth and height of the ziqqurra are a uniform 10 *nindanu*, again using the older and longer cubit standard.

The next section (ll. 25-35: note that the rulings on the tablet from Uruk are not always a reliable guide to the start and finish of the various sections of text), the sixth, deals with the internal measurements of the ziqqurra temple, expressed for the most part in *nindanu* and sexagesimal fractions, but, in the case of the bed (l. 34), in cubits. That the cubit standard used in this section is the later, smaller one, in which 1 cubit converts to approximately 50 cm, and 1 *nindanu* to about 6 metres, is demonstrated in the commentary.⁷ The temple itself is divided into four parts arranged around the four sides of a roofed court, each served by its own gateway.⁸ The rooms described in the text are six cellae or chapels and two other chambers: off the east side of the courtyard are the cellae of Marduk, Nabû and Tašmētum; to the north lie the chapels of Ea and Nuska, to the south that of Anu and Enlil. Behind the courtyards' west front are the *tu'um* and the staircase; the *tu'um* comprises two parts, an inner and an outer chamber, the latter housing the divine bed. A throne is also mentioned, though without mention of a specific location; we suspect that it was set up in Marduk's cella rather than in the *tu'um*, as previous commentators have thought (see the commentary).

The final section of the text (ll. 36-42) is absent from the new duplicate and may represent a late addition. It gives the length, breadth and height of the various storeys of the ziqqurra in the later Neo-Babylonian cubit standard, as is shown by comparison of the figures for the base in l. 37 (15 *nindanu*) with those offered in ll. 17 (3 *šuppān* = 15 *nindanu*: later standard) and 21 (10 *nindanu*: earlier standard). This part of the E-sagil Tablet has naturally attracted considerable interest, and an account of the several architectural reconstructions proposed by individual scholars is given by Parrot, *Ziggurats*, p. 185ff., who adds his own, p. 192f.⁹

$\times 60^2$ (i.e. 32400 sq. cubits) $\times \frac{2}{60}$ (reciprocal) = 18 $\times 60$ (i.e. 1080 *akalu*) = 3 *pānu*; this seems an unnecessary complication in view of the simple equation in the same ratio noted above, which the text accepts without reference to smaller units. On the same question see also Weissbach, *ZA* 41, p. 276f.

⁷ On the modern equivalences of the two cubit standards of the Neo-Babylonian metrological systems (the older and longer *ammātu rabitu*, "large cubit", also called *ammāt arê*, "mathematical(?) cubit", in the present text, and the later standard,

also known as *astu*, respectively about 75 and 50 cm), see most recently Marvin Powell, loc. cit., p. 106ff. Comparison of the archaeological remains of the ziqqurra with the dimensions given in the E-sagil Tablet is one of the principal keys to the establishment of these values.

⁸ On the interior and exterior gates of the ziqqurra temple, see above, p. 89f.

⁹ To these add those of von Soden, *UF* 3, p. 260; Schmid, *BagM* 12, pl. 21; and Jakob-Rost, *FB* 24, p. 62. Cf. further the commentary below.

The colophon of the Uruk tablet includes a clumsy metrological table, which seems to have been drawn up by someone unfamiliar with metrological matters in general, in an attempt to explain the equivalence of linear-based measure to capacity-surface measure in the Kassite and Early Neo-Babylonian system.¹⁰

13

The E-sagil Tablet

MS	Museum Number	Sources		Plate
		Lines on obv.	rev.	
a	AO 6555	1-36	37-42	24-25
b	BM 40813 (81-4-28, 359)		24-35	23
			1-6	

Bibliography of MS a

Text

1913	V. Scheil and P. Toscanne, <i>MAIB</i> 39, p. 293ff.	CPTTr C PTTr TTr P
1922	F. Thureau-Dangin, <i>TCL</i> VI 32	
1931	E. Unger, <i>Babylon</i> , pp. 237ff., 246ff., and pl. 50-51	
1938	F.H. Weissbach, <i>WVDOG</i> 59, p. 49ff.	
1949	A. Parrot, <i>Ziggurats</i> , p. 32f., pl. 1	

Interpretative Studies¹¹

1876	G. Smith, <i>The Athenaeum</i> 2520 (12.ii.1876), p. 232f. (republished in the English edition of R. Koldewey, <i>The Excavations at Babylon</i> (1914), p. 192ff.)
1913	M. Dieulafoy, <i>MAIB</i> 39, p. 309ff.
1914	F.H. Weissbach, <i>OLZ</i> 17, 193ff.
1918	S. Langdon, <i>RA</i> 15, p. 110ff.
1920	B. Meissner and W. Schwenzner, <i>OLZ</i> 23, 112ff.
1922	F. Thureau-Dangin, <i>RA</i> 19, p. 88ff.
1927	E. Unger, <i>ZAW</i> 45, p. 162ff.
1931	E. Unger, <i>Babylon</i> , p. 191ff.
1933	F.H. Weissbach, <i>ZA</i> 41, p. 269ff.

¹⁰ For this table see further the comments of Powell, loc. cit., p. 114ff., and the commentary below. A modern metrological table of both NB systems can be found below, p. 119.

¹¹ This bibliography is selective: for a comprehensive bibliography, including archaeological and

architectural studies, see Parrot, *Ziggurats*, p. 221ff., to which add the articles of Busink, *JEOL* 21, p. 136ff.; H. Schmid, *BagM* 12, p. 87ff.; and J.G. Schmid, *Sumer* 41, p. 44ff.; and the monograph of E. Klengel-Brandt, *Der Turm von Babylon* (1982).

- 1938 F.H. Weissbach, *WVDOG* 59, p. 79ff.
 1948 T.A. Busink, *JEOL* 10, p. 526ff.
 1949 A. Parrot, *Ziggurats*, pp. 68ff., 185ff.
 1971 W. von Soden, *UF* 3, p. 253ff.
 1982 M.A. Powell, *ZA* 72, p. 106ff.

a edge *ina a-mat* ^a*anim*(60) *u an-tum liš-lim*

- ab 1 é.sag.il *kisalmāhu*(kisal.mah) 1 iku *ma-da-as-su ubu^{iku} mim-da-a-ti*
 ab 2 *kisal* ^a*iš₈-tār u* ^a*za-ba₄-ba₄* 2 *mušar*(sar) *ù* $\frac{1}{2}$ *mušar kisalm[āha e]li*(ugu) 1 iku
rubbi(gal)^{bi}
 ab 3 *a-za-mu-ù ša ub.šu.ukkin.na* 2 *mušar* *ù* $\frac{1}{2}$ *mušar kisalla* 'šeħra(bàn.da)' *eli ubu^{iku}*
 ab 4 *šuhhir*(tur)[^{ti}] : *su-ħa-tum ša i-na iēh* ^{is}*dalat*(ig) *ar-ka-bi-in-ni āš-šu šidda*(ús)
pūta(sag) *eqla*(aša)
 ab 5 *lā tīdū*(zu)^a 11,23!(33),20 *šiddi kisalmāhi* 9 *pūt kisalmāhi* 11,23!(33),20 a.rá 9
 ab 6 102,30 : 102,30 a.rá 0,18 : 30,45 *aššu*(mu) 30,45 *lā tīdū*^a 1 iku
 a 7 2 *mušar* $\frac{1}{2}$ *mušar zēri*(še.numun) *ina ammati*(1.kūš) *rabītum*(gal)^{tum} *middāt*(āg)^{mes}
kisalmāhi

 a 8 10,33,20 *šiddi kisal* ^a*iš₈-tār u* ^a*za-ba₄-ba₄* 4,30 *pūt kisal* ^a*iš₈-tār u* ^a*za-ba₄-ba₄*¹
 a 9 10,33,20 a.rá 4,30 : 47,30 : 47,30 a.rá 0,18 : 14,15 *ki-i* 14,1[5]
 a 10 *lā tīdū*^a 40 *mušar* $7\frac{1}{2}$ *mušar zēri i-na ammati*(1.kūš) *rabītum^{tum} mim-da-a-ti*
kisa[lli šeħrī]

 a 11 *naphar*(šu.nigin) 1 iku *ubu^{iku}(SAR)* *zēri i-na ammat*(1.kūš) *arē*(a.rá)^e *ki-mir-ti*
kisallā[*tī^{mes}*]
 a 12 *ki-lal-la-an siħirti*(nigin)^{ti} *ká.mah ká.utu.è.a ká.gal ká.amma.r[a.bi]*
 a 13 *ká.ħé.gál ká.u₆.de.babbar.ra* 6 *bābāt*(ká)^{mes} *né-reb a-na i*[*i*(dingir)]
 a 14 *ša ana kidudē*(ki.du.du) *ekurri*(é.kur) *i-ta-a-ti ub.šu.ukkin.na tag₄.tag₄*^e *é.sag.í*[*i*]
 a 15 *ù siħirti^{ti} ká.sikil.le la manū*(šid)^{m[es]}

 a 16 *mim-da-a-ti ki-gal-li é.te.me.en.an.ki šiddu* *ù pūtu a-na amā*[*rīka*(igi.du₈.a.zu)]
 a 17 3 *šuppān*(60^{su}+60^{su}+60^{su}) *šiddu* 3 *šuppān pūtu ina ammat*(1.kūš) *as₄-lum*
nikkassa(nīg.ka₉)-*šu a-na šutābuli*(šār.šār) 3 [a.rá 3]
 a 18 9 : 9 a.rá 2 : 18 *ki-i* 18 *lā tīdū*^a 3 *pān*(bariga) *zēri i-na ammati*(1.kūš)
šeħer[*tī*(tur)^{ti}]
 a 19 *ki-gal-li é.te.me.en.an.ki mēlū*(sukud) *ki-i pī*(ka) *šiddi* [*u pūtī*]

2 b om. *iš₈* 3 b: *za-mu-ù* 3-4 a: ugu 1 iku gal^{bi}

edge: "By the command of Anu and Antu may it be well!"

- 1 E-sagil, the Grand Court (Kisalmah): its size is 1 *ikū*; $\frac{1}{2}$ *ikū* is the size of
- 2 the Court of Ištar and Zababa. Make the Grand Court greater than 1 *ikū* by $2\frac{1}{2}$ *mušaru*:
- 3 the *azamū* of Ubšu-ukkinna; make the smaller courtyard less than $\frac{1}{2}$ *ikū* by
- 4 $2\frac{1}{2}$ *mušaru*: the *suħātu* which is adjacent to the *arkabinnu*-door. In case you do not understand
- 5 length, breadth and area, $11 + \frac{23}{60} + \frac{20}{3600}$ is the length of the Grand Court, 9 is the breadth of the Grand Court: $11 + \frac{23}{60} + \frac{20}{3600} \times 9 =$
- 6 $102 + \frac{30}{60}$; $102 + \frac{30}{60} \times \frac{18}{60} = 30 + \frac{45}{60}$; in case you do not understand $30 + \frac{45}{60}$ (*qū*), it is an acreage of 1 *ikū* and
- 7 $2\frac{1}{2}$ *mušaru* using the large cubit-standard, the size of the Grand Court.

- 8 $10 + \frac{33}{60} + \frac{20}{3600}$ is the length of the Court of Ištar and Zababa, $4 + \frac{30}{60}$ is the breadth of the Court of Ištar and Zababa:
- 9 $10 + \frac{33}{60} + \frac{20}{3600} \times 4 + \frac{30}{60} = 47 + \frac{30}{60}$; $47 + \frac{30}{60} \times \frac{18}{60} = 14 + \frac{15}{60}$; if you do not understand
- 10 $14 + \frac{15}{60}$ (*qū*), it is an acreage of $47\frac{1}{2}$ *mušaru* using the large cubit-standard, the size of the [smaller] courtyard.

- 11 Altogether, an acreage of $1\frac{1}{2}$ *ikū* using the *arū* cubit-standard, the total area of both
- 12 courtyards: the precinct of(?) Ka-mah, Ka-Utu-ea, Ka-gal, Ka-Lamma-(a)rabi,
- 13 Ka-ħegal and Ka-ude-babbarra, the six gates of entry to the god,
- 14 which open(?) around Ubšu-ukkinna for the rites of the temple. E-sagil
- 15 and the precinct of Ka-sikilla are not computed.

- 16 The dimensions of the base of E-temen-anki, length and breadth, for [you] to work out:
- 17 3 *šuppān* the length, 3 *šuppān* the breadth, using the *aslu* cubit-standard. To calculate their product: $3 [\times 3 =]$
- 18 9 (*šuppān*²); $9 \times 2 = 18$; if you do not understand 18 (*sūtu*), it is an acreage of 3 *pānu* using the small cubit-standard:
- 19 the base of E-temen-anki. Height corresponds to length [and breadth.]

- a 20 'ša-ni-iš² middā^{mes} kigalli(ki.gal) é.te.me.en.an.ki šiddu ù pūtu a-na a-ma-ri-[ka]
a 21 [10 nindan(ninda) šid]du 10 nindan pūtu i-na ammat(1.kūš) arê^e nikkassa-šu a-na
šu-ta-b[u-lī]
a 22 [10 a.rá 10 :] 100 : 100 a.rá 0,18 : 30 aššu 30 là tīdū^a 30 iki(1.iku) šimid(baneš)
z[ēri(še.numun)]
a 23 [i-na ammat(1.kūš)] rabītum^{um} ki-gal-li é.te.me.en.an.ki šiddu pūtu ù m[ēlū
(sukud)]
ab 24 [i-na amma]t(1.kūš) arê^e 10 nindan^{ta.ām} mit-ḫu-r[u]
ab 25 [mim-da]-f^a-ti {U} 6 pa-pa-ḫa-a-ni šā nu-ḫar šumšu(mu.ne) bīt imšadī(kur.ra) pa-
paḫ i[lī]
ab 26 '2' [šid]du 0,40 pūtu qan-ni a-na qan-ni pa-pa-ḫa-a-[n]i
ab 27 šā^a nabū(nā) u^a taš-me-tum 0,45^{ām} šiddu 0,40^{ām} pūtu
ab 28 šitta(2)^{ta} bītātī^{mes} šā^a imlītāni(sī.sā) šā^a é-a u^a nuska bīt é-a 1,25 šiddu
ab 29 0,30 pūtu bīt^a nuska 0,35 šiddu 0,35 pūtu bītū šā^a imšūti(u₁₈.lu) bīt^a a-nim u^a en-lil
ab 30 1,10 šiddu 0,30 pūtu bītū šā^a imamurri(mar.dú) tu-'um ù bīt sim-mil-ti
ab 31 ina ku-tal-li-šu pa-ni bāb-a-nu-ú bīt^a eršī(nā) 2,5 šiddu 0,30 pūtu
ab 32 pa-ni bīt-a-nu-ú 1,40 šiddu 0,20 pūtu bīt sim-mil-ti ki-i pi-i-šu-nu-ma šiddu
ab 33 u pūtu kisallu 1,40 šiddu 1,5 pūtu kisallu ḫu-u[l-lu]
ab 34^a eršu 9 ammat(kūš) šiddu 4 ammat pūtu^a eršu u^a kussū(gu.za) tar-ḫu ù
^a sag.kul^{me} la-mu^a eršu šanīta^{ta}
ab 35 [ina] kisallī na-da-a-ti bāb šīt šamši^autu.ē) bāb imšūti bāb ereb šamši^autu.šū.a)
bāb imlītāni
a 36 [m]im-da-a-ti šiddu pūtu u mēlū(sukud) <ḫe-pi> ešā-sī-ti nu-ḫar bābili(tin.kir)^{ki}
šumšu(mu.ne)
a 37 15 nindan šiddu 15 nindan pūtu 2½ nindan mēlū pitqu(im.dū.a) šaplū(ki.ta)^r^a
a 38 13 nindan šiddu 13 nindan pūtu 3 nindan mēlū rik-bi šanū^a
a 39 10 nindan šiddu 10 nindan pūtu 1 nindan mēlū rikbu(u₅) šalšu^{sa}
a 40 8½ nindan šiddu 8½ nindan pūtu 1 nindan mēlū rikbu rebū^a
a 41 7 nindan šiddu 7 nindan pūtu 1 nindan mēlū rikbu ḫamšu^{sa}
<5½ nindan šiddu 5½ nindan pūtu 1 nindan mēlū rikbu šeššu^{sa}>
a 42 4 nindan šiddu 3½ nindan nik!(SAL)-kās pūtu 2½ nindan mēlū kiššu(SAG × MI)
elū(an.ta) <rikbu> sebū^a šā-ḫu-ru

27-28 a has ruling between the two lines 33 u from b, a: 0,35 34 ù...la-mu so placed in b, in a at end of l. 33.

- 20 Alternatively, the dimensions of the base of E-temen-anki, length and breadth, for
[you] to work out:
21 [10 nindanu the] length, 10 nindanu the breadth, using the arū cubit-standard. To
calculate their product:
22 [10 × 10 =] 100; 100 × $\frac{18}{60}$ = 30; in case you do not understand 30, it is an acreage
of 30 (qū), where 1 ikū corresponds to 1 šimdu,
23 [using] the large [cubit-standard:] the base of E-temen-anki. Length, breadth and
height
24 measure equally 10 nindanu each, [using] the arū [cubit-standard.]
25 [The] dimensions of the six cellae which are called the ziqqurrat-temple: the rooms to
the east — the cella of the god:
26 2 (nindanu) [the] length, $\frac{40}{60}$ the breadth, ...to...; the cellae
27 of Nabū and Tašmētum: each $\frac{45}{60}$ the length, $\frac{40}{60}$ the breadth.
28 The two rooms to the north, of Ea and Nuska — the chapel of Ea: $1 + \frac{25}{60}$ the length,
29 $\frac{30}{60}$ the breadth; the chapel of Nuska: $\frac{35}{60}$ the length, $\frac{35}{60}$ the breadth. The room to the
south — the chapel of Anu and Enlil:
30 $1 + \frac{10}{60}$ the length, $\frac{30}{60}$ the breadth. The rooms to the west — the tu'um and, behind it,
31 the staircase: the outer 'front', the bedchamber: $2 + \frac{5}{60}$ the length, $\frac{30}{60}$ the breadth;
32 the inner 'front': $1 + \frac{40}{60}$ the length, $\frac{20}{60}$ the breadth; the staircase: according to these
(figures) the length
33 and (var.: $\frac{35}{60}$) the breadth. The courtyard: $1 + \frac{40}{60}$ the length, $1 + \frac{5}{60}$ the breadth; the
courtyard is roofed over.
34 The bed: 9 cubits the length, 4 cubits the breadth. Bed and throne are opposite and
ringed with circles(?); another bed
35 is located [in] the courtyard. Gate of the Sunrise, South Gate, Gate of the Sunset,
North Gate.
36 The dimensions, length, breadth and height, (of the ziqqurrat): its name being
Ziqqurrat-Temple of Babylon:
37 15 nindanu the length, 15 nindanu the breadth, $5\frac{1}{2}$ nindanu the height: the bottom
platform;
38 13 nindanu the length, 13 nindanu the breadth, 3 nindanu the height: the second
storey;
39 10 nindanu the length, 10 nindanu the breadth, 1 nindanu the height: the third storey;
40 $8\frac{1}{2}$ nindanu the length, $8\frac{1}{2}$ nindanu the breadth, 1 nindanu the height: the fourth
storey;
41 7 nindanu the length, 7 nindanu the breadth, 1 nindanu the height: the fifth storey;
 $5\frac{1}{2}$ nindanu the length, $5\frac{1}{2}$ nindanu the breadth, 1 nindanu the height: the sixth storey;
42 4 nindanu the length, $3\frac{3}{4}$ nindanu the breadth, $2\frac{1}{2}$ nindanu the height: the upper
sanctum, the seventh storey, (and) the šahūru.

Colophon of MS a
(Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 89)

- 1 *mūdâ(zu)^a mūdâ^a li₆-kal-lim là mūdû^a là immar(igi) an pî(ka) tuppi(dub) gabarê*
(gaba.ri) *bar-sip^{ki}*
- 2 *šaṭir(sar)-ma up-puša₄ ù ba-ri*
-
- 3 18 *mu-šar* 1 *nindan* 3 *silā* ù 20^a *ša nindan* :
50 *mu-šar* *ù-bu₄ubû(ubu!)* 1 *sūt(bán)* 3 *qa*
- 4 '2 *ubû* *i-ki₄ikî(1.iku)* *šimid(baneš)* :
6 *eblu(èše^{1ku})eb-lu* 3 *pān(bariga)*
- 5 3 *eblu(èše)* *bu-ru₄bûru(bûr!)* 1 *kur(gur)* 4 *pān* :
60 *bûru(bûr!)* *ša-a-ri₄šārī(šār)* 1 *me* 8 *kur(gur)*
-
- 6 *tuppi^{md}anu(60)-bēl-šū-nu mārī(dumu) šā^{md}anu-balāṭ(tin)-su-iqbi(e) mār(a) mahi(šeš)-'-*
ù-tú uruk(tir.an.na)^{ki}-ú
- 7 *q[at]^{md}anu-bēl-šū-nu mārī šāⁿⁱ-din-tu₄-^dani mār^{md}sîn(30)-leqe(ti)-unninnī(ér) uruk*
(unug)^{ki} *i^{ti}kislīmu(gán) u₄ 26^{kam}*
- 8 *mu 83^{kam} m^{si}-lu-ku šarru*

- 1 May the initiate instruct the initiate! The uninitiate must not see! According to an
original from Borsippa,
- 2 written, rendered and collated.
-
- 3 ...(see the commentary)
50 *mušaru* = 1 *ubû* = 1 *sūtu* 3 *qû*
- 4 2 *ubû* = 1 *ikû* = 1 *šimdu*
6 *ikû* = 1 *eblu* = 3 *pānu*
- 5 3 *eblu* = 1 *bûru* = 1 *kurru* 4 *pānu*
60 *bûru* = 1 *šāru* = 108 *kurru*
-
- 6 Tablet of Anu-bēlšunu, son of Anu-balāssu-iqbi, descendant of Ahi'ūtu of Uruk.
- 7 Hand of Anu-bēlšunu, son of Nidintu-Ani, descendant of Sîn-leqe-unninnī. Uruk,
26th day of Kislīmu,
- 8 year 83, King Seleucus.

(Commentary on text and colophon: p. 414ff.)

The Metrological Systems of the E-sagil
Tablet (expressed in tables)

Kassite and Early Neo-Babylonian System (large or *arû* cubit-standard)

Linear Measure

24 fingers	=	1 cubit	(ca 75 cm)
12 cubits	=	1 <i>nindanu</i>	(ca 9 m)

Linear-Based Surface Measure

1 <i>nindanu</i> ²	=	1 <i>mušaru</i>	(ca 81 m ²)
50 <i>mušaru</i>	=	1 <i>ubû</i>	(ca 0.405 hectare)
100 <i>mušaru</i>	=	1 <i>ikû</i>	(ca 0.81 hectare)

Capacity-Surface Measure

10 <i>qû</i>	=	1 <i>sūtu</i>	(ca 0.27 hectare)
3 <i>sūtu</i>	=	1 <i>šimdu</i>	(ca 0.81 hectare)
<i>sūtu</i>	=	1 <i>pānu</i>	(ca 1.62 hectare)
5 <i>pānu</i>	=	1 <i>kurru</i>	(ca 8.1 hectares)

Later Neo-Babylonian System (small or *ashu* cubit-standard)

Linear Measure

24 fingers	=	1 cubit	(ca 50 cm)
12 cubits	=	1 <i>nindanu</i>	(ca 6 m)
60 cubits	=	1 <i>šuppān</i>	(ca 30 m)
2 <i>šuppān</i>	=	1 <i>ašlu</i>	(ca 60 m)

Linear-Based Surface Measure

1 <i>nindanu</i> ²	=	1 <i>mušaru</i>	(ca 36 m ²)
1 <i>šuppān</i> ²	=	25 <i>mušaru</i>	(ca 900 m ²)
100 <i>mušaru</i>	=	1 <i>ikû</i>	(ca 0.36 hectare)

Capacity-Surface Measure

10 <i>akalu</i>	=	1 <i>qû</i>	(ca 75 m ²)
6 <i>qû</i>	=	1 <i>sūtu</i>	(ca 450 m ²)
6 <i>sūtu</i>	=	1 <i>pānu</i>	(ca 0.27 hectare)
5 <i>pānu</i>	=	1 <i>kurru</i>	(ca 1.35 hectare)

THE MEASUREMENTS OF E-SAGIL AND E-ZIDA
(no. 14)

VAT 9961 + 10335 is a Neo-Assyrian tablet of what has been called the "characteristic amulet shape",¹² with rectangular tab on its top edge, and comes from the city of Aššur. The remaining text is divided into five or six sections — damage prohibits a certain knowledge either way — separated by rulings. Only the first and final sections survive to any great degree, but enough remains of the second and third to allow an understanding of what they were about. Before looking at the measurements in detail it would be well to summarize the contents of the text. The first and second sections purport to give the measurements in cubits¹³ of various rooms and courtyards of E-sagil, Marduk's cult-centre in Babylon, as they appear in two cross-sections of the building — from south to north, and from east to west. Both sections conclude with a figure for the total measurement, which in the first section is the temple's length, and in the second its breadth. The third section of text is concerned with the dimensions, both length and breadth, of the rooms in the west 'wing' of E-sagil, around Marduk's cella, and probably ends at the bottom of the tablet's obverse. The reverse is much broken, but the final section apparently gives the overall dimensions of the precinct of E-zida, Nabû's temple in Borsippa.

Decipherment of the text is hampered not only by the tablet's poor state of preservation, but further by a number of scribal errors or corruptions. Given also the extreme difficulties which attend any attempt at reconciling the dimensions and locations of certain rooms, as they appear in the text, with the archaeological evidence — and which raise the possibility that the text describes a temple older, and different in detail if not in overall dimension, than the excavated remains — it becomes clear that determining what is correct and what erroneous in the text is not always easy, and is, indeed, sometimes impossible. Accordingly, the whole text must, for the moment, be regarded with caution, particularly as far as details of measurement are concerned. With this in mind, we go on to examine it at greater length.

As noted above, the cross-section of E-sagil dealt with in the first section of text (ll. 1-14) is from south to north (so l. 1), and its extremes are the lobbies of the two gates Ka-ude-babbarra and Ka-Lamma-(a)rabi, which are accordingly to be identified the great gates found by the excavators midway along the south and north fronts of the temple's

¹² E. Reiner, *JNES* 19, p. 154, who gives a brief review of such tablets.

¹³ The small, later Neo-Babylonian cubit-standard is employed, as is best shown by the correla-

tion between the text's figure for the length of the central courtyard and the excavators' measurement: see the commentary below on l. 8.

main building. The cross-section apparently passes through nine walls, whose thicknesses are taken into account (ll. 2-4), and which must divide and enclose eight distinct areas. These eight spaces are treated in ll. 5-13, and turn out to be six rooms and two courtyards. The larger courtyard, the Court of Bēl, is undoubtedly the great central court of the main building of E-sagil, and here at least the text and the archaeology agree, for the dimension recorded by the excavators (a mean length of just over 37.5 metres) tallies with the figure of 77 cubits recorded on the tablet. Between the south front of the temple and this courtyard the text allows for only two rooms, which are named as the lobby of Ka-ude-babbarra (8 cubits) and a larger room (14 cubits). To their total of 22 cubits must be added the thicknesses of three walls, namely the exterior wall (presumably one of the two walls at 1 reed, or 6 cubits, in l. 3), the wall between the lobby and the larger room (4 cubits), and the wall between the latter and the courtyard (another 4 cubits). According to the text, therefore, the total length from the exterior face of the south front to the central courtyard is 36 cubits, or, in modern terms, about 18 metres. Now in Wetzel's plan of E-sagil (fig. 6, on p. 86), the depth of the south 'wing' of the main building, from the exterior of the south front (excluding the abutted reinforcement known as a *kisû*, which is 1.9 m thick) to the courtyard, is 23 metres, which should correspond to about 46 or 47 cubits. This apart, a section north from the main gate of the south front (Gate B) would pass through not two, but three rooms before reaching the courtyard. These are Room 34, immediately inside the gate (where we should expect the lobby of 8 cubits), which measures 5.5 metres along its north-south axis;¹⁴ then the little-explored Room 27, at between 3 and 4 metres, depending on the depth of wall between it and Room 34;¹⁵ and the vestibule called Room 26, 2.8 metres at its widest section. How are we to explain the loss of a room, and some 5 metres, in the text? One solution is to consider that ll. 8 and 9 should be exchanged, so that the little chapel of 6 cubits breadth lies south of the central courtyard instead of north. Of course, we should have to add another wall thickness to our calculated total of cubits, which would thus be 46, or about 22 or 23 metres; and this figure is indeed in agreement with the archaeologists' 23 metres. But while the chapel of 6 cubits could conceivably be Room 26 (at least as regards its dimension), there is still the problem that neither the lobby of Ka-ude-babbarra nor the larger room to its north is compatible with the archaeologists' Rooms 34 and 27. There is certainly a discrepancy here between text and excavation.

The second half of the cross-section presents more formidable problems. It deals with rooms lying between the central courtyard and Ka-Lamma-(a)rabi (ll. 9-13). The distance from the courtyard to the north front of E-sagil, according to the text, is some 57 cubits (about 28 metres), as represented by two small rooms of 6 cubits each, the courtyard of

¹⁴ The measurements of the interior rooms of E-sagil given here follow Wetzel, *WVDOG* 59, p. 6ff.

¹⁵ Despite the contrary assumption of the text, the interior walls of E-sagil are not of regular

thickness: they vary from around 2.4 to 3.5 metres. The exterior walls of the excavated temple are 4 metres at their narrowest, excluding *kisû*.

the chapel of Bēltiya (7 cubits), an anteroom of 6 cubits, and the lobby of Ka-Lamma-(a)rabi (6 cubits), together with a total wall thickness of 26 cubits (one wall at 6 cubits, five at 4). If, as suggested above, the first of these rooms, a chapel of 6 cubits' width, should really belong south of the central courtyard, then the aggregate total may be reduced by this room and one interior wall, giving a revised figure of 47 cubits. In Wetzel's plan the depth of the complex of rooms between the central courtyard and the north front of the main building, excluding the abutted *kisû*, is only 22 metres, or, in ancient terms, about 44 or 45 cubits. With a little adjustment there need be no great metrological discrepancy in this part of the cross-section, but considerable difficulties arise concerning the number of chambers encountered: a line drawn from the excavators' Gate B (Ka-ude-babbarra) to Gate D (Ka-Lamma-(a)rabi) passes through only two rooms between the central courtyard and the north front: these are a small room of 3 metres width, Room 11, and a small courtyard, 'Room' 5, of 9.95 metres length. The first of these could well be the room described in the text as the "south room of the chapel of Bēltiya" (l. 10), which is the right size, at 6 cubits; indeed, this would rather lend support to our earlier proposal to exchange ll. 8 and 9, there being no place for another small room between the central courtyard and the smaller court. This latter court, the excavators' 'Room' 5, is presumably to be identified with the text's "courtyard of the chapel of Bēltiya", despite the metrological disagreement, since there cannot be two courtyards in the available space. One must then consider that the measurement given in the text is erroneous (note, too, that its length in the excavated temple lies along the north-south axis; in the text its breadth lies along this axis). But what has become of the text's remaining two rooms, the anteroom (*nērebu*) and the lobby of Ka-Lamma-(a)rabi, which we expect between the courtyard of Bēltiya's chapel and the north front? One might suppose that the rooms mentioned were not arranged in sequence, one behind another, but in a complex, but this would make nonsense of ll. 2-4, which tot up the thicknesses of the walls encountered in the cross-section, no doubt in order to take them into account when calculating the grand total of the temple's length, with which the section ends (l. 14). Accordingly, one should have to imagine that the apparently practical intention of the compiler of the text, to demonstrate that the length of the temple, as given in l. 14, is equal to the sum of its parts (ll. 2-13), was forgotten.

A more realistic explanation must be considered, one concerning the ground-plan of the temple itself. The remains of E-sagil as we know them from archaeological excavation date at their earliest to the reign of Esarhaddon, whose pavement was uncovered in Room 12 below those of Aššurbanipal and Nebuchadnezzar II (Koldewey, *WVDOG* 15, p. 44). It is well known that the rebuilding of E-sagil by Esarhaddon was necessitated by the comprehensive destruction of Babylon by his father Sennacherib in 689 B.C. From what Esarhaddon tells us the site of Babylon was a scene of utter desolation at the beginning of his reign; nevertheless he is careful to mention his pious diligence in

following exactly the ancient dimensions of E-sagil during his rebuilding (Borger, *Esarh*, p. 21, 42-46):

še-er uš-ši-šû maḥ-ru-û-ti 1 ammat ul a-še-eṭ ½ ammat ul ut-ter ki-i pî uṣurti-šû maḥ-ri-ti at-ta-di te-me-en-šû

I laid its foundation platform directly on top of its ancient footings, according to its original plan: I did not fall short by one cubit, nor did I overshoot by half a cubit.

These dimensions were determined less by excavation, as was later the habit of Nabonidus, than by the consultation of written records (*ibid.*, p. 22, b 16-17):

tam-šil šit-ri-šû eṣ-ši-ra eṣ-rat-su [. . . ina] as-li rabūti¹⁶ ki-i giš-ḥur-ri-šû maḥ-ri-i mi-ši-iḥ-ta-šû am-šu-uḥ

As a facsimile of its blueprint I drew up its plan, [...] I measured its dimensions [with] the large *ashu* cubit-standard, according to its ancient design.

Given the care that Esarhaddon claims he took in the rebuilding of the temple it would be unlikely for the lay-out of the principal rooms and courtyards of the new building to have been much different from that of the earlier structure on the same site. And as Esarhaddon stresses, the overall dimensions were adhered to exactly, after the conservative custom of Babylonian temple restoration.¹⁶ But that side-rooms, corridors, store-rooms and other necessary, but unconsecrated, chambers were rebuilt to exactly the previous plan is less certain. The relevance of this to the present text is this: as we have noted, excavations show that the gate of the north front of E-sagil (Gate D, ancient Ka-Lamma-(a)rabi) gave immediate access to the courtyard ('Room' 5) which we identify with the text's "courtyard of the chapel of Bēltiya". In the text, on the other hand, the gate leads first to its lobby, then to an anteroom (*nērebu*), and only then to Bēltiya's courtyard; the courtyard itself is on a different axis to the one excavated. The obvious explanation is that the temple surveyed in the text is one that differs in minor details, such as the arrangement of the service rooms and corridors, from the building constructed by Esarhaddon and repaired by Aššurbanipal and Nebuchadnezzar II. The text would then date from some time before Sennacherib's destruction, yet after the introduction of the smaller cubit-standard of the later Neo-Babylonian metrological system into general use: a date in the second half of the eighth century would fit both these requirements. This consideration would account for the discrepancy in lay-out between text and excavation observed above at both ends of the south-north cross-section of the temple.

The second section of the text (ll. 15-26) is largely lost, but from what is left it is apparent that it followed the same pattern as the preceding section, but giving instead the measurements of the main building of E-sagil along a cross-section of the temple from

¹⁶ The mean length of the excavated temple is 86 metres (see the commentary on l. 14), which tallies

passably with the text's figure of 170 cubits, the equivalent of about 84 or 85 metres.

east to west. It can be partly restored accordingly. As in the first section, nine walls are present, giving the same aggregate thickness of 40 cubits (ll. 16-[18]). Unfortunately this restoration, which looks certain, leaves only seven lines ([19]-25) in which to deal with the eight expected rooms or courtyards in between. Apparently a line has been omitted on the tablet somewhere in this break. This ancient omission can be proved another way. We can reasonably assume that the east-west section of the temple here described is from gate to gate, as was the south-north cross-section of ll. 1-14, and thus from Ka-Utu-e (Gate A) to Ka-ḫegal (Gate C). The east 'wing' of E-sagil, between Gate A and the central courtyard, was partly explored by Koldewey (it comprised a single hall of expansive dimensions), but the west 'wing' opposite it, across the courtyard, was hardly entered. This was unlucky, because here was undoubtedly situated the cella of Marduk itself, which the excavators reconstructed as lying behind a single anteroom. Turning from the archaeological to the textual evidence, it happens that the west 'wing' of the temple is the subject of the third section of the present text, as noted above. From ll. 28-30 it appears that Marduk's cella was provided with two anterooms in the temple surveyed in the text. All three rooms were of a uniform length, lying one behind another after the fashion of the 'broad-cella' temple design; they were, however, of varying breadth, and these figures, 12, 10 and 11 cubits, are of interest here, for they are dimensions on the east-west axis of the temple. Given the central position of the 'broad' cella and its anterooms along the length of the west side of the central courtyard, we should, of course, expect these same dimensions to figure in the east-west cross-section described in the text's second section. They do not agree with the figures preserved for the west end of the cross-section, with which the text resumes after the break, and room must accordingly be found for them immediately before these lines, at the break's end. Turning to the beginning of the break, the first missing line (l. 18) can be certainly restored as the counterpart of l. 4 in the first section, giving the aggregate total of cubits for the thickness of the walls. The following line must have dealt with the chamber immediately inside Ka-Utu-e, restored here as the "lobby of Ka-Utu-e".¹⁷ Whatever the exact name of the room it is certain that a chamber of some sorts lay inside Ka-Utu-e: in a temple of this plan it is most unlikely that the principal entrance would give directly on to the central courtyard.¹⁸ The courtyard named in the first section as the Court of Bēl must be restored, therefore, at the earliest in l. 20. This leaves only two lines (21-22) before the text resumes, in which to fit the cella and its two anterooms: our restoration thus assumes one line missing from the tablet at this point.

¹⁷ For justification of the restoration see the commentary, ad loc.

¹⁸ As noted earlier, in Esarhaddon's temple a single, large hall separated Ka-Utu-e (Gate A) and the courtyard: whether this is not too imposing a chamber to be called the gate's "lobby" (*ašrukkatu*,

for which, as a room immediately inside a gate, see the commentary on ll. 5-6) is uncertain. Ka-Utu-e is the principal entrance to the main building, lying as it does between the great ceremonial Gate F of the Eastern Annexe and Marduk's cella.

The third section (ll. 27-36) is also badly broken, but what remains is enough to show that, as already stated, it deals with the measurements of the complex of rooms on the west side of the central courtyard, which includes the cella of Marduk and its attendant chambers. The first line probably gives the total figures for the length and breadth of this 'wing' of E-sagil. The three rooms of ll. 28-30 share a common length of 37 cubits, which of itself suggests that they lay one behind another, length to length. Such a configuration of rooms of this length brings to mind other Neo-Babylonian temples, particularly E-zida of Nabû at Borsippa and the temple of an unidentified deity, probably Ištar, at Ingharra (Ḫursagkalamma), which are both equipped with a 'broad' cella behind two anterooms of similar dimensions. Confirmation comes from the excavated remains of E-sagil, where the length of the room inside the monumental gate in the centre of the courtyard's west front (Room 18), which the excavators were sure was the anteroom of Marduk's cella, tallies with the text's 37 cubits.¹⁹ The following lines seem to have listed certain items of cultic importance. The section closes with three rooms, including a chapel (l. 35) and the lobby of what must be restored as Ka-ḫegal, the west gate of the main building (l. 36); the latter, at least, must presumably have been the last room of the east-west cross-section of E-sagil, and is accordingly restored at the end of the second section of text, l. 25.

The penultimate section, or sections (reverse, ll. 41-61), give lengths and breadths of what must be rooms and courtyards. A clue to their location may be obtained from the total figures in l. 61, which re-appear in the last section of the text in connection with the circumference of the precinct of E-zida; it looks very much, therefore, as if the text has already turned its attention from E-sagil to E-zida. As for the concluding section of text, ll. 62 to 66, and the first half of l. 67, are concerned with totals comprising very large figures, whose significance and application is uncertain. Lines 67 to 71 are marred by corruption, but apparently give the length and breadth of the precinct of E-zida, as well as its total circumference; this exercise is then repeated using different terminology but achieving a similar result.

¹⁹ See further the commentary; according to the archaeologists' reconstruction of the ground-plan of

E-sagil, Esarhaddon's temple allowed room for only this one anteroom to Marduk's cella.

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C
 TTr
 C

obverse

- 1 *ultu*(ta*) *l[il]b-bi* ^{im}*šūti*(1) *a-na* ^{im}*[iltāni]*(2)
 2 7 *ku-bur-re-e ša 4-a-a ina ammi[ati]*(1.kùš)
 3 2 *ku-bur-re-e qa-na-a-a 10-te ša šuppān?*
 4 *naphar*(pap) 40 *ina ammati*(1.kùš) *ku-bur-r[a-ti]e [ša bīti?]*
 5 8 *ina ammati lib-bi áš-ru-ka-[tū]*
 6 *ša ká.UD.é.babbar.r[a]*
 7 14 {ras.} *ina ammati bīt* ^{gib}*narkab*[*tū*(gigir)]
 8 77 *ina ammati ki-sal-lu ša ábēl*
 9 6 *ina ammati pūtu*(sag.ki) *ša bīt* ^{ea}*(idim)?*
 10 6 *ina ammati bīt* ^{im}*šūti*(1) *ša bīt bēl*[*tū*(gašan)]-*iá*
 11 7 *ina ammati pūtu ša ki-sal-li ša bīt ábēl*[*tū*-*iá*]
 12 6 *ina ammati pūtu* *ša a nē-rebe ša bīt* ^{anu}(60) ^á*ist*[*ar*(inanna)]
 13 6 *ina ammati áš-ru-[k]a-tú ša ká.á.lamma.ar.r[a.bi]*
 14 *naphar* 1 *m[e]* 70 *šiddu*(ús) *ša é.sag.gil*
-
- 15 *ultu lib-bi* [^{im}*šad*](3) ^r*a-na* ^{im}*amurr*[*i*(4)]
 16 7 *ku-bur-r[e-e ša 4]-^ra-a ina am[mati]*
 17 ^r2 *ku-b[ur-re-e ša qa-na-a-a 10-te ša šuppān?]*
 18 [*naphar* 40 *ina ammati ku-bur-ra-te ša bīti?*]
 19 [*x ina ammati áš-ru-ka-tú ša ká.á.utu.é*]
 20 [*x ina ammati ki-sal-lu ša ábēl*]
 21 [12 *ina ammati pūtu ša . . .*]
 22 [10 *ina ammati pūtu ša . . .*]
 <[11 *ina ammati pūtu ša . . .*]>
 23 4 [*ina ammati . . .*]
 24 14 [*ina ammati . . .*]
 25 8 *in*[*a ammati áš-ru-ka-tú ša ká.é.gál*]
 26 *naphar* 1 *m[e x pūtu ša é.sag.gil]*
-
- 27 80 *šiddu* 55 *p[ūtu . . .]*
 28 37 *šiddu* 12 *pūtu . . .* *x*
 29 37 *šiddu* 10 *pūtu p[a?]-[pa?]-hu*
 30 37 *šiddu* 11 *pūtu . . .* *]-šú*

obverse

- 1 From south to [north:]
 2 7 thicknesses of wall at 4 cubits each,
 3 2 thicknesses of wall at 1 reed each, (i.e.) $\frac{1}{10}$ [*šuppān*(?):]
 4 total: 40 cubits, the thickness of [the temple's(?)] walls;
 5 8 cubits: the interior of the lobby
 6 of Ka-ude-babbarra;
 7 14 cubits: the chariot house;
 8 77 cubits: the Court of Bēl;
 9 6 cubits: the breadth of the chapel of Ea(?);
 10 6 cubits: the south room of the chapel of Bēltiya;
 11 7 cubits: the breadth of the court of the chapel of Bēltiya;
 12 6 cubits: the breadth of the entrance to the chapel of Anu (and) Ištar;
 13 6 cubits: the lobby of Ka-Lamma-(a)rabi;
 14 total: 170 (cubits), the length of E-sagil.
-
- 15 From [east] to west:
 16 7 thicknesses [of wall at 4] cubits each,
 17 2 thicknesses [of wall at 1 reed each, (i.e.) $\frac{1}{10}$ *šuppān*(?):]
 18 [total: 40 cubits, the thickness of the temple's(?) walls;]
 19 [*x* cubits: the lobby of Ka-Utu-e;]
 20 [*x* cubits: the Court of Bēl;]
 21 [12 cubits: the breadth of...;]
 22 [10 cubits: the breadth of...;]
 [11 cubits: the breadth of...;]
 23 4 [cubits:...;]
 24 14 [cubits:...;]
 25 8 cubits: [the lobby of Ka-ḫegal;]
 26 total: 100[+ *x*, the breadth of E-sagil.]
-
- 27 80 (cubits) the length, 55 the [breadth:...;]
 28 37 (cubits) the length, 12 the [breadth:...;]...;
 29 37 (cubits) the length, 10 the [breadth: the] cella(?);
 30 37 (cubits) the length, 11 the [breadth:] its [...;]

- 31 *x ina ammat[i šid]du [ša . . . bāb]i(ká)?-šú*
 32 *[x +]12 ŠID x[. . .]x x*
 33 *[x] šiddu 20 p[ūtu . . .]^amarduk*
 34 *x ina am[mat]i . . . áš-ru-ka]-tú ša ká.x.x*
 35 *[x šiddu x pūtu . . . š]a bīt^asu-x[x]*
 36 *[x šiddu 8 pūtu áš-r]u-ka-t[ú ša ká.ḫé.gál?]*

reverse

37-40 lost

- 41 *8 šiddu x pūtu . . .]*
 42 *20 šiddu x pūtu . . .]*
 43 *20 šiddu '5?' [pūtu . . . t]um*
 44 *11 šiddu 6 p[ūtu . . . t]i*
 45 *10 šiddu 6 p[ūtu . . .]x-tú*
 46 *26 šiddu x[pūtu . . .]x*
 47 *20 šiddu [x pūtu . . .]x*
 48 *41? šiddu [x pūtu . . . š]á*
 49 *26 šiddu [x pūtu . . .]x*
 50 *27 šiddu 1[0 + x pūtu . . .]-še*
 51 *17 šiddu <x> p[ūtu . . .]x-tú*
 52 *19 šiddu 11 p[ūtu . . .]*
 53 *22 šiddu 9 [pūtu . . .]*
 54 *16 šiddu 14 p[ūtu . . .]*
 55 *'20 šiddu 12' p[ūtu . . .]*
 56 *9? [šiddu x pūtu . . .]*
 57 *6? [šiddu x pūtu . . .]*
 58 *'24 šiddu' [x pūtu . . .]*
 59 *27 šiddu [x pūtu . . .]*
 60 *2 me 2 šiddu 1 [me x pūtu . . .]*
 61 *1 lim šiddu 5 me p[ūtu . . .]*
-
- 62 *2 me 30 áš-l[i . . .]*
 63 *2 me 30 áš-l[i . . .]*
 64 *naphar 5 me 21 á[š-li . . .]*
 65 *ša 30 ina am[mat]i á[š-lu . . .] x [(x)]*
 66 *naphar 15 lim 6 m[e 3]0 {me} 4 [me 99(1,39) (x)]x AN [(x)]*
 67 *naphar-ma 16 lim [1 me] 29-m[a? x lim/me^{im}šūtu(1)] 6? me^{im}[iltānu(2)]*
 68 *5? me^{im}šadū(3) [x lim/me^{im}amurru(4) naphar 3 l[im x m]e kip-pat é.[zi.da?]*
 69 *1 lim [š]iddu elū(an.ta) 1 lim šiddu šap[ū(ki.ta)]*
 70 *'5' me pūtu!(ÚS) elūtu 5 me!(LIM) pūtu!(ÚS) šaplītu*
 71 *[na]phar 3 lim k[i]p-pat é.zi.d[a]*

(Commentary: p. 435ff.)

- 31 *x cubits: [the] length [of...] its gate(?);*
 32 *[x +]12...[...];*
 33 *[x] (cubits) the length, 20 the [breadth: [the...of] Marduk;*
 34 *x cubits: [the...of the] lobby of Ka-...;*
 35 *[x (cubits) the length, x the breadth:...] of the chapel of...;*
 36 *[x (cubits) the length, 8 the breadth: the] lobby [of Ka-ḫegal(?).]*

reverse

37-40 lost

- 41 *8 (cubits) the [length, x the breadth:...];*
 42 *20 (cubits) the [length, x the breadth:...];*
 43 *20 (cubits) the length, 5(?) [the breadth:...];*
 44 *11 (cubits) the length, 6 the [breadth:...];*
 45 *10 (cubits) the length, 6 the [breadth:...];*
 46 *26 (cubits) the length, x [the breadth:...];*
 47 *20 (cubits) the length, [x the breadth:...];*
 48 *41(?) (cubits) the length, [x the breadth:] its [...];*
 49 *26 (cubits) the length, [x the breadth:...];*
 50 *27 (cubits) the length, 10 + [x the breadth:...];*
 51 *17 (cubits) the length, <x> the [breadth:...];*
 52 *19 (cubits) the length, 11 the [breadth:...];*
 53 *22 (cubits) the length, 9 [the breadth:...];*
 54 *16 (cubits) the length, 14 the [breadth:...];*
 55 *20 (cubits) the length, 12 the [breadth:...];*
 56 *9(?) [(cubits) the length, x the breadth:...];*
 57 *6(?) [(cubits) the length, x the breadth:...];*
 58 *24 (cubits) the length, [x the breadth:...];*
 59 *27 (cubits) the length, [x the breadth:...];*
 60 *202 (cubits) the length, 100 + [x the breadth:...];*
 61 *1000 (cubits) the length, 500 the [breadth:...];*
-
- 62 *230 ašlu [...]*
 63 *230 ašlu [...]*
 64 *Total: 521 ašlu [...]*
 65 *at 30 cubits an ašlu [...];*
 66 *Total: 15630 (cubits). (Add) 4[99]...[...]*
 67 *Grand total: 16[1]29. [x: south;] 600(?): [north;]*
 68 *500(?): east; [x]: west. Total 3000 + [x], the circumference of E-[zida(?).]*
 69 *1000: the upper length; 1000: the lower length;*
 70 *500: the upper breadth; 500: the lower breadth.*
 71 *Total: 3000, the circumference of E-zida.*

The City Walls
(nos. 15-17)

Also of interest to the ancient metrologist was Imgur-Enlil, the city wall of Babylon, which as a monumental construction was probably second only to E-sagil and its ziqqurra. No texts as complete as the E-sagil Tablet survive for this wall, but one which is every bit as detailed as the Measurements of E-sagil and E-zida (VAT 9961 + 10335) is attested by the fragment BM 54634. This text, if it were complete, would give the reader exact knowledge of the location on the city wall not of gates alone, but also of towers, religious buildings and water channels — to record only those structures mentioned in the surviving lines. As such BM 54634 is an invaluable topographical source, though one very different from the scholarly 'topographical' lists of the preceding chapters. Also edited in this section is the clay map fragment BM 35385, whose less well-known reverse includes lines which deal with the overall measurements of Imgur-Enlil; and BM 55441, which lists towers on what is probably the outer fortification built by Nebuchadnezzar II.

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BM 54634 (82-5-22, 954)

Plate 28

This previously unpublished fragment comes from the middle part of a Neo- or Late Babylonian tablet of uncertain provenance, but probably from Babylon.²⁰ The text presents a survey of the wall Imgur-Enlil, section by section, beginning in the east and going on to the west. Not all the wall was intact at the time of this survey, for some sections attract the comment *dūru epuš*, "the wall is built" (i.e. in good repair), while another elicits the phrase *ašar dūru lā epšu*, "where the wall is not built". The compiler's intention was thus clearly to present the wall as it stood at the time of writing, and not to give an idealistic impression of an unbroken circuit of new wall. This, and the absence from the text of mathematical exercises and hypothesis, marks BM 54634 apart from the metrological texts which deal with E-sagil, and its style, lay-out and terminology are much more reminiscent of such practical documents as field surveys.

Many sections of the wall are identified by means of topographical features, and it is these that are of chief interest here. Landmarks familiar from *Tintir* = Babylon, such as the Zababa and Uraš Gates in the east, and the temple of Bēlet-Ninua in the west, appear here in connection with the walls. But a significant change from the topography known to *Tintir* is the presence of sanctuaries of Gula and Zāriku on the south stretch of the eastern city wall, between the Zababa and Uraš Gates. According to *Tintir* this part of Babylon, the quarter TE.E^{ki}, was the location of cult-centres of only the Igigi, the

²⁰ For the 82-5-22 collection, mostly from Sippar but including pieces from other sites, see now

Reade in Leichty, *Catalogue* VI, p. xxxii f. The subject matter of BM 54634 favours Babylon.

Anunnaki and Nanāy (IV 28-30). However, it is known that in the late period there were three temples of Gula in Babylon, of which only two appear in *Tintir*'s list. The third, E-ḫursag-kuga, which was either too minor to feature in *Tintir* or not yet consecrated when that text was compiled, can be identified provisionally with BM 54634's sanctuary.²¹ Such an identification would place an equally late date on the composition of the present text, and the probability is that BM 54634 is witness to the city wall as it stood at the very end of the seventh century (see the commentary on obv. 8'). Given its resemblance to field surveys it could be speculated that the text is a training exercise of apprentice estate surveyors, but equally it can be argued that the survey of Babylon's city wall was commissioned by Nebuchadnezzar II in preparation for his continuation of his father's work on the wall (for details of the rebuilding see the commentary on *Tintir* V 57-58).

The metrology of the text is exact, most measurements being presented in whole cubits and their fractions.²² Unfortunately few of the figures themselves survive, but where these can be checked against the results of modern surveys they are extremely accurate, as the commentary will show. The cubit employed is the standard Neo-Babylonian unit, equivalent to about 50 cm.

obverse

1' [x ammat(kūš) ad]i(en) sip-pi abul ^a za-ba ₄ -b[a ₄ x x] x [. . .]	
2' [x ammat] sip-pi abulli	3 me ammat ultu(ta) ab[ul ^a za-ba ₄ -ba ₄]
3' [adi tub-qi?] dūri	3 ² / ₃ ammat di-mat s[ag? . . .]
4' [x ammat a]di bīt ^a gu-la	39 ammat pūt(sag) bīt ^a gu-la
5' [x ammat] 'adi mu x x x bīt' ^a za-ri-qu	7 me 60 ^{su} 1 ¹ / ₂ ammat[at] adi a-su-mit-ti abul ^a uraš
6' [x ammat . . .]x-šū	9 ¹ / ₃ ammat [a]bul ^a uraš
7' [x ammat . . .]	1 me 81 ammat ultu abulli dūru e-pu-u[š]
8' [x ammat adi . . .]x kar 'nāri(id) muš ³ -šur	6 ¹ / ₃ ammat pūt kārī(kar)
9' [x ammat kigalli? kār]i	2 me 8 ammat ultu kigalli(ki.gal) kārī adi ^a pu-rat-tū
10' [napḫar x ammat?]	meš-ḫat bal-ri šīt ^a šamšī(utu.è)
11' [x ammat mu-š]e-e 'me ^{meš} šā ^a pu-rat-ti ina š[ap-l]i āli	
12' [. . . x] ammat p[ūt k]ārī ašar(ki) dūru šā ba[l-ri ereb ^a šamšī(utu.šū.a) e-pu-uš	

²¹ For E-ḫursag-kuga of Gula alongside her other temples, E-ḫursag-sikilla (= Egal-maḫ) and E-sa-bad, see the commentary on *Tintir* IV 5.

²² The use of the fractions ¹/₂ and ²/₃ in the measurement of brick-built constructions is no doubt owed to the metrological function of the standard

NB building brick of ²/₃ cubit and its half-size. Significantly the measurement of the *asumittu*'s in rev. 2'-3' uses the *nindanu* system of sexagesimal fractions, for these were presumably of stone or metal, not brick (see *CAD* A/2, p. 348).

reverse

1' (trace)	
2' [...]x-tú	0,13,20 a-su-mit-ti [x]
3' [...]	0,13,20 KIMIN šanīti(min) ^{ti}
4' [x ammat dūru e-p]u-uš	1 me 78 ammat a-šar dūru la ép-šú
5' [x ammat ...]-šú šá ina kišād(gú) ¹⁴ pu-rat-ti	
6' [...]	12 ammat a-di di-im-ti siparri(<UD> . KA.BAR)
7' [(...)]	ap-pi
8' [x ammat m]u-še-e mē ^m [e] e-li āli	
9' [x ammat p]a-ni di-mat šá 'dūr ^{im} amurri(mar.dú) 1 m[e (x) ammat]	
10' [adi bīl ⁴ bēle]t-ni-nū-a	4 me 1 am[mat ...]x-gu-šá
11' [x ammat x (x) ⁸]ru-ku-bu	4 me 10 am[mat ...]
12' [x ammat x (x)]-šú	4 m[e (x) ammat ...]

obverse

1' [x cubits] to the sill of the Zababa Gate...[...]	
2' [x cubits,] the sill of the gate;	300 cubits from the [Zababa Gate]
3' [to the corner(?) of] the wall;	3 $\frac{2}{3}$ cubits, the tower...[...]
4' [x cubits] to the temple of Gula;	39 cubits, the breadth of the temple of Gula;
5' [x cubits] to the...of the temple of Zāriku; 761 $\frac{1}{2}$ cubits to the stele of the Uraš Gate;	
6' [x cubits,] its [...];	9 $\frac{1}{3}$ cubits, the Uraš Gate;
7' [x cubits,...];	181 cubits from the gate, the wall is standing;
8' [x cubits to the...].of the quay is left free; 6 $\frac{1}{3}$ cubits, the breadth of the quay;	
9' [x cubits, the base(?) of the] quay;	208 cubits from the base of the quay to the Euphrates.
10' [Total: x cubits, (?)]	the measurements of (the wall on) the East Bank.
11' [x cubits, the] outflow of the waters of the Euphrates below the city;	
12' [...x] cubits, the [breadth of the] quay, where the wall of the [West] Bank is standing(!).	

reverse

2' [...] ...;	$\frac{13}{60} + \frac{20}{3600}$, the stele [...];
3' [...];	$\frac{13}{60} + \frac{20}{3600}$, the second stele;
4' [x cubits, the wall is] standing;	178 cubits, where the wall is not standing;
5' [x cubits,] its [...] which is on the bank of the Euphrates;	
6' [...];	12 cubits to the Bronze Tower;
7' [(...)]	pier.
8' [x cubits, the] outflow of water above the city.	
9' [x cubits, the] face of the tower of the west wall; 100[+(x) cubits]	
10' [to the temple of] Bēlet-Ninua;	401 cubits [...];...
11' [x cubits,] the carriage [way(?);]	410 cubits [...];
12' [x cubits,] its [...];	400[+(x) cubits....]

(Commentary: p. 440f.)

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BM 35385 (Sp II 967)

Plates 28

The chief interest of this fragment, probably from Babylon, lies in the map of the city that occupied its reverse, of which a reconstruction appears above in fig. 5 on p. 28 (the map is further discussed in the commentary on *Tintir* V 102). BM 35385 is previously published in the copy of Campbell Thompson in *CT* 22 49, together with other clay map fragments, and is partly edited by Unger in *Babylon*, p. 252f.²³ The obverse of the tablet was probably divided into four columns, of which only parts of the first and second have survived, our fragment coming from somewhere near the bottom left-hand corner. The extant text is a metrological commentary of some sort, which makes considerable reference to Babylon (also called Eridu here) and E-sagil (in column i, as elsewhere, the "counterpart of Apsū", and probably "E-šarra": the cosmology behind these epithets of the temple is examined in the commentary to *Tintir* IV 1-2), as well as to astronomical matters. But of greatest interest here is the exposition in column ii of the length of the four constituent parts of Imgur-Enlil, the city wall of Babylon. This section will be discussed in comparison with other ancient sources after the text itself has been presented.

²³ An early copy of the reverse of BM 35385 is that of Pinches, *TSBA* 7, p. 152; further bibliography: K.R. Nemet-Nejat, *LBFP*, p. 11¹. A second

clay map fragment, showing the Arahtu river, is discussed on p. 355, below.

obverse, column i

1'	...	sa]g tin.tir ^{ki}
2'	...	]x šum-šú
3'	...	sa]g tin.tir ^{ki}
4'	...	]x šu-ú
5'	...	]r ^a šul-pa-è-a
6'	...	-ma 3,20 ² / ₃ bēr(danna)
7'	...	]x é.sag.il
8'	...	eri.du ₁₀ ^{ki}] a-lu ta-a-bi
9'	...	g]aba.ri apsī(abzu) 40 ^a ea(idim)
10'	...	me?-eḥ?-r]et gaba.ri é.šár. <ra?> 40 é.KISIM ₅
11'	...	er]i.du ₁₀ ^{ki} 40 ^a ea(40)
12'	...	u]] 40 ^a ea(idim)
13'	...	]x 40 40

column ii

1'	'3' [...]
2'	ku-ru-u x[...]
3'	áš-šú ^{mul} lu-ḥun-gá x[...]
4'	aš-lum am-mat ginindanakku(gi.1.ninda) ina lib-b[i ...]
5'	a-na 3 maššarāt(en.nun) u ₄ -mu ez-ba x[...]
6'	a-na 3 maššarāt u ₄ -mu ez-ba 5 [...]
7'	mìn-da-tu ₄ šamē ^e mi-šil-šú 30.x[...]
8'	a.gar mu-ú ina lib-bi e-lat u šap-l[at ...]
9'	a!(GAR) _{ga-ár} gar ku-un-nu šá mē(a) ^{nin-da} ninda mìn- ^r da-tum' gi.nin[da]
10'	qa-nu-ú šá mìn-dat 7.giš 30 nindan(ninda) dūru(bād) elū(an.ta) <šá> šīt ^a šā[mši(utu.è)]
11'	7,30 <a>irḥan 4.giš 10 nindan dūru šaplū(ki.ta) šá šīt! ^a šamši(utu.šú.a) 4,10 [irḥan]
12'	5.giš dūru elū šá ereb ^a šamši(utu.šú.a) 5 ^a ir[ḥan]
13'	3.giš 20 nindan dūru šaplū šá ereb ^a šamši(utu.šú.a) 3,20 ^a ir[ḥan]
14'	ninda?(GAR) gar-šú-nu-ti-ma 20 AN sik[il? x] x[...]
15'	50 UR KI? x UD 21 31? [...]

The part of this text that deals with the walls of Babylon (ii 10'-13') is introduced by some lexical equations of a metrological nature, the significance of which is otherwise lost (ii 9'-10'):

a.gar	=	kunnu ša mē	to establish, as of water;
ninda	=	mindatu	measuring rod;
gi.ninda	=	qanū ša mindat	reed, as of the measuring rod.

The measurements of the wall are given in giš and *nindanu*.²⁴ For the exercise the wall is divided into four sections, two in the east and two in the west. These sections are described as "upper" and "lower", each half of the city wall thus being divided at some relevant point for metrological purposes. The four measurements are as follows:

Upper East Wall:	7 giš 30 <i>nindanu</i>	=	450 <i>nindanu</i>
Lower East Wall:	4 giš 10 <i>nindanu</i>	=	250 <i>nindanu</i>
Upper West Wall:	5 giš	=	300 <i>nindanu</i>
Lower West Wall:	3 giš 20 <i>nindanu</i>	=	200 <i>nindanu</i>

Each measurement is accompanied by a shorthand expression of the same measure, which this time refers to ^airḥan(MUŠ). This seems to be a term for the moat, as suggested by Schaumberger.²⁵ The moat of the city is thus also divided into four sections. That the measurements of the moat are no greater than those given for the wall, as of course they would have to be in practice, suggests that the commentary is dealing only in round numbers, and this is borne out by the quoted figures themselves.

The length of the city wall of Babylon, Imgur-Enlil, is also handed down in two other cuneiform sources, inscriptions of two of its royal rebuilders, Esarhaddon and Nabonidus.²⁶ If the data given in all three texts are compared, we see that they tally:

Esarhaddon:	30 ašlu × 4	=	120 ašlu	=	1200 <i>nindanu</i>
Nabonidus:	20 giš			=	1200 <i>nindanu</i>
BM 35385:	450 + 250 + 300 + 200			=	1200 <i>nindanu</i>

The figure of 1200 *nindanu*, using the later Neo-Babylonian cubit-standard (in which one cubit approximates to 50 cm), corresponds, very roughly, to 7200 metres. To see how accurate this round figure of 1200 *nindanu* is it will be necessary to examine the results of modern surveys of Babylon. The measurements of the city wall in the east part of the city are given by Wetzel in *WVDOG* 48, p. 63: the north side is 1400 metres, the east 1650 and the south 1385, an aggregate of 4435 metres.²⁷ Wetzel offers no measurements for the western half of the city wall, but tells us that they enclose an area of about 1.5 square kilometres. However, from the scale map of the site of Babylon made in 1899 (fig. 1 on p. 14), on which the remains of this part of Imgur-Enlil, and most importantly its two

²⁴ The giš being 60 *nindanu*, as is evident from the orthography; the latter is the measure of 12 cubits, on which see further the commentary on the E-sagil Tablet, l. 5.

²⁵ See the note of Unger, *Babylon*, p. 252; one may further note that the Snake God Irḥan is the deified river Euphrates-Araḥtu (see G.J.P. McEwan, *OrNS* 52, p. 228, for the evidence and a discussion of ophidian rivers), of which Babylon's moat could

well be considered a part. Cf. also the situation at Aššur, where Bašmu, "Serpent", is the name of the moat (text no. 20: GAB 141).

²⁶ Quoted on pp. 345 and 348 respectively.

²⁷ Cf. O.E. Ravn, *Herodotus' Description of Babylon*, p. 23; but Unger's figures of 1350, 1500 and 1350 m respectively (*Babylon*, p. 61²) were way off mark.

corners, appear quite clearly, it is possible to estimate the measurements of the west wall as: north side, 1100 metres; west, 1460; south, 1020. This gives an aggregate length of 3580 metres, and allows 130 metres for the width of the river at its two intersections with the city wall, a figure which can only be very approximate.²⁸

The grand total of the aggregate lengths of east and west city walls is thus $4435 + 3580 = 8015$ metres, somewhat more than the 7200 metres roughly approximating the three ancient figures, but close enough to reassure us that we are dealing with the same walls. Much of the discrepancy can probably be accounted for by a number of factors. For one thing, as we have noted earlier, the ancient figures are 'round', being given to the nearest 10 *nindanu*; for another, the exact equivalence of the *nindanu* remains a matter for speculation, and it is of course obvious that any small adjustment in the accepted correlation of 1 cubit to 50 cm would radically alter a very large figure such as ours (an adjustment of 1 cm affects it by 144 metres). But a point perhaps more germane to this enquiry is that the discrepancy between ancient and modern figures is much greater in the case of the measurements of the west bank than in the case of the east: in BM 35385 the wall on the east bank measures 700 *nindanu*, which according to the conventional ratio of equivalence corresponds to 4200 metres, an error of only five per cent from the modern figure of 4435 metres. In the west BM 35385 gives a figure of 500 *nindanu*, or roughly 3000 metres, which is an error of sixteen per cent from our estimate of 3580. This estimate thus looks disproportionately high, and one wonders indeed whether we have allowed enough width for the river bed when calculating it.

Turning to examine a second problem set by BM 35385, we recall that the text divides Imgur-Enlil, on both banks, into "upper" and "lower" sections. These terms plainly refer respectively to upstream and downstream (cf. the cylinder of Nabopolassar quoted on p. 337, which uses the same terminology with respect to the city wall). The "upper" section is thus the northern stretch, the "lower" the southern. Now the figures given by BM 35385 for the measurements of each section are unequal, and this immediately shows that the division between "upper" and "lower" sections was not made at a point midway along the circuit of the two halves of Imgur-Enlil. Nor do the figures allow a point of division at either the upper or the lower corners of the wall. This prompts the question — are the two points of division selected arbitrarily, or were they made, as is surely more likely, at a specific (and thus identifiable) point? We have to examine the figures more closely.

Starting with the partially excavated eastern half of Imgur-Enlil, we can compare its overall length of 4435 metres, split into its three sides of 1400, 1650 and 1385 metres (as

²⁸ Note that the width of the Euphrates bed at the bridge — probably its narrowest point — was 115 m in NB times (Wetzel, *WVDOG* 48, p. 55); but according to BM 54634 (no. 15), obv. 9'ff., the gap in the walls downstream must have been consider-

ably greater. Unger's figures apparently make no allowance for the river, being at 1200, 1500 and 1200 m too great in the northern and southern dimensions especially.

measured by Wetzel), with the ancient figure of 700 *nindanu*, split into "upper" (northern) and "lower" (southern) sections of 450 and 250 *nindanu* (as BM 35385). Bearing in mind the 'round' nature of the ancient figures, we may note that the "upper" section of 450 *nindanu* constitutes 65 per cent of the overall length, leaving the "lower" section to form the remaining 35 per cent. If we split Wetzel's overall figure into the same proportions we obtain approximate 'modern' measurement for the two sections of 2880 metres ("upper") and 1555 metres ("lower"); from this we can deduce that the division point assumed by BM 35385 is to be sought towards the bottom of the east stretch of wall (parallel to the river), at a point some 1480 metres from the wall's north-east corner (that is, 2880 minus the north stretch of 1400 metres) and 170 metres (1555 minus 1385, the south stretch) from its south-east corner. Comparison with the excavators' figures reveals that this point is close enough to the Zababa Gate to be sure that this city gate is where the ancient "upper" and "lower" sections of the east circuit of Imgur-Enlil met.²⁹

Having ascertained this, it is no great assumption to suggest with confidence that the western circuit was likewise divided in BM 35385 at a city gate. Applying the same method as before we find that the point where the "upper" section meets the "lower" is about 2150 metres ($\frac{300}{500}$ *nindanu* = 60 per cent = $\frac{2150}{3580}$ metres) from the north end of the circuit, and thus about 1430 metres from its south end. Deducting our very approximate figures for the north and south stretches of the west circuit from these figures, we are left with a point on the west stretch (parallel to the river) about 1050 metres from the north-west corner of Imgur-Enlil and 410 metres from the south-west corner. Here then we can expect a city gate, which may be identified by name as that of Adad, second from the end of *Tintir* V's list of city gates just as the Zababa Gate is second from the beginning (on the order of the gates in the list and its topographical implications, see above, p. 22f.). But we should again emphasize the approximate nature of the siting of this gate, especially in view of our uncertainty over the width of the river and the consequent length of the north and south stretches of the western half of Imgur-Enlil.

17

BM 55441 (82-7-4, 12)

Plate 29

This is a Neo- or Late Babylonian tablet, almost complete, of the shape associated with commercial documents; its provenance is not recorded. The tablet lists the numbers of towers between consecutive points along a city wall. As the text stands the wall in question does not describe a closed circuit, but begins at the Euphrates and ends at a "Gate of the Seashore". The presence in the text of a *Giššu* Gate and a *Madānu* Canal leads one to suspect that the wall is to be sought near Babylon, for both are topographical names attested in the eastern environs of the city. The *Giššu* Gate, in particular, is known

²⁹ The south pier of the gate building lay just over 150 m north of the corner tower of Imgur-

Enlil; see p. 440.

from contracts from the reign of Nabonidus, Cambyses and Darius.³⁰ One sequence of contracts and deeds dealing with the same plot of land variously describes it as a field "between the Zababa Gate and the Giššu Gate", "in front of the Zababa Gate, between the city walls", and "between the city gates".³¹ Comparison of these descriptions makes it clear that the Giššu Gate is not to be seen, as was once thought, as a city gate on the same wall as the Zababa Gate (i.e. Imgur-Enlil), but as a gate on another city wall separated from Imgur-Enlil by a tract of agricultural land. Given the known position of the Zababa Gate near the city's east corner, this second wall could only be Nebuchadnezzar II's great outer fortification, which left the Euphrates at the Summer Palace (the mound Babil), skirted the eastern suburbs of Babylon, and returned to the river a few hundred metres downstream of Imgur-Enlil.³² If the Giššu Gate is placed on this new wall, rather than on Imgur-Enlil, this helps to explain its absence from land records before the time of Nabonidus; and, in addition, it suggests that the wall described in BM 55441 is none other than Nebuchadnezzar's outer wall.

Corroboration of this identification ought to come from the statistics relating to the wall's towers. The wall of the text is furnished with 120 towers and five gates. Only a comparatively short stretch — about 830 metres long — of Nebuchadnezzar's wall has been excavated, but it was found that towers occurred at an average interval of 52.5 metres, which, as Wetzel remarked, corresponds significantly closely to an ancient figure of 100 cubits.³³ The wall's entire length was not accurately surveyed, but it can be calculated as approximately 7250 metres from the site plan (fig. 1, on p. 14). If the average interval between towers held good for the wall's entire length, one would expect the wall to have been furnished with, at most, about 140 towers. This figure must be reduced, however, by one or two towers for each gate in its circuit: the presence of five gates would accordingly reduce the number of towers expected to between 130 and 135. This is not as low a figure as the 120 towers recorded for BM 55441's wall, but it is probably near enough to support the identification of the wall in the text with Nebuchadnezzar's wall.

Given that towers would normally occur at regular intervals, and that the numbers of towers between each of the wall's five gates are provided by the text, it follows that the position of each gate can be plotted roughly on the wall's circuit (see fig. 7). Since the sequence of gates ends with the Gate of the Seashore, which will be the gate serving the road south to the Gulf, and thus will lie at the wall's southern end, it is clear that the

³⁰ See the references cited by Unger, *Babylon*, p. 69, to whose list may be added Strassmaier, *Camb.* 117, 1: *a-bu-ru gi-iš*; Krückmann, *TMH* 2/3 108, 6; 109, 1: *abul gišši*(tugul).

³¹ Strassmaier, *Nbn* 552, 6: *bi-rit abul aza-ba-ba₄ u abul gi-iš*; 687, 2-3: *mi-iš-ra-at abul aza-ba-ba₄ bi-rit dūr^{mes}*, coll.; 688, 5: *bi-rit abullāt^{mes}*; the link between these three documents was kindly poin-

ted out by J.A. Peat.

³² Like the inner city wall, Imgur-Enlil and Nimit-Enlil, the new wall comprised a double fortification (wall and rampart) and a moat: for the excavations see Wetzel, *WVDOG* 48, p. 70ff., pl. 58ff. For the royal building reports see *VS* I 40; i 6-ii 10; 46, 2-7; *I R* 57f., viii 42-53; etc.

³³ *WVDOG* 48, p. 71.

sequence begins at the wall's northern terminus. The first gate, the Gate of the Šūhi Canal,³⁴ twelve towers along from the Euphrates bank, will be sited a little south of the Summer Palace, perhaps at the point where the wall turned south-east. At least two disused canals intersect with the wall's course at about this very place, as the site plan shows (fig. 1). This northern gate must have served the roads to Sippar and Assyria. After a further eighteen towers the wall reaches the otherwise unknown "district of the Court of the Steward", but eight towers beyond is the Gate of the Madānu Canal. The Madānu Canal is otherwise known at Babylon as a watercourse near the Uraš Gate, on the south side of the city.³⁵ But this does not preclude its presence to the east: the full extent of the canal's course is naturally unknown. The Gate of the Madānu Canal will thus allow passage to the road which enters the city proper at the Marduk Gate. According to our reconstruction its position lies only a little to the south of the point at which the German expedition abandoned pursuit of the wall's remains.

29 towers below the Gate of the Madānu Canal is the Giššu Gate, in a position which accords well with its association with the Zababa Gate, as documented above. Through both gates the road passed east to Kiš.³⁶ 23 towers after the Giššu Gate comes the Gate of the Sun of the Gods, which will then be located on the outer wall's southern stretch, probably at a point convenient for the egress of a road running south from the Zababa Gate. The name of the gate commemorates the city god Marduk in his position as most splendid and omnipotent of the gods.³⁷ The Gate of the Seashore, which is separated from its neighbour by an interval of thirty towers, marks the wall's return to the river at its southern terminus. Roads which entered the bounds of Imgur-Enlil at the Uraš Gate would pass through Nebuchadnezzar's outer wall here.

The shape and content of BM 55441 (the latter not paralleled elsewhere) mark this text apart from the scholarly genre of 'topographical' texts with which this book is primarily concerned, and its origin and purpose are probably to be sought in more practical fields. It is conceivable that the text was drawn up as an aide-mémoire for the wall's builder — which would date it to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II of course; or it may have served to instruct those who administered the city watch, or those who were to defend the wall in time of siege.

³⁴ This canal is not to my knowledge attested elsewhere; *nār šūhi* might be rendered as the Gherkin Canal: cf. *AHW*, p. 1262.

³⁵ See Unger, *Babylon*, pp. 73, 103; Zadok, *RGTC* VIII, p. 376.

³⁶ The term *giššu* is not to be derived from the toponym Kiš: a "Kiš Gate" would be rendered *abullu Kiššitu* (cf. *abullu Akusitu*, *Tintir* V 99-100).

Perhaps the writing *ká.gal tugul* (see note 30) should be taken at face value, and *abul gišši* rendered as the "Hip Gate": cf. its position near the point where the wall swings west — the wall's "hip"?

³⁷ The title Sun of the Gods is also conferred on Marduk in *Enūma eliš* I 102: *ašamši¹ ša ilī*(dingir, dingir); and in a prayer for Aššurbanipal, Bauer, *IWA* I, pl. 39, K 3412, 10: *ašamši¹ ilī^{mes}*.

obverse

- 1 [1]2 d[i]-ma-a-tum ultu(ta) kišād(gú) ^{id}puratti(buranun)
- 2 a-di abulli(ká.gal) šá ^{id}šu-ú-ḫi
- 3 18 di-ma-a-tum ultu sip-pi abulli
- 4 šá ^{id}šu-ú-ḫi a-di eršet(ki) ^{et} kisal-lu šá ^{id}šatammi(šà.tam)
- 5 8 di-ma-a-tum ultu eršet ^{et} kisal-lu
- 6 šá ^{id}šatammi a-di sip-pi abulli šá nār(id) ^amadānu(di.ku₅)
- 7 29 di-ma-a-tum ultu abulli šá nār ^amadānu
- 8 a-di turri(dur) šá abul giš-šu
- 9 23 di-ma-a-tum ultu abul giš-šu
- 10 a-di muḫḫi(ugu) di-im-tum e-le-ni-[t]u[m]
- 11 šá abul ^ašamaš il^m[^{es}]

reverse

- 12 30 di-ma-a-tum ultu muḫḫi
- 13 di-im-tum e-le-ni-tum
- 14 šá abul ^ašamaš il^m[^{es}]
- 15 a-di abul šá-pat tam-tum

- 1 12 towers from the bank of the Euphrates
- 2 to the Gate of the Šūḫi Canal;
- 3 18 towers from the sill of the Gate
- 4 of the Šūḫi Canal to the district of the Court of the Steward;
- 5 8 towers from the district of the Court
- 6 of the Steward to the sill of the Gate of the Madānu Canal;
- 7 29 towers from the Gate of the Madānu Canal
- 8 to the 'Bond' of the Giššu Gate;
- 9 23 towers from the Giššu Gate
- 10 up to the upper tower
- 11 of the Gate of the Sun of the Gods;
- 12 30 towers from
- 13 the upper tower
- 14 of the Gate of the Sun of the Gods
- 15 to the Gate of the Seashore.

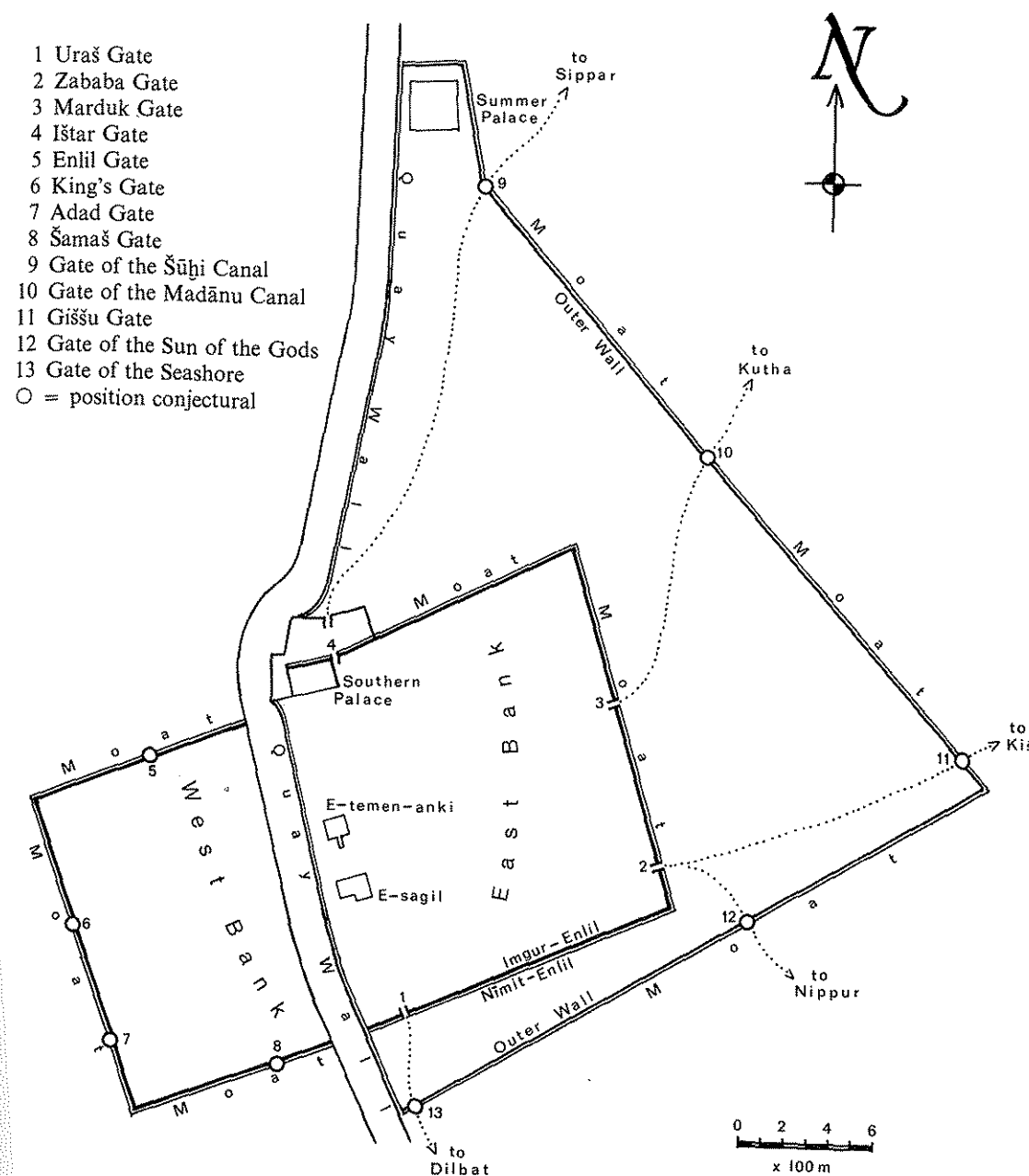


Fig. 7. Babylon: Inner and Outer Defences in the 6th Century B.C.

NIPPUR

THE NIPPUR COMPENDIUM
(no. 18)

A principal source for the topography of Nippur is a compilation of esoterica for which the title of the 'Nippur Compendium' seems appropriate. This is a substantial explanatory text, the two main manuscripts of which have appeared only in the last decade.¹ It lists the names, temples and gods of Nippur, and thus has much in common with *Tintir* = Babylon; like the latter text the Nippur Compendium is not strictly a topographical work, for its lists are not intended to serve as a practical handbook but are given over to a more exegetical and eulogistic purpose, and have their origins in the traditions of lexical texts and learned commentaries.² Unlike its Babylonian counterpart the Nippur Compendium includes a fair proportion of material of a theological nature which has no relevance for topography.

The ancient title of the Nippur Compendium is not preserved in any of the main manuscripts, but a tablet of excerpts is introduced and concluded with a brief scribal note which suggests that the text was known in antiquity as *Nibru-nibita-dua*, "Nippur Built of Itself".³ And indeed such a title would fit very well what we know of the extant text's opening sections, for these list names of the city, together with etymological interpretations.⁴ Our reconstruction therefore assumes that the Nippur Compendium began with a section explaining the name Nibru, of which only the incipit is known, and continued with a section on Dur-anki, which is represented by the opening lines of the excerpt tablet and the first extant line of the main text. A third section, the first complete one, follows the latter after a ruling, and collects the several names of the city (including Nibru and Dur-anki again), treating them in a similar manner. These opening sections we have designated §§ 1-3. What remains of the Akkadian 'translations' of the toponyms and

¹ IM 44150 and 76975, previously *TIM* IX 60 and *SpTU* II 29 (a complete list of MSS and bibliography can be found below, p. 145f.). Both pieces are the lower halves of large tablets, from which it can be estimated that probably as much as half the text of the Nippur Compendium is still missing.

² On the genre to which the Nippur Compendium and *Tintir* belong see above, p. 1f.

³ *nibru**¹ *ni.bi.ta du.a*: the scribal note of the

excerpt tablet (MS e) is edited below, p. 162.

⁴ These in Akkadian, but based on the breakdown of the Sumerian names into homophonic roots for 'etymological' purposes: on the mechanics and background of this kind of explanatory list see further p. 73f. It may be that the text's proposed incipit includes a Sumerian interpretation of the toponym Nibru (Nippur): see the commentary below, ad loc.

epithets of these sections shows them to have been far from literal, and the highly speculative approach to the interpretation of Sumerian that they exhibit is a hallmark of the text as a whole.

The remaining text of the Nippur Compendium is divided by rulings into further sections, which are numbered here §§ 4-15 without consideration for the unknown number missing in the extensive lacunae. § 4 lists what may be miscellaneous epithets of Nippur. The next section, § 5, is concerned with the meaning of the name of Enlil's great cult-centre in Nippur, E-kur, and despite the interruption of the text by a considerable lacuna, it is probably followed by a list of the other temples of the city, with whose last sixteen lines the text resumes in col. ii (§ 6). A text which covers ground similar to these two sections of the Nippur Compendium is the Nippur Temple List, the second text edited in this chapter (no. 19).

The section that follows the temple list is the first of those not relevant for the city's topography (§ 7): it lists gods, many of them weapons of Ninurta, who hold the title of *Bēl-āliya* in various cities. The list forms the nucleus of a longer list of such deities appended to the section on Ninurta in the god list K 4339 (CT 25 14). In § 8 are listed small shrines (*šubtu*) of Nippur, not by ceremonial name as in *Tintir* II and other *šubtu*-lists, but according to location. Following the brief bilingual couplet of § 9, whose significance is obscure, is a gap of an indeterminate number of sections in some thirty-five to forty lines. The text resumes in col. iii with the last line of a section we have numbered § 10, a commentary on various birds which can be restored from a parallel explanatory text, *STT* 400, 28-36.⁵ The bird list is followed, both in the Nippur Compendium and in *STT* 400, by a theological commentary on the four winds (§ 11) and a similar commentary on the days of the month (§ 12). The Nippur Compendium then turns to the months themselves, with reference to the Akītu festivals of various gods in the first month, Nisan, and theological and cultic commentary on other month names (§ 13). At this point the two surviving sources diverge. The principal recension, represented by MS b, continues with a divine directory of Nippur, listing the gods of the city temple by temple.⁶ This section of the text, § 14, which occupies the first two columns of the reverse of MS b, finds its nearest parallel in the 'Götteradressbuch' of Aššur (GAB § 1, on which see p. 167). The final section of the main recension of the Nippur Compendium deals with offerings, including ale and *mirsu*-cakes, in Enlil's temple, E-kur (§ 15). The second surviving source

⁵ Cf. Lambert, *AnSt* 20, p. 119. It may be that the bird list of the Nippur Compendium was preceded by other material also found in *STT* 400, and the lacuna between §§ 9 and 10 might be filled accordingly.

⁶ The directory apparently begins with gods resident in the several parts of E-kur, as would be expected: note ten gods of Ubšu-ukkinna in iv 8-13, including sons of Enmešarra, and the seven Divine

Attendants who follow and compare well with the *utukku*'s of E-kur in *An* I (CT 24 8-9, iii 10-15 // 23, ii 5-8); in these early paragraphs of the directory each god's name is explained in terms of a better-known one, just as in the esoteric commentaries on rituals (see now Livingstone, *MMEW*, p. 187ff.). After a long gap appear gods resident in the Courts of the Sceptre, and in the temples of Šin, Adad, Ninimma, Gula, Nergal, and other sanctuaries.

(MS c) omits §§ 14 and 15, and concludes instead with a list of the several aspects of the *Asakku*-Demon, *Lātarāk*, for which numerous parallels exist, including the explanatory text *STT* 400⁷ and the Archive of Mystic Heptads (*KAR* 142 and duplicates), and which is here designated § 13a.

The manuscripts of the Nippur Compendium comprise the two main tablets of six columns, each originally inscribed with the entire work (MSS ab). Both are Late Babylonian; and b derives from the library of Iqīša, a scholar of Uruk. To these, the principal sources, can be added two pieces from the Kuyunjik collection of the British Museum, one in Assyrian script, a tiny fragment from the left edge containing material from § 12 (MS D), the other a Neo-Babylonian tablet (MS c), probably written in Babylon or Borsippa, and also inscribed with lists of non-topographical content (§§ 11-13a). A fifth source is MS e, the upper part of a Neo- or Late Babylonian tablet from Babylon containing excerpts from §§ 2-14. In the absence of a continuous text the line numbering of the present edition is by individual column, cols. i-iii after MS a and iv-vi after MS b.⁸

For a survey of the topography of Nippur and district in the late periods see the article of Zadok, *IOS* 8, p. 266ff.

18

The Nippur Compendium

Sources

MS	Museum Number	Lines on		Plate
		obv.	rev.	
a	IM 44150	i 1'-34'		30
		ii 1'-34'		31
		iii 1'-34'	iv 1-4	32
b	IM 76975 (W 22758/5)	i 8'-25'	iv 1-18	33
		ii 8'-30'	v 1-24	
		iii 33'	vi 1-25	
c	K 2892 + 8397	iii 2'-22'	iii 23'-34'	34
D	K 10062		iii 23'-33'	29
e	BM 38413 (80-11-12, 296)	i a, b	iii 24'-34'	29
		15', 16', 21'	iv 1, 4, e	
		ii c, d		

⁷ Lines 16-23, from that part of *STT* 400 which, as noted above, may restore the lacuna between §§ 9 and 10 in the main recension.

⁸ Note that a and b turn from obv. to rev. one line apart, so that in our numeration iii 34' and iv 1 are one and the same line.

Previous Publication

MS	Bibliography	Treatment
a	1976 J.J.A. van Dijk, <i>TIM</i> IX 60 ibid., p. xii (iii 12'-28')	C t
b	1983 E. von Weiher, <i>SpTU</i> II 29 and p. 137ff.	CT
c	1893 C. Bezold, <i>Catalogue</i> , p. 923: K 8397, 1-4 1899 J.A. Craig, <i>AAT</i> , p. 90: K 2892 only	c C
acD	1976 G. Çağırhan, <i>The Babylonian Festivals</i> (Birmingham PhD, unpub.), p. 150 ff. (iii 2'-34')	ttr
ac	1986 A. Livingstone, <i>MMEW</i> , pp. 75 (iii 2'-5'), 77f. (iii 6'-11') and 157 (iii 12'-18')	ttr

column i

§ 1 (incipit: see p. 143)

e 1 [(nibru^{ki} ní.bi.ta dù.a . . .)?]

* * * *

§ 2 (a: i 1'; e: obv. 5-6)

e	a	dur.an.ki	ba-nu-ú a-bi ^a en-lil
e	b	[d]ur.an.ki	āl kiš-ša-ti [š]u-bat te-lil-ti

* * * *

a 1' 'dur.an.ki' x[. . .]

§ 3 (a: i 2'-10'; b: i 1'-5')

a	2'	gir-gi-lum ^{ki}	ā[l . . .]- ^r tum ^r
a	3'	nibru ^{ki}	x x [x] ib? [x] šadī ⁱ
			[. . .] x ga x x
a	4'	dur.an.k[i]	[. . .] x i ga? x x [x]
			[. . .] a? im-mah-ḫa-ra
a	5'	'dúr. ^{giš} gišimmar ^{rk} [1]	[x x x r] i ša ka-la-a-šú x ku? ú
a	6'	dúr.giš.[lam ^{ki}]	[x x x] x x x x x
a	7'	ki.i[n.gi ^{ki}]	[x x x] x x x nu x x
			'ú' [a]-ša[r x] du x [x (x)]
ab	8'	nam.bi.x[(x) ^{ki}]	[x x x k] ar zu ú ḫ[u]š-šú-ú ep-ra-šú
ab	9'	nam.bi.tar.[ra ^{ki}]	[x x x] x ^a šamaš x ru ur-tum
			x[x z] e-ri-šú i-laq-qa-tu ₄

9' b: ^a20 ša 'ru?' ur-tum, om. šú§ 1 *Nippur*

1 (Nibru-nibita-dua, "Nippur Built of Itself"....)

* * * *

§ 2 *Dur-anki*

a	Dur-anki	Creator of the father of Enlil;
b	Dur-anki	Universal city, seat of purification;

* * * *

1' Dur-anki ...[....]

§ 3 *The Names of Nippur*

2'	Girgilum	City [...];
3'	Nibru	...[...].mountain,
		[...];
4'	Dur-anki	[...][...];
		[...] cannot(?) be withstood;
5'	Dur-gišimmar	[...]...which is all...;
6'	Dur-gišlam	[...];
7'	Kingi	[...];
		and where...[...];
8'	Nambi-[...]	[...]...its ruddy soil;
9'	Nambi-tarra	[...]...Šamaš...;
		[...(which)] gathers up its seed;

ab 10' uzu.^rmú.a^{ki}a-š[a]r ina lib-bi-šú nišū(ùg)^{mes} ib-ba-na-a
'ù a-šar' te-re-e-ti šuk-lu-lu

§ 4 (a: i 11'-15'; b: i 6'-10'; e: obv. 7)

ab 11' uru.nig.an.šà.x.x

'ālu šā' qé-reb šamê^e pu-qa-a-šiab 12' uru.a.ga.ra^{k[17]}

'āl' aḥ-ra-a-ti

ab 13' uru.šà.u[ru]

[š]u?-tum kit-ti

ab 14' uru.nig.sa.g[a?]

x ga bur ri

abe 15' [d]u₆.šuba

a-ši-bat šu-luḥ zi-mi

§ 5 (a: i 16'-34'; b: 11'-16'; e: obv. 8-9)

abe 16' é.kur

bītu ḥa-mim te-ret il^{mes}

ab 17' é.kur

maš-ta-ki el-lu

a 18' [é].kur

[bīt ka]-bit-ti

ab 19' é.kur

bīt kab-ti

a 20' [é].kur

[bīt b]u-kūr

abe 21' é.kur

bītu mu-tir gi-mil šarri

a 22' [é].kur

b[īt x x x]-a-ti

ab 23' é.kur

at-man ki-šit-ti

a 24' [é].kur

[bīt šadū]^a ra-bu-^rū

ab 25' é.kur

bīt ^aen-lī[ī]

a 26' [é].kur

b[ītu n]a?-di-nu el-^rlu-tī

ab 27' 'é'.kur

b[ītu b]a-[nu]-ú nišū(ùg)^{mes}

a 28' [é.ku]r

bītu na-bu-ú nišū(ùg)^{mes}

a 29' [é.kur]

b[ī]t nu-ḥuš nišū(ùg)^{mes}

a 30' [é.kur]

[ki-iš-š]i? el-lu

a 31' [é.kur]

[maš-ī]a-ki šā-qu-ú

a 32' [é.kur]

[bīt] du₆.kū

a 33' [é.kur]

[bīt] ^ama-nun-gal

a 34' [é.kur]

[bīt šam]ē^e ù eršetim^{tim}

column ii

§ 6 (a: ii 1'-16'; b: ii 1'-9'; e: obv. 10-11)

e c é.šū.me.šā₄bītu ra-ki-is eš-met il^{mes} ana bilāti(gun)^{mes}
: eš-met KIMIN ka-mi-ise d é.u₁₈.lu.gá[. . .]x.sì.sì

bīt tuḥ-ā[ī?] x x x

* * * *

10' b: ib-ba-nu-ú 14' b:] ga bur ru

10' Uzu-mua

The place in which mankind was created and
where the oracles are perfected.

§ 4 Epithets of Nippur

11' Uru-nig-anša-...

The city upon which the midst of heaven waits;

12' Uru-agara

The city of posterity;

13' Uru-ša-uru

Storehouse(?) of truth;

14' Uru-nig-saga(?)

...;

15' Du-šuba

Attender at(?) the Cleansing of the Countenance.

§ 5 E-kur, the Temple of Enlil

16' E-kur

House which gathers the decrees of the gods;

17' E-kur

Pure chamber;

18' E-kur

[House of the] noble (lady);

19' E-kur

House of the noble (lord);

20' E-kur

[House of the] son;

21' E-kur

House which avenges the king;

22' E-kur

House [of...];...

23' E-kur

Sanctum of conquest;

24' E-kur

House of the Great Mountain;

25' E-kur

House of Enlil;

26' E-kur

House which grants purity(?);

27' E-kur

House which creates mankind;

28' E-kur

House which calls mankind into being;

29' [E-kur]

House of the people's prosperity;

30' [E-kur]

Pure [sanctuary(?);]

31' [E-kur]

Lofty chamber;

32' [E-kur]

[House of] the Pure Mound;

33' [E-kur]

[House of] Manungal;

34' [E-kur]

[House of] heaven and underworld.

§ 6 Temples of Nippur

c E-šumeša

House which binds the bones of the gods as
tribute, (or,
(Where) the bones of the gods are gathered(!) as
tribute;

d E-ulu-gal[...]-sisi

House of profusion(?)...;

* * * *

a	1'	é.KA × X	bītu [. . .]
a	2'	'é'.x.[x].x	bīt[u . . .]
a	3'	'é'.x.e.x	bīt[u x] x [x] A[N x]
a	4'	'é'.[. . .]	bītu x x [x] x x x
a	5'	é.dur.an.[ki]	b[ī]tu šu-bat ^a en-lil ^{mes} šá mah-ru
a	6'	é.'dúr.ki'.x.x.x	'bītu šu'-bat er-se-ti
a	7'	'ki.ir'.rù.m[ah]	[bītu] a-š[ar] x ti ni x šal-lu
ab	8'	ki.ér.'mah'	x x x x x : bi-kit bēlet-ilī(dingir.mah)
ab	9'	é.bur.šú.šú.a	b[ī]tu šu-bat x-'-ti ka-lu?-ú
ab	10'	uru.na.nam	ālu ki-ni : āl di-ni
ab	11'	é.kiš.nu.gál ^{gis-nu-gál}	bītu šá kak-ku-šú la im-mah-ḥa-ru
ab	12'	é.kéš. ^a nun.gal	bīt mar-kás ^a i-gi-gi
ab	13'	é.ká.ēš.nun.gal	bītu šá ana ap-si-i pe-tu-ú bāb-šú
ab	14'	é.dub.lá.mah	bītu na-ās ṭup-pi q[u]-bu-ru
ab	15'	é.kúr.kúr.ru	bītu mu-šam-qit 'e?'-lu?-ti
ab	16'	é. ^a suen.na	bīt qu-bur māti

§ 7 (a: ii 17'-26'; b: ii 10'-18') // CT 25 14, 14-25

ab	17'	^a umuš.an.na	^a bēl-āli-ia š[á] ^{ur} ur ^{ur} bār-sipa ^{ki}
ab	18'	^a umuš.ki.ta	^a bēl-āli-ia š[á] ^{uru} uru x x x ^{ki}
ab	19'	^a šar.ur ₄ ^a šar.gaz	^a bēl-āli-ia [šá ^{uru} šá]-lam-'mu-u ^{ki}
ab	20'	^a u ₄ .ba.nu.il.la	^a bēl-āli-ia [šá ^{ur} ur[d]imat(an.za.gár)-[^a e]n?-[il?] ^{ki}
ab	21'	^a [k]ur.ra.šu.ur ₄ .ur ₄	^a bēl-āli-ia š[á] ^{ur} ur[k]ar- ^a nin-urta
ab	22'	^a érim'.á.bi.nu.tuku	^a bēl-āli-ia [šá ^{ur} ur[sá.sá.érim
ab	23'	^a [s]a-pi-in-a-a-bi	^a bēl-āli-ia [šá ^{ur} urpat-ti
ab	24'	^a pisan ^{sag} .unug ^{ki}	^a bēl-āli-ia [šá ^{ur} urkul-'aba ^{ki}
ab	25'	^a u ₄ .z[ú.nin]nu	^a bēl-āli-ia [šá ^{ur} uršá- ^m en a ba pu ti
a	26'	^a [sist]ukul!.sag.ninnu	^a bēl-āli-ia šá ^{uru} dēru ^{ki}

§ 8 (a: ii 27'-32'; b: ii 21'-23')

a	27'	šubātu([k]i.tuš) ^{mes} šá tarbaši(tùr)? šá bīt ^a nin-urta? : šá ^a nabû(nà) u ^a asal-lú-ḥi
ab	28'	šubtu šá ina 'é'.ki.ù[rk] ⁱ -ur-u [: šá en ₅ ?si?g]al ^a nin-urta šá ^{uru} parak(bára)-māri(dumu) ^{ki}
ab	29'	šubātu ^m [^{es} (x)] šá bīt ^a [. . .] RU KID/É rag-gi
ab	30'	šubtu šá x[. . .] x x [:] šá ^a nin-urta

13' b: ab[zu] 29' b: rag-gu

1'	E-...	House [...];
2'	E-...	House [...];
3'	E-...	House...[...];
4'	E-[...]	House...[...];
5'	E-dur-anki	House, abode of the Enlils of old;
6'	E-dur-ki-...	House, abode of the netherworld;
7'	Ki-irru-mah	[House] where... is plundered;
8'	Ki-er-mah	..., (or,) Mourning of Bēlet-ilī;
9'	E-bur-šusua	House, abode...;
10'	Uru-nanam	True city, (or,) City of judgement;
11'	E-kišnu-gal	House whose weapons cannot be withstood;
12'	E-keš-Nungal	House of the bond of the Igigi;
13'	E-ka-ešnun-gal	House whose gate opens on to Apsū;
14'	E-dubla-mah	House which bears a funerary tablet;
15'	E-kurkurru	House which lays heroes(?) low;
16'	E-Suenna	House of the grave of the land.

§ 7 A List of Divine Mayors

17'	Umušanna	Bēl-āliya of Borsippa;
18'	Umuškita	Bēl-āliya of...;
19'	Šarur-Šargaz	Bēl-āliya [of] Šalammû;
20'	Ubanuilla	Bēl-āliya [of] Dimat-Enlil(?);
21'	Kurrašuurur	Bēl-āliya of Kār-Ninurta;
22'	Erimabinutuku	Bēl-āliya [of] Sasaerim;
23'	Sāpin-ayyābi	Bēl-āliya [of] Patti;
24'	Pisangunuk	Bēl-āliya [of] Kullab;
25'	Uzuninnu	Bēl-āliya [of]...;
26'	Tukulsagninnu	Bēl-āliya of Dēr.

§ 8 A List of Shrines

27'	The seats of the yard(?) of the temple of Ninurta(?): of Nabû and Asalluḥi;
28'	The seat which is in E-kiur [: of the Governor(?) -in]-Chief, Ninurta of Parak-māri;
29'	The seats [...] of the temple of [...]...the wicked;
30'	The seat which [...]... of Ninurta;

- a 31' *šubātu*^{mes} *ša x[x] bīt x x [x x x] x x*
 a 32' *šubātu*^{mes} *ša ina abul á-ki-it [: šá^dx x u] ^duraš*

§ 9 (a: ii 33'-34')

- a 33' *^den.lil.e érin sud 'zu?'zu*
ša^den-lil x[x x x um-m]a-ni-šú
 a 34' *ki.gub gam.ma*
a-šar ik-nu-^ršú-šú

column iii

§ 10 (a: iii 1') // STT 400, 28-36

- a 1' *DIŠ na-aš-^rna-šu-ú^r* *ī[ššūr(mušen) là kašād(kur) šibūti(áš)]*

§ 11 (a: iii 2'-5'; c: 1-4) // STT 400, 37-40 // CT 24 33, K 4349W, 3-6

- ac 2' *^{im}šūtu(u₁₈.lu)* *^dé-a a-bu il^{mes}*
 ac 3' *^{im}šadū(kur.ra)* *^den-lil bēl gim-ri*
 ac 4' *^{im}iltānu(si.sá)* *^dnin-lil bēl(en) za-qí-qí*
 ac 5' *^{im}amurru(mar.dú)* *^da-nu abī(ad) šamê^e*

§ 12 (a: iii 6'-12'; c: 5-17) // STT 400, 41-46 // CT 24 33, K 4349W, 7-10

- ac 6' *ūmu(u₄)* *^den-lil*
arḫu(iti) *^da-num*
šattu(mu.an.na) *^d[é-a]*
 ac 7' *mu-šu-um* *^dé-a u ^ddam-ki-na*
 a 7a' *: mu-šu-um* *é.u₆.de ^dam.an.[ki]*
 ac 8' *[u₄.1]^{kam}* *^da-nu-um*
[u₄.7]^{kam} *^dnī[n]-lil*
u₄.15^{kam} *^dnī[n]-urta*
 ac 9' *u₄.20.la[1.1]^{am}* *^dgu-la*
u₄.20^{kam} *^dšamaš(utu)*
 ac 10' *u₄.25^{kam}* *^dsin(30)*
bubbulu(u₄.ná.àm) *<^d> ^dsin(30) : ^dlugal.du₆.kù.ga*
 ac 11' *uddazallū(u₄.da.zal.la)* *^dšamaš(utu)*
uddagiddū(u₄.da.gid.da) *^dn[in-urta]*

5' a: ^da-num a-bi 6' c in 3 ll.: [u₄]-mu ^den-lil / [u₄.x]^{kam} ^da-nu-um / [u₄.x]^{kam} ^dé-a 8' a: iti ^da-num
 <u₄>.7<^{kam}> ^den-lil 9' c: ^dnin-kar-ra-a[k] 10' c: ^dsuen c: à)m ^dlugal.du₆.kù.ga 11' c: dja
^dnin-urta /].la ^d30

- 31' The seats which [...] the temple...[...];
 32' The seats which are at the Akītu Gate [: of...and] Uraš.

§ 9

- 33' (As for) Enlil, who teaches (his) people profoundly,
 34' (this is) where they submitted to him.

§ 10 A List of Birds

- 1' *Našnašū* The bird (which portends) failure to achieve one's goal.

§ 11 The Four Winds

- 2' South Ea, the father of the gods;
 3' East Enlil, the lord of all;
 4' North Ninlil, the lord (*sic!*) of phantoms;
 5' West Anu, father of heaven.

§ 12 Days of the Month

- 6' Day Enlil;
 Month (var.: xth day) Anu;
 Year (var. xth day) Ea;
 7' Night Ea and Damkina;
 7a' (or,) Night House of the Wonder of Amanki;
 8' [1st] day (var.: New Moon) Anu;
 [7th] day Ninlil (var.: Enlil);
 15th day Ninurta;
 9' 19th day Gula;
 20th day Šamaš;
 10' 25th day Sîn;
 Last day of lunar visibility Sîn; (or,) Lugaldukuga;
 11' Intercalary day Šamaš (var.: Sîn);
 Extracalary day Ninurta.

§ 13 (a: iii 1'-34'; b: iii 1'-iv 1; c: 18-39; D; e: rev. 1-14)

ac	12'	¹¹¹ bára.zag.gar.ra.ta ezen ak.e.ne ina ¹¹¹ nisanni(bára.zag.gar) i-si-in-nu i-pu-šu	
ac	13'	á-ki-it šá ^a marduk	ana ^a en-lil-ú-ti-šu
ac	14'	á-ki-it šá ^a nin-urta	ana ^a en-lil a-bi-šu
ac	15'	á-ki-it šá ^a iš-tar ^a šar-rat nippur ^{ki} : šá ^a nin-urta	
ac	16'	á-ki-it šá ^a sin(suen.na)	ana ^a nin-urta sa-pàr il ^{mes}
ac	17'	á-ki-it ma-la ba-ša-a	ana ^a nin-urta sa-pàr il ^{mes}
ac	18'	tu-ša-ru ^{u4.15kam}	ta-ḥa-zu
ac	19'	ú-suk-ka-tum	te-šir-tu ₄ nippur ^{ki}
a	20'	a-ba-riq-qu	mul-lil-[lu]
ac	21'	qud-du u giš-ḥaš- ^r šu ¹	^{sis} kak(tukul) la ma-gi-ri
ac	22'	ni-iq me-e	a-rad qá-ab-ri
acD	23'	ki-mu-ut rē ² (sipa)	pe-te-e qá-ab-ri
acDe	24'	a-bu	^{sis} kakku(tu[ku]) mit-ḥur-ti ú-ma-ši a-ba-ri
ae	25'	si-sa-nu šá ^a gu-la	šu-šu ^a a-n[im]
acDe	26'	^a id.lú.ru.gú.gíd.da	i-si-in-nu ^a iš-tar
acD	27'	ú-lu-lu	šá ^a iš-tar
acDe	28'	ti-i-ru	šá ^a é-a : ^a [x]
acDe	29'	^{sis} gigir. ^a 50 ^{sis} tukul.sag. ^a 50	ana ašē(è) ^a šamši(utu) ^{si}
ae	29a'	: ^{sis} tukul. ^a 50 ú ^a 50 ¹	ud-du-ši
acDe	30'	^a uru ₄ ^{u-ru-na-ku}	šu-tuk-ku
abcDe	31'	u ₄ -ma ^a en-lil na-gi-ru	arah ₇ (iti) ša.gi.guru ₆ ^a nissaba
aDe	32'	ni-iq re-e-im ^{ni-ia-re-em}	arah ₇ ša.igi.guru ₆ ^a nissaba
abcDe	33'	¹¹¹ šabātu(zíz)	arah ₇ ša.gi.guru ₆ ^a en-lil
			arah ₇ ša.igi.guru ₆ ^a en-lil
abce	34'	tab-ni-tum me-lul-tum	^a a-na-na-ti

§ 13a (c: 40-51) cf. STT 400, 16-23; KAR 142, i 39-41; III R 69, i 65-74

40	[^a lugal.edin].na	a-sak-ku ^a la-ta-rak
41	[^a ab.ba].gu.la	mār ^a a-nim
42	[^a e]-qu	
43	[^a muḥ-ḥ]u-ra	

12' a: i-si-in-na [13']-17' c: á-ki-tum, om. šá 13' c: an ^aen-lil-lu-ti-šu 14' c: an 15' c: ^ainanna, šar-rat 16' c: ^asuen an 17' c: ba-ša-a an 18' c: ti-ša-ru 19' c: ú-su-uk-ka-tum te-šir-ti 21' c: giš.ḥaš.a ka-ak 22'-23' a: qab-r[ī] 24' c: a-bu-um mit-ḥur-ti ú-ma-ši e: kak-ku mit-ḥur-tu[m] 26' c: i-si-in 27' c: ša 28' c: [ti]-ru-[u]m ša ^aiš-tar 29' c:]50 x ^{sis}gigir.50 D: ^{sis}gigir-^aen-lil e: ^{sis}gigir 29a' e: ^{sis}tukul ^an[im-ur]a ^aen-lil 30' c om. u-ru D: é.^{sis}uru₄-na- 31' c: ^a50 32' a: ša.gi.guru₆ 33' c: [ša-ba-ḥ]u-um iti qé-ri-it ^anissaba 34' c: me-lul-ti

§ 13 Months and Festivals

12'	In the month Nisan festivals are celebrated:	
13'	the Akītu of Marduk:	for his supreme divinity;
14'	the Akītu of Ninurta:	for his father Enlil;
15'	the Akītu of Ištar, Queen of Nippur; (or,) of Ninurta;	
16'	the Akītu of Šin:	for Ninurta, the net of the gods;
17'	as many Akītu's as there are:	for Ninurta, the net of the gods.
18'	Battlefield (15th day)	Battle;
19'	Unclean woman	Direction(?) of Nippur;
20'	Purification priest	Cleanser;
21'	Axe and Cudgel	Weapons against the insubmissive;
22'	Offering of water	Descent to the grave;
23'	Captivity of the shepherd	Opening of the grave;
24'	Abu	Warfare, contest of strength and vigour;
25'	Locust(?) of Gula	Expulsion(?) of Anu;
26'	Long River Ordeal	Festival of Ištar;
27'	Ulūlu	Of Ištar;
28'	Tiru	Of Ea; (or,) [...] (var.: Of Ištar)
29'	Chariot of Enlil, Foremost	For the rising of Šamaš;
	Weapon of Enlil	
29a'	(or,) Weapon of Ninurta and Enlil	Renewal;
30'	Urunakku	Reed hut;
31'	This day Enlil, the herald	Month of the feast of Nissaba;
32'	Shepherd's sacrifice	Month of the feast of Nissaba;
33'	Šabātu	Month of the feast of Enlil;
		Month of the feast of Enlil;
34'	Table-spread, games	Goddesses of war.

§ 13a The Asakku Demons and Sons of Enlil

40	[Lugal]-edinna;
41	[Abba]-gula;
42	Equ;
43	Muḥra;

44 [^aku-š]u-um45 [^asi-la]k-ku46 [^aa.eridu^k]ⁱ47 [^aa.ùri^k]ⁱ

48 [. . .]x

49 [^akull]a?50 [^a . . .]x51 [^a . . .]xki-šit-ti ^anin-urtaⁱ

ša šu-bat-su-nu a-ḥat ā[ī]

dumu.sag ^aen.líl.lá.ke₄

KIMIN

KIMIN

column iv

§ 14 (a: iv(?); b: iv 2-v 24; e: rev. 15-16)

b 2 ^anin.tin.ug₅.ga ^agu-la [: ^a . . . ^a . . .]b 3 ^aen.á.nun ^{bēlet-ilī}(dingir.maḥ) : ^aš[ul.pa.ē.si₄.a ^asīn(30)]be 4 ^ašul.pa.ē.ūtul.ām ^anergal(u.gur)b 5 ^anin.amaš.kù.ga [^a . . .]b 6 ^aá.súkud.kù.sig₁₇.an.na ^ax[. . .]b 7 7^{am} ilū^{meš} [. . .]b 8 ^aereš.ki.gal ^agu-la : [^a . . . ^a . . .]b 9 ^anu.bān.da ^anuska : ^a[zi.sum.mu ^anin-ìmma]b 10 ^aen.zi.šu.sikil.la ^ašu-z[i-an-na : ^ašeg₉.bār.ra.gim₄.gim₄ ^aen-nu-gi]b 11 ^aur.bad ^akù-sù : ^aur.b[ad.ḥum.ḥum ^anin-šar]b 12 ^agub.ba.ga.ni.ra.èⁱ ^an[in-ka-si : ^aa.bār.ra.laḥ₅ ^anuska]b 13 10^{am} ilū^{meš} ub-šu-ukkin-na[a-ku . . .]b 14 ^alamma ^anin-ìmma : ^airḥan ^a[šu-zi-an-na]b 15 ^audug.ga.ga ^aen-nu-gi : ^a[lamma.ga.ga ^akù-sù]b 16 ^audug.sig₅.ga ^anin-šar : ^a[lamma.sig₅.ga ^anin-ka-si]b 17 ^aá.daḥ!? ^a[nuska]b 18 7^{am} dingirgubbû(dingir.gub.ba)^{mešⁱ} [šá é.kur?]

* * * *

e e ^aki.za.za : ^aé-a : ^apap.suk[kal : ^akà-kà?]

column v

b 1 7^{am} ilū^{meš} kisal ^aš[ḥaṭṭi(gidru) bīt-a-nu]b 2 ^abēl-āli-ia šá ^{ur}parak(bāra)-māri(dumu)[^aum-u-ke₄ 7 dingirgubbû(dingir.gub.ba)^{meš}b 3 ^anin-ka-si ^abēlet(gašan)-balāṭi(ti.la) ^asīn(30) ^anin-ìmma ^anin-šar

44 Kūšu;

45 Silakku;

46 [A-Eridu;]

47 [A-Uri;]

48 [...;]

The Asakku, Lātārāk, son of Anu, conquered by Ninurta, whose dwellings are outside the city.

49 [Kulla(?)] Foremost son of Enlil;

50 [...] ditto;

51 [...] ditto.

§14 The Divine Directory of Nippur

2 Nintinugga (Gula); [...;]

3 Enanun (Bēlet-ilī); [Šulpaesia (Sīn);]

4 Šulpaeutulam (Nergal);

5 Ninamaškuga [...;]

6 Asukudkusiganna [...;]

7 7 gods, [(of)....]

8 Ereškigal (Gula); [...;]

9 Nubanda (Nuska); [Zisummu (Ninimma);]

10 Enzišusikilla (Šuzianna); [Šegbarragimgim (Ennugi);]

11 Urbad (Kusu); Urbadḥumḥum [(Ninšar);]

12 Gubbaganirae [(Ninkasi); Abarralaḥ (Nuska);]

13 10 gods, of Ubšu-ukkinna [...]

14 Lamma (Ninimma); Irḥan [(Šuzianna);]

15 Uduggaga (Ennugi); [Lammagaga (Kusu);]

16 Udugsigga (Ninšar); [Lammasigga (Ninkasi);]

17 Adah(?) [(Nuska);]

18 7 Divine Attendants [of E-kur(?).]

* * * *

e Kizaza (Ea); Papsukkal [(Kakka?);]

* * * *

1 7 gods, the inner Court of the Sceptre.

2 Bēl-āliya of Parak-māri; 7 Divine Attendants;

3 Ninkasi; Bēlet-balāṭi; Sīn; Ninimma; Ninšar;

- b 4 ^air₉-ra-gal ^ašu-zi-an-na ^anin-ma-ni-zi
b 5 ^anin-kar-nun-na bīt ha-re-e ^akù-sù ^anuska ^apap-sukkal
b 6 21^{am} ilū^{meš} kisal ^ais^{is}haṭṭi(gidru) bāb-a-nu
b 7 ^asîn(30) ^anin-gal ^amārat(dumu.mī)-^asîn(30) ^ašu-zi-an-na ^anin-gal ^ašamaš(utu) ^akal-
kal
b 8 7^{am} ilū^{meš} bīt ^asîn(30)
b 9 ^aadad(iškur) ^agu-la ^anin-urta ^arNIM × GA¹ ^abēlet(gašan)-balāṭi(ti.la) ^anin-šar₆¹
b 10 6^{am} ilū^{meš} bīt ^aadad(iškur)
b 11 ^aa-nu-um ^aen-lil ^anuska ^asîn(30) ^anin-ìmma ^akù-sig₁₇-bàn-da
b 12 ^abēlet-ilī(dingir.maḥ) ^abēlet(gašan)-balāṭi(ti.la) ^apap-sukkal é.kur é.ki.ù[r] é.
šu.me.ša₄ é.igi.ḥuš!(TUM).a
b 13 9^{am} ilū^{meš} 4 ekurrātu(é.kur)^{meš} bīt ^anin-ìmma
b 14 ^anin-urta ^agu-la ^ada-mu ^akurun-nam
b 15 ^akù-sù ^aur-maḥ ^anuska ^anin-ìmma ^ašu-zi-an-na
b 16 ^abēlet(nin)-šēri(edin) ^asebettu(imin.bi) ^abēl-āli-ia ^asiraš ^anin-gir-zi-da
b 17 14^{am} ilū^{meš} bīt ^agu-la
b 18 ^air₉-ra¹ ^aer-ra-gal ^alugal-ir₉-ra ^ames-lam-ta-è-a ^ada-m[u]
b 19 5^{am} ilū^{meš} bīt ^anerg[al(u.gur)]
b 20 ^aen-lil ^anin-lil ^anin-urta ^agu-la ^anin-maḥ ^an[in-tu]
b 21 ^akù-sù ^alil-lum 8!(6) ilū^{meš} bīt ^abēlet-ilī(dingir.maḥ)
b 22 ^anissaba ^akù-sù ^anin-gal ^ašamaš(utu) ^abēl-āli-[ia]
b 23 ^a5^{am} ilū^{meš} bīt ^a[a-l]i-[lil]
b 24 [. . .] ^asîn(30) ^ax¹[. . .] ^a[. . .]

column vi

§ 15 (b: vi)

- b 1 . . .]-ti
b 2 . . .]x-bi
b 3 . . .]-ti
b 4 . . .]-ti
b 5 . . .]-ri
b 6 . . .] x x x x x ti

- 4 Erragal; Šuzianna; Inimmanizi;
5 Ninkarnunna; the *Harû* Temple; Kusu; Nuska; Papsukkal;
6 21 gods, the outer Court of the Sceptre.
7 Sîn; Ningal; Sîn's Daughter; Šuzianna; Ningal; Šamaš; Kalkal;
8 7 gods, the temple of Sîn.
9 Adad; Gula; Ninurta;...; Bēlet-balāṭi; Ninšar;
10 6 gods, the temple of Adad.
11 Anu; Enlil; Nuska; Sîn; Ninimma; Kusigbanda;
12 Bēlet-ili; Bēlet-balāṭi; Papsukkal; E-kur; E-kiur; E-šumeša; E-igi-ḥuša;
13 9 gods, 4 chapels, the temple of Ninimma.
14 Ninurta; Gula; Damu; Kurunnam;
15 Kusu; Urmaḥ; Nuska; Ninimma; Šuzianna;
16 Bēlet-šēri; the Divine Heptad; Bēl-āliya; Sirāš; Ningirzida;
17 14 gods, the temple of Gula.
18 Erra; Erragal; Lugalirra; Meslamtaea; Damu;
19 5 gods, the temple of Nergal.
20 Enlil; Ninlil; Ninurta; Gula; Ninmaḥ; [Nintu;]
21 Kusu; Lillu: 8 gods, the temple of [Bēlet-ilī].
22 Nissaba; Kusu; Ningal; Šamaš; Bēl-āliya;
23 5 gods, the House of Praise.
24 [...;] Sîn;...[....

* * * *

§ 15 Offerings in E-kur

1-6 traces only

- ...]x-tú šá é.kur
 b 7
 ... š[]-kar ^aa-nu-ti
 b 8
 ...]x-tú diqāru(útu) š[]-kar pu-uh-ri
 b 9
 ... š[]-kar bi-b[]il lib-bi ^aen-lil
 b 10
 ... š[]-ka-r]u du-uš-šu-pu gid/pu-du-ú šum-šu
 b 11
 ...] šá ina ap-si-i zak-rù
 b 12
 ...]x tin pe-tu-ú er-še-tum š[]-kar lam-si-si
 b 13
 b 14 [7.àm kaš.sag é.kur.ra].ke₄
 se-bet š[]-kar reš-tu-ú šá é.kur
 b 15 [...] : miris(ninda.i.dé.a) harrāni(kaskal)
 b 16 [... hū]p-ru-ú : útu.ziz.àm útu.dug₄.ga hūp-ru-ú
 b 17 [kašuluš]n ú-lu-še-nu-ú
 b 18 [...]-ki qa-tum : útu.šu.ba.^ašakkan : mi-ri-is ^ašakkan
 b 19 [7.àm ninda.i.dé.a é.kur.ra.k]e₄
 se-bet mir-su šá é.kur
 b 20 [... š[]-ka]r? ^aa-nim : kaš ú?-lu : kaš.sag si? ki x x : MIN ^aen-lil
 b 21 [...]x gul.la útu : MIN ^aen-lil :
 b 22 [... š[]-ka]r? ^a[...] MIN MIN
 b 23 ... MIN bē[]et-il[](dingir.maḥ)
 b 24 ... MIN] ^aen-lil
 b 25 ... MIN] MIN

(Commentary: p. 441 ff.)

- 7 [The 7...].of E-kur.
 8 ...:] beer of Anu-ship;
 9 ...]...pot: beer of the assembly;
 10 ...beer] favoured by Enlil;
 11 ...] sweet [beer] which is called...;
 12 ...] as it is named in Apsû;
 13 ...]..., which opens the earth: beer of the vat:
 14 The 7 premium beers of E-kur.
 15 ...]; date-cake for travelling;
 16 ...:] huprû; emmer-pot,...-pot: huprû;
 17 emmer beer;
 18 [...]...hand; date-cake of Šakkan:
 19 The 7 date-cakes of E-kur.
 20-25 fragmentary

Scribal Note to the Excerpt Tablet

The following scribal note introduces and concludes the excerpt tablet, BM 38413 (MS e, Plate 29), obv. 1-4 // rev. 17-20 (top and left edges):

šumū(mu)^{me} šá ina nibru^{k1} ní.bi.ta dù.a ina mál-su-tu₄ ka-mu-ti-šú-nu ana pi-i ummāni(um.me.a) ša-mu-ú áš-šú šá-me-e šá ka-mu-ti-šú-nu nashū(zi)-ni šumū^{me} ina bi-re-e-tú šahū(gu₄.ud)^{me} a-mi-r[u] ana qīti(til.la) išakkan(gar)^{an}*

Lines which are quoted(?) from *Nibru-nibita-dua*, in the reading of their..., according to a scholar: excerpted for the purpose of the quotation(?) of their...: lines in between are skipped: the reader may complete it.

(* so obv. 3; rev. 19 (left edge): *še/t[e (x)]x.*)

The lines on the excerpt tablet were apparently copied by dictation (*šamū*, "they were heard") for the use in further dictation. The final clause presumably implies that the reader may restore the skipped lines by reference to an unabridged manuscript. The variant for *nashū-ni* is mystifying.

THE NIPPUR TEMPLE LIST
(no. 19)

This large obverse fragment from Late Babylonian Sippar, not previously published, belongs to the genre of the explanatory temple list, such as is represented in Babylon by the E-sagil Commentary, BM 34850 and similar lists edited above as nos. 2-5. The background and purpose of such lists have been discussed in the introduction to those texts, as also their compilers' methods of translation of the Sumerian ceremonial names into Akkadian. In the present text the 'etymological' explanations of the temple names are multiple, and often particularly abstruse; where it can be determined the ancient scholar's train of thought is charted in the commentary, but this has not always proved possible. Indeed, the Nippur Temple List displays the same highly speculative approach to Sumerian that we have already noted in the Nippur Compendium, a text which provides the closest parallels to it.

The first two temples treated in the Nippur Temple List are, as might be expected, E-kur of Enlil (no doubt from the lost beginning of the text to its first extant line) and E-kiur of Ninlil (lines 2'-10'); in both cases the ceremonial name is written in each line in a way that is clearly intended to show how the Sumerian has been broken down phonetically for analysis. This is a practice also employed by the compiler of the E-sagil Commentary, and it offers a useful illustration of the methods of 'etymological' translation employed by the ancient scholars. Nine translations or explanations, none of them literal to our modern minds, are offered for the name of Ninlil's sanctuary, and no doubt Enlil's temple was treated at even greater length. Multiple interpretations of the name of E-kur are also to be found in the Nippur Compendium (no. 18, § 5), where, however, the orthography never alters from the standard *é.kur*. After E-kur and E-kiur the list continues with explanations of E-šumeša of Ninurta (six lines), E-melam-anna of Nuska (three lines), E-bara-durgarra of Ištar (two lines), E-kar-zida, E-du-numun-bur (each one line) and E-uru-sagga of Gula (three lines), following which the tablet is broken off. This part of the Nippur Temple List thus compares fairly closely with the temple list incorporated in the Nippur Compendium (§ 6), and indeed, l. 14' of the present text duplicates an unplaced line of the latter preserved in its excerpt tablet (ii c). Just how close the two lists originally were is impossible to determine, for apart from this one line on E-šumeša there exists no common ground between their extant remains: the Nippur Temple List has survived only in its first part, the temple list of the Nippur Compendium only in its last few lines.

19 BM 76493 (AH 83-1-18, 1863) + 83025 (83-1-21, 188)

Plate 35

1'	[é.ku.ú].ru	'a-šar šá-ri-kát b[a-la-ti]
2'	[é].k[i.ù].r	áš-ru na-ak-[lu]
3'	[é].ki.ùr	áš-ru el-[lu]
4'	[é].ki.ùr	būt ^{be-pi}
5'	[é].ki.ur ₄	būt ha-am-mu-[ti]
6'	'é'.ki.ú.ru	a-šar ba-la-tu i-ziq-[qu?]
7'	'é'.ki.ú.ru	a-šar šá-ri-kát ba-la-[ti]
8'	'é'.ki.ú.ru	a-šar šá-ri- < kát > ? ^{mi} [niširti(ùru)?]
9'	'é'.ki.u.ru	a-šar be-li ir-re-ḫu-[ú]
10'	'é'.ki.u.ru	er-še-et be-li gīt-ma-[li]
11'	'é'.šu.me.ša ₄	būt gīt-ma-[li]
12'	'é'.šu.me.ša ₄	bītu ri-ki-is tē-mi il[meš]
13'	'é'.šu.me.ša ₄	bītu šá il[meš] ana bil-ti 'ir'-ku-[su]
14'	'é'.šu.me.ša ₄	bītu ra-ki-is ^{ka-mi-is} eš-met il[meš] ana bilāti([g]un)[meš]
15'	[é].šu.me.ša ₄	bītu na-ki-is il[meš]
16'	[é.š]u.me.ša ₄	bītu ta-bi-ik da-am il[meš]
17'	[é.me.l]ám.'an.na'	bītu šá il[meš] ina e-la-a-tú pal-ḫu-[šú]
18'	[é.me.l]á[m.an.n]a	bītu šá il[meš] ina šap-'la'-a-tú pal-ḫu-[šú]
19'	[é.me.lám.a]n.na	būt a-ḫi ta-lim-t[i] ^a a-[nim]
20'	[é.bára.dú].r.gar.ra	bītu šá ana be-li ana šal-ti šak-[nu]
21'	[é.bára.dúr.gar].ra	bītu šu-bat ^{enlil} (50) šá bīt? . . .]
22'	[é.kar.zi.d]a	bītu e-ṭi ₅ -ir na-[piš-ti]
23'	[é.du ₆ .númun.b]úr	bīt e-tel x[. . .]
24'	[é.ùru.sag.g]á	bīt šá-ri-kát ba-[la-ṭi ana niš[meš]?
25'	[é.ùru.sag.g]á	bīt ni-šir-t[i] . . .]
26'	[é.ùru.sag.g]á	bītu na-ši-ī[r . . .]
27'	[. . .]	bītu x x[. . .]

The Nippur Temple List

1'	[E-kur]	Place of the lady who grants life;
2'	[E]-kiur	Skilfully-built place;
3'	[E]-kiur	Pure place;
4'	[E]-kiur	House...;
5'	[E]-kiur	Master bedroom;
6'	E-kiur	Place where life...;
7'	E-kiur	Place of the lady who grants life;
8'	E-kiur	Place of the lady who grants [lore(?);]
9'	E-kiur	Place where the Lord was engendered;
10'	E-kiur	Territory of the perfect Lord;
11'	E-šumeša	House of the perfect [one;]
12'	E-šumeša	House, bond of the will of the gods;
13'	E-šumeša	House which bound the gods to tribute;
14'	E-šumeša	House which binds the bones of the gods as tribute;
15'	[E]-šumeša	House which slaughters the gods;
16'	[E]-šumeša	House which spills the blood of the gods;
17'	[E]-melam-anna	House which the gods above revere;
18'	[E]-melam]-anna	House which the gods below revere;
19'	[E]-melam]-anna	House of the bosom friend of Anu;
20'	[E]-bara]-durgarra	House which is assigned to the Lord for combat;
21'	[E]-bara]-durgarra	House, abode of Enlil in...[...;]
22'	[E]-kar-zida]	House which saves life;
23'	[E]-du-numun]-bur	House of the noble of...[...;]
24'	[E]-uru-sagga]	House of the lady who grants life [to the people(?);]
25'	[E]-uru-sagga]	House of secrets [...;]
26'	[E]-uru-sagga]	House which guards [...;]
27'	[...]	House...[...]

(Commentary: p. 451 ff.)

AŠŠUR

THE GÖTTERADRESSBUCH OF AŠŠUR
(no. 20)

The major cuneiform source for the topography of the city of Aššur in Neo-Assyrian times is a long compilation known to Assyriology as the 'Divine Directory' (Götteradressbuch) or 'Topography' (Stadtbeschreibung) of Aššur.¹ Neither title suits the text as a whole; while it begins with a long list of the gods of Aššur, temple by temple, this is the only part of the text to merit the title 'Divine Directory': the succeeding lists deal, most prominently, with the city gates and temples of the city, and in this respect the text compares with *Tintir* = Babylon. But even so, 'Topography of Aššur' is as misleading a title as 'Topography of Babylon' is for the latter work: in both texts the topographical content is incidental to the main purpose they have in common, namely the theological and cosmological glorification of the city they have as their subject.² For the sake of continuity the title 'Götteradressbuch' (abbreviated GAB), as adopted by the text's two most recent editors, is retained here.

The text of GAB divides into eight sections, numbered here §§ 1-8, although no one recension of the text accommodates all sections together. The present edition limits itself to those sections which are of topographical interest, and thus omits the whole of § 1 (ll. 1-119), for a transliteration of which the reader is referred to the recent edition of Menzel.³ However, a brief account of this section, which comprises the bulk of GAB, opens our review of the text in the following paragraphs.

As mentioned above, the opening section of GAB is the Divine Directory or Götteradressbuch itself, listing the gods resident in the city of Aššur as they appear grouped temple by temple.⁴ It thus provides a long-recognized parallel to the several similar lists that are found in the *Tākultu* texts of the later Sargonid kings.⁵ A parallel text for another city is the Divine Directory (§ 14) of the Nippur Compendium.

¹ The text is styled Götteradressbuch by Franken, *Tākultu*, p. 122ff., and Brigitte Menzel, *AT* II, no. 64; and Stadtbeschreibung by Unger, who used the text in his study of the topography of Aššur in *AO* 27/III.

² On the texts of the genre and their primary purpose, see above, p. 1ff.

³ For a bibliography of GAB, individual sources as well as composite editions, see below, p. 173f.

⁴ The temples are those of Aššur, Anu, Adad, Sin, Šamaš, Bēl-šarru, Ištar of Aššur, Bēlat-ekalli, Šarrat-nip̄a, Ištar of Nineveh and Gula: see further the account of § 4, below.

⁵ Now Menzel, *AT* II, nos. 54-63.

The god list of § 1 is followed by a list of the thirteen city gates of Aššur (§ 2 = ll. 120-33), a list which is also known from the Kidudu inscription of Šalmaneser III. The gate list is followed in turn by a section which lists the divine watchmen whose images guarded the city, five in number, and its walls, moat and main street (§ 3 = ll. 134-43): sadly the topographical part of this third section is only partially preserved and cannot be completely restored.

§ 4 is a temple list (ll. 144-185). This list the writer has christened the Assyrian Temple List, in recognition of the fact that some recensions of it include temples not situated in Aššur itself, but in other cities of Assyria (Nineveh, Arbīl, Kurba'il and Kalḥu).⁶ Sources for the Assyrian Temple List are abundant, in contrast to those for §§ 1-3. This, and the inherent lack of cohesion between the disparate sections of GAB, indicate a strong probability that the text as it now stands is a compilation of originally independent lists, chief among which would be the Divine Directory (§ 1) and the Assyrian Temple List.

The Assyrian Temple List is a list of the three column (or, better, sub-column) type, giving the ceremonial Sumerian name of each sanctuary (sub-col. i), explaining this by means of an Akkadian translation (ii), and identifying it by its divine owner (iii); this last, *bīl DN*, "temple of the god So-and-So", no doubt being the everyday name of the temple. In this respect the temple list, in common with §§ 2 and 5-7 of GAB, belongs to the well-established scholarly tradition of lexical and explanatory texts which also spawned *Tintir* = Babylon, the Nippur Compendium and other 'topographical' texts.

Sources for the Assyrian Temple List now number eleven, eight pieces coming from Aššur and three from Nineveh, the latter previously only partly published in transliteration (MS B) or not at all (MSS AL).⁷ On account of their excavation numbers the Aššur pieces are considered all to derive from the library of the exorcist Kišir-Aššur and his family.⁸ The text of the list has survived in three main recensions, which differ from each other in both number and order of temples. The fullest of these recensions is that represented by MSS gi (parts of a single tablet), which lists 42 temple names, and is here designated Recension A. Being the longest recension, A is adopted as the standard, and the numeration of lines in the present edition follows the order found in it. Our Recension B is represented by MSS de, which formed the basis of Frankena's selective edition of the list, and which lists 33 temple names, omitting those in ll. 150, 160-61 and 178-84, but including one not admitted by other recensions (l. 168a). The selectiveness of this recension, which limits itself to the temples of Aššur and rejects those in other cities, may be attributable to the fact that both manuscripts which follow Recension B give the entire text of GAB on a single tablet, and thus append the temple list directly to §§ 1-3,

⁶ Temples of Marduk (E-sagil) and Zarpanītum (E-ḫal-anki) also appear, presumably the well-known sanctuaries in Babylon: see further below.

⁷ Discounting the writer's citation of lines from MSS AB in a review of Menzel's edition in *A/O* 32,

p. 92f., where they are MSS L and N respectively.

⁸ Private communication of O. Pedersén, in whose scheme this is library N 4: see Hecker and Sommerfeld (eds.), *Keilschriftliche Literaturen* (CRA 32), p. 145f.

which, as we have seen, are concerned exclusively with the city of Aššur.⁹ On the other hand, the same format of text is also found in MS k, which is not selective and follows Recension C in § 4. Recension C, to which the majority of the sources belong, lists 37 temple names in 38 lines, omitting those in ll. 148-49, 155 and 159.¹⁰ Two versions of this recension can be distinguished, with most MSS (ABfkL) favouring a late position for the Nabû temples of ll. 158 and 161-63 (Recension C₁), but MS h differing from them in placing these temples in the first half of the list (C₂). To facilitate comparison of the content and order of lines of these various recensions, and to enable the reader to find any given line in the previously published copies with a minimum of labour, a concordance of the recensions, using line numeration independent of GAB, and the editions of Frankena and Menzel can be found below on p. 174f.

Unlike the temple list of Babylon (*Tintir* = Babylon, Tablet IV), which lists the temples of that city according to their quarters, the Assyrian Temple List has no such strict topographical structure. There is detectable, however, in the first part of the list, a certain underlying order to which all recensions adhere, despite their apparent differences; and this, as one might expect, is the same order as that found in § 1, where the gods of Aššur were listed temple by temple. This order is one based on the ranking of the gods within the pantheon developed by the ancient theologians, with certain modifications perhaps introduced for topographical reasons. The list begins, naturally enough, with the E-šarra temple complex, the chief cult-centre of Aššur and Assyria; so too does the Divine Directory (§ 1). From this earlier section of GAB it can be seen that the principal sanctuaries of the E-šarra complex are the cella of Aššur, Assyrian Enlil (l. 13 in Menzel's edition), the temple of Ninlil or Mullissu, his wife (l. 21), the *bīl ḫurše* (l. 25), the temple of Ea-šarru (l. 33) and the temple of the Divine Judges (l. 42).¹¹ In the temple list of § 4 E-šarra comprises the *šahūru*, the cella of Aššur, the bath house, and the temples of Ninlil, Ea and Ninurta (ll. 144-52a); for some reason the *bīl ḫurše* is relegated to the very end of the list (l. 185), as if an afterthought. Apart from this the chief difference between the two lists is the replacement of the temple of the Divine Judges in § 1 by the temple of Ninurta (§ 4). But the order Aššur — Ninlil — Ea is common to both. In the temple list the temple of Ninlil is given two names, *é.gán.šū.A* and E-kiur; the third temple name listed for this goddess, E-mašmaš, probably refers not to her temple in Aššur but to the ancient and famous temple of Ištar-Ninlil at Nineveh;¹² significantly one manuscript (e)

⁹ But note that E-mašmaš of Ninlil (l. 150, in Nineveh?) is included by MS d on its left edge, as if omitted in error: see further the commentary, ad loc.

¹⁰ A single exemplar, MS B, telescopes ll. 166 and 169, but adds another line all of its own (l. 184a).

¹¹ The last of these Menzel restores as [*bīl é-šarra*(20) *édayyānī*(di.ku₃)^{mes} citing parallels (*KAV* 78, 8; but her other reference, Borger, *Esarh.*, § 2 iii

38, reads *é-di-pār* not *é-di.ku₃*^{mes} and is thus irrelevant to the restoration). Further, Menzel's MS B (our e) plainly disagrees with her: read [*pap ina*] *'bīt ni x'* [(x) *é-di.ku₃*^{mes}].

¹² As already noted in *A/O* 32, p. 89; the evidence for the syncretism of Ninlil and Ištar of Nineveh, especially in connection with E-mašmaš, is collected by Menzel, *AT* I, p. 116f. The temple of this goddess in Aššur is not E-mašmaš but E-gišhur-ankia (l. 171).

of the selective Recension B omits it (Recension C, on the other hand, omits the other two!). The temple of Ninurta is likewise given two names, these being E-šumeša (borrowed from the famous temple in Nippur) and E-maḥ, the latter appearing also in l. 177. It may be noted that while multiple naming of temples is a possible solution here as elsewhere, one might also consider that E-maḥ may be part of E-šumeša (or vice versa), as indeed é.gán.¹³ŠU.A may be of E-kiur. This interpretation finds support in the text's final paragraph (§ 8), which sums up §§ 4-6 as listing "chapels, sanctuaries, throne-daises, seats and cult-centres", and so suggests that *bītu* in the temple list need not always refer to the entire building. A third explanation of these multiple names, that they refer to independent buildings (i.e. that there were two temples of Ninlil, and two of Ninurta, in Aššur), is very doubtful in view of the fact that only one each (of Ninlil and Ninurta, and of other deities for whom the same could be argued) appears in the Divine Directory (§ 1), which is unlikely to have been selective in its choice of temples.

Both the Divine Directory of Aššur and the Assyrian Temple List continue with the temples of Anu and Adad, and Šin and Šamaš, both double temples, and go on to list those of Bēl-šarru and Nabû,¹³ Ištar of Aššur, Bēlat-ekalli, Šarrat-nipḥa, Bēlat-Ninua (these four lumped together as manifestations of Ištar), Amurru and Gula. The temple list gives two names for the temple of Adad. The section on Nabû lists six temple names, one of which is not defined as a temple of Nabû, but as *bītu āli* (lacking in Recension C); however, the connection of this, the City Hall, with Nabû can probably be attributed to the scribal activity generated by its former use as a commercial and administrative centre. Of the other five names it is suspected that the two E-zida's, lacking in the selective Recension B, are those in Nineveh and Kalḫu, interpolated in the Nabû section of the temple list just as E-mašmaš seems to have been in the Ninlil section. There is an abundance of evidence for temples of this name in those cities, but not in Aššur.¹⁴ E-urur and E-šunigin-šudu would then be parts of or alternative names for E-gidru-kalammasumu. The temple of Nabû comes here in the list, intruding on the traditional sequence Šin — Šamaš — Ištar, for cultic and topographical reasons, the suggestion being that in the late period the sanctuaries of Nabû and Ištar comprised a shared complex.¹⁵ The temple of Ištar of Aššur occupies only one line of the temple list, but those of her other manifestations, Bēlat-ekalli and Šarrat-nipḥa, take up three lines each, and have one name in common (E-tuš-mes). E-šaga-erra of Bēlat-ekalli is further defined in the list as the temple of Iqbi-damiq, and one thus expects it to be his shrine or chapel in the temple of Bēlat-ekalli; but oddly Iqbi-damiq is not listed as a resident of this temple in the Divine Directory. Recension B includes a temple of Aya, E-idubba, among the names of

¹³ Where the Directory has Bēl-šarru the temple list has Nabû. But in the former the temple of Bēl-šarru is the residence of Nabû, and in an administrative document from the time of Šalmaneser III the temple is found as *bītu bēl-šarru*(20) *nabû(nā)* (KAV

78, 9).

¹⁴ Nineveh: Menzel, *AT* I, p. 119; Kalḫu: *ibid.*, p. 97; see further Ebeling, *RIA* II, p. 489.

¹⁵ On this see further the commentary on GAB 158.

the temple of Šarrat-nipḥa, but it too does not appear in the Directory. Last of the temples of goddesses identified with Ištar is that of Bēlat-Ninua (Ištar-Ninlil of Nineveh), which is accorded only a single line of text. So also is the temple of Amurru, which follows. The temple of Gula, however, occupies four lines: three names are listed for it and one of these, E-sa-bad, is explained twice. The temple of Gula is the last of the temples of the city listed in the Divine Directory (l. 109), but the temple list adds a further one, named E-maḥ, assigned to Ninurta.

Up to this point both sections of GAB have agreed fairly closely on the order of the temples of Aššur and their divine owners. However, the Assyrian Temple List (GAB § 4) now goes on to list further temples in ll. 178-84, not one of which appears in the Divine Directory. Significantly enough, this whole section is omitted from the selective Recension B, and this, and the evidence of the names and owners of the temples themselves, indicates that these temples were not in Aššur, but in other cities. Thus we have listed the temple of Ištar (Bēlat-Arbil) in Arbil; two names of the temple of Adad (Bēl-Kurba'il) at Kurba'il; the temple of Marduk (as Bēl-Bābili) at Babylon, and the shrine of Zarpanitum within it; and two temples in Zabban, a cult centre of Adad on the borders of Assyria and Babylonia. Like the temples of Nineveh and Kalḫu interpolated earlier in the text, these cult-centres were evidently considered by some recensions of the temple list of sufficient religious importance in Assyria to warrant their inclusion with the temples of the national religious capital.

The last sanctuary of the Assyrian Temple List, in all its recensions, is the *bītu hurše*, "pantry", which, as mentioned earlier, appears in the Divine Directory as part of E-šarra (l. 25). It is evidently appended to the temple list as an afterthought, and in this regard it may be significant that the order of the second and third sub-columns has become inverted: where we expect an interpretation of the sanctuary's ceremonial name we get instead its everyday designation (sub-col. ii); and where we expect the latter we are given the former (sub-col. iii).

The temple list is followed by a section on the three ziqurrats of Aššur (§ 5 = ll. 186-88), which comprises a short list in two sub-columns. The section is omitted by those manuscripts which followed Recension C in the temple list.

§ 6 (ll. 189-90) gives the 'Prunknamen' of the four major cult-centres of Assyria, these being Aššur itself, Nineveh, Arbil and Kalzu. Both sources which followed Recension B in § 4 (the Assyrian Temple List), rejecting the "foreign" temples of ll. 178-84, omit this section also: MS d offers instead a list of the gates of Sennacherib's extension to E-šarra, the temple of Aššur (§ 7 = ll. 191-96; no other source for GAB includes this list, but it is quoted in very similar form in the ritual BM 121206 = Menzel, *AT* II, no. 35); MS e is different again, but breaks off after three badly damaged lines which have not been included in the present edition. In other manuscripts § 6 is followed by what appears to be a summary (§ 8 = ll. 197-98), with which the whole work is concluded.

The presence of § 7 prohibits a date for the recension of GAB that includes it earlier than the reign of Sennacherib. This is the only certain evidence we have for the date of any part of the text. Like the *Tākultu* texts with which § 1 of GAB is closely linked, we cannot expect GAB, as a whole, to have reached its final form prior to the seventh century. A similarly late date can also be argued for those recensions of the Assyrian Temple List which include E-sagil in Babylon, for Marduk's temple would only have become of direct religious importance and theological consequence in Assyria when its kings began to aspire there to take the hand of Bēl and so win the kingship of Babylonia. Nevertheless, the parallel between § 2 of GAB and a list incorporated into an inscription of Šalmaneser III, to which attention was drawn earlier, indicates that some of the lists which make up the text are at least as old as the ninth century.

For the topography of Aššur according to GAB and other documentary material, see still the studies of Unger in *RIA* I, p. 170ff., and *AO* 27/III; for E-šarra and the temple complex of the city god see the references cited in the introduction to the Shrine List of E-šarra, the second text edited in this chapter. Much information about many of the temples listed in GAB §§ 4-5 can be found in Menzel's review of the temple cults of Assyria in *AT* I, Part 1. The locations of the various city gates of Aššur have been the subject of a recent study by P.A. Miglus, *ZA* 72, p. 266ff. Of consequence our commentary is generally limited to matters in which we disagree with these works, but occasionally more essential points have been restated.

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The Götteradressbuch of Aššur

		Sources		
MS	Museum/Field Number	§§ on		Plate
		obv.	rev.	
<i>Kuyunjik</i>				
A	Sm 1008B	§ 4: C ₁ 7-26		35
B	81-2-4, 252	§ 4: C ₁ 1-24	25-38; §§ 6, 8	36
L	K 19521	§ 4: C ₁ 8-13		40
<i>Aššur</i>				
c	VAT 8675	§ 2	§ 3	35
d	VAT 8918	§§ 1-2	§ 4: B 14-32; §§ 5, 7	37-38
e	VAT 9932 + 13037	§§ 1-3	§ 4: B 1-32; § 5	39-40
f	VAT 13815	§ 4: C ₁ 1-23	24-38; §§ 6, 8	41
g	VAT 13816	§ 4: A 1-27	28-42; §§ 5-6, 8	42-43
h	VAT 13818	§ 4: C ₂ 12-28	29-38; §§ 6, 8	44
i	VAT 13937 + 13997	§ 4: A 2-12, 15-24	29-42; § 5	42-43
j	Assur 13956y	§ 1		—
k	ex coll. Scheil	§§ 1-3	§ 4: C ₁ 1-31	—

MSS gi are fragments of a single tablet; jk may also be from one tablet (Menzel, *AT* II, p. T 146).

Previous Publication

Composite Text Editions

MSS	Bibliography	Treatment
cdej	1929 E. Unger, <i>AO</i> 27/III, p. 12ff. (part of B quoted, p. 16 ¹)	Tr
cdej	1954 R. Frankena, <i>Tākultu</i> , p. 125ff. (variants from Bfghik quoted where recensions coincide)	T
cdefghijk	1981 B. Menzel, <i>AT</i> II, p. T 146ff., no. 64 (B partly used)	T

Publication of Individual Sources

MSS	Bibliography	Treatment
B	1896 C. Bezold, <i>Catalogue</i> , p. 1776 (ll. 8-16 only)	c
c	1920 O. Schroeder, <i>KAV</i> 44	C
	1954 R. Frankena, <i>Tākultu</i> , pl. 8	P
d	1920 O. Schroeder, <i>KAV</i> 42	C
	1954 R. Frankena, <i>Tākultu</i> , pl. 5-6	P
e	1920 O. Schroeder, <i>KAV</i> 43 and 187 (unjoined)	C
	1954 R. Frankena, <i>Tākultu</i> , pl. 7 (joined)	P
fghi	1948 E. Ebeling, <i>OrNS</i> 17 = <i>PKT</i> , pl. 41-48 (i unjoined)	C
j	1920 O. Schroeder, <i>KAV</i> 180	C
k	1917 V. Scheil, <i>RA</i> 14, p. 171ff.	CTTr

Concordance of Line Numerations of Recensions and Editions
of the Assyrian Temple List (GAB §4)

Götteradressbuch				Assyrian Temple List			
Frankena	Menzel			Recensions			
<i>Tākultu</i>	<i>AT</i> II 64	here	=	A	B	C ₁	C ₂
144	144	144		1	1	1	[broken]
145	145	145		2	2	2	«
146	146	146		3	3	3	«
147	147	147		4	4	4	«
148	148	148		5	5	om.	«
149	150	149		6	6	om.	«
om.	149	150		7	om.	5	«
150	151	151		8	7	6	«
151	152	152		9	8	7	«
om.	152	152a		9a	om.	om.	«
152	153	153		10	9	8	«
153	154	154		11	10	9	«
154	155	155		12	11	om.	«
155	156	156		13	12	10	«
156	157	157		14	13	11	«
157	158	158		15	14	34	16
158	159	159		16	15	om.	[om.?] 12
om.	160	160		17	om.	12	13
om.	161	161		18	om.	35	14
173	162	162		19	30	36	

Götteradressbuch

Assyrian Temple List

Götteradressbuch					Recensions		
Frankena	Menzel				B	C ₁	C ₂
<i>Tākultu</i>	<i>AT</i> II 64	here	=	A			
174	163	163		20	31	37	15
159	164	164		21	16	13	17
160	165	165		22	17	14	18
161	166	166		23	18	15	19
165	170	167		24	22	18	22
162	169	168		25	19	19	23
162	169	168a		om.	19a	om.	om.
163	167	169		26	20	16	20
164	168	170		27	21	17	21
166	171	171		28	23	20	24
167	172	172		29	24	21	25
168	173	173		30	25	22	26
169	174	174		31	26	23	27
170	175	175		32	27	24	28
171	176	176		33	28	25	29
172	177	177		34	29	26	30
om.	178	178		35	om.	27	31
om.	179	179		36	om.	28	32
om.	180	180		37	om.	29	33
om.	181	181		38	om.	30	34
om.	182	182		39	om.	31	35
om.	183	183		40	om.	32	36
om.	184	184		41	om.	33	37
om.	om.	184a		om.	om.	(33a)	om.
175	185	185		42	32	38	38

§1 = GAB 1-119 (d: i 1-iii 20; e: i 1-ii 26; j; k: i-ii)
see B. Menzel, *AT* II, p. T 147ff.

§2 = GAB 120-33 (c: 1-14; d: iii 21-40; e: iii 1-2; k: iii)

cd	120	<i>sa-ni-qa-at mal-kāt</i>	<i>abul(ká.gal) [tabira]</i>
cd	121	<i>tābat(du₁₀.ga)^{at} eli(ugu) ummāni(érin)^{ha}</i>	<i>abul né-reb šarri(20) muš-la-l[u]</i>
cd	122	<i>mu-šar-ši-da-at a-rat-te-e</i>	<i>abul ziq-qu[r-ra-te]</i>
cd	123	<i>aš-šur mu-kan-niš šab-su-ti</i>	<i>abu[l^a aš-šur]</i>
cd	124	<i>ba-na-at^a lamassi(lamma) šarri(lugal)</i>	<i>abul 'x-mi'</i>
cd	125	<i>ašā-maš né-ri mul-tar-ḥi</i>	<i>abul ašāmaš(utu)</i>
cdk	126	<i>ra-si-na-at ku-ru-un ilāni^{mes}</i>	<i>abul ma-ga-rat nāru(id)</i>
cdk	127	<i>ikkib(níg.gig)-šā la ma-ag-ru</i>	<i>abul ti-sar-ri</i>
cdk	128	<i>aše-ru-u-a mu-qar-ri-bat damiqtī(sig₅)</i>	<i>abul aše-ru-u-a</i>
		<i>māti(kur)-šā</i>	
cdk	129	<i>mu-kin kussī(aš.te) šarri(20)-ti</i>	<i>abul šadī(kur)ⁱ</i>
cd	130	<i>šu.maḥ ašakkan</i>	<i>abul šēni(udu)^{mes}</i>
cdk	131	<i>lu da-rat puḥur(ukkin) nišī(ùg)^{mes}</i>	<i>abul illat</i>
cdek	132	<i>šu.maḥ gu-ru-nu</i>	<i>abul ta-šim-ti-šu-nu</i>
cde	133	<i>naphar(pap) 13 abullāt(ká.gal)^{mes} bal.til^{ki}</i>	

§3 = GAB 134-43 (c: 15-21; e: iii 3-12)

ce	134	<i>a^u-la-a</i>	<i>maššār(en.nun) āli(uru)-šú</i>
ce	135	<i>a^{en}-gi₆-du-du</i>	<i>maššār dūri(bād)-šú</i>
ce	136	<i>a^{iš}-qip-pu</i>	<i>maššār šal-ḥ[u]-šú</i>
ce	137	<i>a^a-gu-du</i>	<i>maš[šār] x-šú</i>
ce	138	<i>a^{en}-lil qa-rad</i>	<i>m[aššār] . . . -šú</i>
ce	139	<i>dūr(bād)-šú</i>	<i>mu-nār-r[i] kib-ra-a-te]</i>
ce	140	<i>šal-ḥu-šú</i>	<i>mu-nār-r[i] kib-ra-a-te]</i>
e	141	<i>ba-aš-mu</i>	<i>ḥi-r[i-is-su] . . .]</i>
e	142	<i>sūq(sila) āli-šú</i>	<i>padān?(gír) a[. . .]</i>
e	143	<i>ḥa-aš-bat-tú x[. . .]</i>	

§4 = GAB 144-85 (Recension A: gi: 1-42; Recension B: d: rev. 14-32; e: rev. 1-32; Recension C₁: A; B: 1-38; f: 1-38; k: rev.; L; Recension C₂: h: 12-38)

Befgk	144	<i>é.šár.ra</i>	<i>bīt kiš-šu-ti</i>	<i>bītu gab-bu</i>
Befgk	145	<i>é.ḥur.sag.gu.la</i>	<i>bīt šadē^e rabē^e</i>	<i>bīt šā-ḥu-ri</i>

121 d: *mal-ka-at* 121 d: *ta-ba-at, um-ma-ni-[šā]* 123 d: *aš-šur* 125 d: *a^{utu}* 136 e: *a^{iš}-qip-*
pi 138 e: *qar-rad* 139 c: *'bād-šú mu-nā'-[* 144-47 Bf[k] om. col. iii 145 Bf: *kur' gal'*

§1 The Divine Directory of Aššur

(1-119)

§2 The City Gates of Aššur

120	"Comptroller of Queens"	the [Tabira] Gate;
121	"It is Pleasing to the People"	the King's Entrance Gate: the <i>mušlālu</i> ;
122	"Founder of the Throne"	the Ziqqurra Gate;
123	"Aššur is the Subduer of the Angry"	the [Aššur] Gate;
124	"Lovely is the King's Guardian Angel"	the Gate...;
125	"Šamaš is the Slayer of the Haughty"	the Šamaš Gate;
126	"Provider of the Gods' Liquor"	the Gate (where) the River is Favourable;
127	"The Disobedient are Abhorrent to It"	the Tisarru Gate;
128	"Šerua Brings Favour on her Land"	the Šerua Gate;
129	"Establisher of the Throne of Kingship"	the Mountain Gate;
130	"Šumaḥ of Šakkan"	the Sheep Gate;
131	"May the People's Assembly Endure!"	the Illat Gate;
132	"Šumaḥ of Heaps"	the Gate of their Intelligence.
133	Total: 13 city gates of Aššur.	

§3 The Divine Sentinels, and the Walls, Moat and Main Street of Aššur

134	Ulāy	(Aššur's) City Watch;
135	"Lord Night Prowler"	the Watch of its Wall;
136	"Earthworm"	the Watch of its Rampart;
137	Agudu	the Watch of its...;
138	"Enlil is a Hero"	the Watch [of its....]
139	Its city wall:	"Shaker [of the World Regions;"]
140	its rampart:	"Shaker [of the World Regions.]"
141	"Serpent"	Its moat [...]
142	Its main street:	"Path(?) of [...]"
143	Potsherd [...]	

§4 The Assyrian Temple List

(Line numeration follows Recension A; for a concordance of the numeration of the various recensions, and of previous editions, see p. 174f.)

144	E-šarra	House of the universe	the whole temple;
145	E-ḥursag-gula	House of the great	the <i>šahūru</i> -house;
		mountain	

Befgik	146	é.hur.sag.kur.kur.ra	<i>bīt šadê* mātātī(kur.kur)</i>	<i>bīt pa-pa-ḥi aššur(AN.ŠÁR)</i>
Befgik	147	é.eš.bar. ⁴ en.lil.lá	<i>bīt pur-se-e ⁴en-lil</i>	<i>bīt rim-ki</i>
egi	148	é.gán. ^{sis} ŠÚ.A	<i>bīt i-šid [m]a-ti</i>	<i>bīt ⁴nin-lil</i>
egi	149	é.ki.úr	<i>bīt a-šar ba-la-ṭ[u] i-š-šar-ra-ku</i>	<i>bīt ⁴nin-lil</i>
Bdfgik	150	é.maš.maš	<i>bītu ša be-ru ina lib-bi i-bar-ru-u</i>	<i>bīt ⁴nin-lil</i>
Befgik	151	é.geštu.maḥ.šu.du ₇	<i>bīt uz-ni šir-te šuk-lu-lu</i>	<i>bīt ⁴e-a</i>
ABef[g]ik	152	é.šu.me.ša ₄	<i>bīt gi-mir par-ši ḥa-am-mu</i>	<i>bīt ⁴nin-urta</i>
g[i]	152a	é'.maḥ	<i>bītu ši-i-ru</i>	<i>bīt ⁴ninurta(maš)</i>
ABefgikL	153	é.ša.an	<i>bīt lib-bi šamê*</i>	<i>bīt ⁴a-nim</i>
ABefgikL	154	é.šud.dè.giš.tuku	<i>bītu ša ik-ri-bi-šu še-mu-u</i>	<i>bīt ⁴adad</i>
egi	155	é.dúr.ḥe.nun.na	<i>bītu šu-[bat] nu-uḥ-ši</i>	<i>bīt ⁴adad</i>
ABefgikL	156	é.hul.hul.dir.dir.ra	<i>bītu ša ḥi-da-a-ti ma-lu-u</i>	<i>bīt ⁴sîn(30)</i>
ABefgikL	157	é.babbar.ra	<i>bītu nam-ru</i>	<i>bīt ⁴šamaš</i>
Bdefghi	158	é.gidru.kalam.ma.sum.mu	<i>bīt ^{sis}ḥaṭṭa(gidru) i-šar-tu ana mātī(kur) i-nam-di-nu</i>	<i>bīt ⁴nabû(muati) ša ḥa-ri-i</i>
degi	159	é.ki.gar.dub.nam.tar.tar.re.dè.kišib.gur?.sag.dil!(TIL)	<i>a-šar šak-nu tuppi(dub) šimātī(nam)^{mes} pi-riš-tu kan-kāt</i>	<i>bīt ālī(uru)</i>
ABfghikL	160	é.zi.da	<i>bīt na-piš-ti mātī(kur)</i>	<i>bīt ⁴nabû(nà)</i>
Bfghi	161	é.zi.da	<i>bītu na-si-iḥ ka-la-ma</i>	<i>bīt ⁴nabû(nà)</i>
Bdefghi	162	é.ur ₄ .ur ₄	<i>bīt ḥa-am-mu-ti</i>	<i>bīt ⁴nabû(nà)</i>
Bdefghi	163	é.šu.nigin.šu.du ₇	<i>bītu ša nap-ḥar-šu šuk-lu-lu</i>	<i>bīt ⁴nabû(nà)</i>
ABdefghikL	164	é.me. ⁴ inanna	<i>bīt par-ši ⁴iš-tar āš-šu-ri-ti</i>	
ABdefghik	165	é.ki.nam	<i>bītu a-šar ši-ma-a-ti</i>	<i>bīt ⁴bēlat-ekalli (nin.é.gal)</i>

146 Bf: kur' kur.kur^{mes} e: pa-pa-ḥu 147 B: pur-si-i ⁴idim 148 i: glán.{AŠ} 150 B: pi-ru k: bi-ru, ina ša-l-šu f: ša-šu 151 B: é ša uz-na Bk: šir-ti 152 B: é ša e: gi-mir¹, ⁴[maš] 154 B om. šu 156 Bk om. ša 158 fh: é.^{sis}gidru.kalam.ma.si.sá f: i-šar-tu eg:]-⁴re-tum fh: a-na egh: sum^{nu} B: i-nam-di-nu e: ⁴nà f: ⁴na-bi-um e om. ša ḥa-ri-i fg: ḥa-re-tum 160 B: na-piš-te AB: ⁴muati 161 B: ka-la-me, ⁴muati 162 h: ḥa-m[u- 162-63 Bd: ⁴muati 164 hk: é.me.⁴E A: āš-šu-ri-i-ṭ[u] B: āš-šu-ri-tum f: āš-šu-ri-i-tu k: āš-šu-ri-tum L: 'āš-šur'-[165 fk: ši-ma-ti B: ⁴nin.gal

146	E-hursag-kurkurra	House of the mountain of the lands	the cella of Aššur;
147	E-ešbar-Enlilla	House of the decisions of Enlil	the bath-house;
148	E-gan- ^{sis} ŠÚ.A	House of the foundation of the land	the temple of Ninlil;
149	E-kiur	House where life is bestowed	the temple of Ninlil;
150	E-mašmaš	House in which divination is performed	the temple of Ninlil;
151	E-geštu-maḥ-šudu	Perfect house of sublime wisdom	the temple of Ea;
152	E-šumeša	House which gathers all the ordinances	the temple of Ninurta;
152a	E-maḥ	Exalted house	the temple of Ninurta;
153	E-ša-an	House of the midst of heaven	the temple of Anu;
154	E-šudde-giš-tuku	House whose prayers are heard	the temple of Adad;
155	E-dur-ḥenunna	House, abode of plenty	the temple of Adad;
156	E-ḥulḥul-dirdirra	House which is filled with joy	the temple of Sîn;
157	E-babbarra	Shining house	the temple of Šamaš;
158	E-gidru-kamma-summu (var.: -sisa)	House which bestows a just sceptre on the land	the temple of Nabû of the ḥarû;
159	E-kigar-dub-namtartar-rede-kišib-gur(?) -sagdil	Where the Tablet of Destinies is put (and) the secret is sealed	the City Hall;
160	E-zida	House of the life of the land	the temple of Nabû;
161	E-zida	House which uproots everything	the temple of Nabû;
162	E-urur	Master bedroom	the temple of Nabû;
163	E-šunigin-šudu	House which is perfect in its entirety	the temple of Nabû;
164	E-me-Inanna	House of the ordinances of Ištar	(the temple of Ištar) of Aššur;
165	E-ki-nam	House, place of the destinies	the temple of Bēlat-ekalli;

ABdefghik	166	é.tuš.mes	bīt eṭ-lu ip-pa-la-sa-ḥu	bīt ^a bēlat-ekalli
ABdefghik	167	é.šaga.ér.ra	bītu šá a-na ḥab-li i-bak-ku-u	bīt ^a iq-bi-damiq(sig ₅)
ABdefghik	168	é.garza.ki.du.de.e	bīt par-ši ki-du-de-e	bīt ^a bēlat-ekalli
d[e]	168a	é.i.dub.ba	bīt iš-pi-ki	bīt ^a šarrat(gašan)-niphā(kur) ^{ba}
ABdefghk	169	é.tuš.mes	bītu šu-bat ^a marduk (amar.utu)	bīt ^a r-a-a'
ABdefghk	170	é.tuš.mes	bīt šu-pal-si-iḥ eṭ-lu-ú-ti	bīt ^a šarrat-niphā ^{ba}
ABdefghk	171	é.giš.ḥur.an.ki.a	bītu šá ušurāt(giš.ḥur) ^{mes} šamē ^e u eršetim ^{tim} ina lib-bi-šú ud-da-a	bīt ^a bēlat(gašan)-ninua ^{ki}
ABdefghik	172	é.ninda.ba.du ₈ .a	bīt nap-ta-nu u nid-bé-e	bīt ^a amurru(mar.dú)
ABdefghik	173	é.gal.maḥ	bītu ra-bu-u ši-i-ru	bīt ^a gu-la
ABdefghik	174	é.sa.bad	bīt pe-ta-at uz-ni	bīt ^a gu-la
ABdefghik	175	é : be-e-tú sa : na-ša-ru	bad : qu-bu-ru bītu na-šir qu-bu-ru	
ABdefghik	176	é.nam.ti.la	bīt ba-la-ṭi	bīt ^a gu-la
ABdefghik	177	é.maḥ	bītu ši-i-ru	bīt ^a ninurta(maš)
Bfghik	178	é.gašan.kalam.ma	bīt šar-rat mātāti (kur.kur)	bīt ^a bēlat(gašan)-ur ^a arba-il
Bfghik	179	é.kilib.kur.kur.ra.dul ₆ .dul ₆	bītu šá nap-ḥar mātāti (kur.kur) kāt-mu-šú	bīt ^a bēl(en)-ur ^a kur-ba-il
Bfghik	180	é.dúr.ḥé.nun.na	bītu šu-bat nu-uḥ-ši	bīt ^a bēl ^{ur^a} kur-ba-il
Bfghik	181	é.sag.il	bītu šá re-šá-a-šú šá-qa-a	bīt ^a bēl-ba-bi-lim
Bfghik	182	é.ḥal.an.ki	bīt pi-riš-ti šamē ^e u eršetim ^{tim}	bīt ^a zar-pa-ni-tum
Bfghi	183	é.ni.gal.kur.kur.ra.dir.dir.ra	bītu šá nam-ri-ru-šú mātāti(kur.kur) ^{mes} ma-lu-ú	bīt ^a bēl ša ur ^a za-ban
Bfghi	184	é.ni.gal.kur.kur.ra.dul ₆ .la	kāt-mu me-lam-mu-šú šadē(kur) ^{mes} mātāti (kur.kur) ^{mes}	ekurru(é.kur) ša ur ^a za-ban

166 d gloss: t]u-uš-me-iš d: i-pa-la-sa-ḥu Afhk om. col. iii B combines this line with 169: [é.tuš.mes] = é eṭ-lu ip-pa-la-sa-ḥu = é šu-bat ^ames 167 Bhk: ana f: 'i-bak-ku-ú d: iq-bi ABf: dug₄.ga Bd: ^anin.gal 168 ABdeg om. col. i f om. col. ii k: ga]rza?ki.du.dia 169 Afgh: ^ames 170 B: šu-pal-su-ḥi Bd: eṭ-lu-ti ABfhk om. col. iii 171 fhk: ú-šu-rat hk: an.ki Afhk: šá-šú dfh: ut-ta-a B: ur^aarba-il 172 dk: nap-ta-ni B: nid-bi-a d: nid-pi- hk:

166	E-tuš-mes	House (where) the hero lies prostrate	the temple of Bēlat-ekalli;
167	E-šaga-erra	House which weeps for the wronged	the temple of Iqbi-damiq; the temple of Bēlat-ekalli;
168	E-garza-kidude	House of rites and rituals	the temple of Šarrat-niphā;
168a	E-idubba	House of the storage bin	the temple of Aya;
169	E-tuš-mes	House, abode of Marduk	the temple of Šarrat-niphā;
170	E-tuš-mes	O House, prostrate the heroes!	the temple of Šarrat-niphā;
171	E-gišḥur-ankia	House in which the designs of heaven and underworld are revealed	the temple of Bēlat-Ninua;
172	E-nindaba-dua	House of banquets and food offerings	the temple of Amurru;
173	Egal-maḥ	Magnificent and exalted house	the temple of Gula;
174	E-sa-bad	House of (the lady) whose ear is open	the temple of Gula;
175	E = house	sa = guard	bad = grave: House which guards the grave;
176	E-namtila	House of life	the temple of Gula;
177	E-maḥ	Exalted house	the temple of Ninurta;
178	E-gašan-kamma	House of the queen of the lands	the temple of Bēlat-Arbil;
179	E-kilib-kurkurra-duldul	House which overwhelms all the lands	the temple of Bēl-Kurba'il;
180	E-dur-ḥenunna	House, abode of plenty	the temple of Bēl-Kurba'il;
181	E-sagil	House whose top is high	the temple of Bēl-Bābili;
182	E-ḥal-anki	House of the secrets of heaven and underworld	the temple of Zarpanitum;
183	E-nigal-kurkurra-dirdirra	House whose brilliance fills the lands	the temple of Bēl of Zabban;
184	E-nigal-kurkurra-dulla	Whose radiance envelops the mountains of the lands	the temple of Zabban;

nid-bi-i 173 d: ra-bu-ú 174 f: é [š]á! d: uz-nu 175 e: be-e-tú Ag: na-ši-ir g: [q]u-bu-r[i] 176 dk: ba-lá-ṭi 177 g: ^amaš!(DINGIR) 178 f: kur.kur^{mes} g om. uru 179 k: k]ur.kur^{mes}?dul₆ hi om. ra h: dul₆.dul B: kur.kur^{mes} 179-80 fg om. uru 180 B: nu-uḥ-še f:]nun.(GU).na 181 B: sag^{mes}-šú 182 B: p]i-riš-te Bf om. u 183 h: dir.dir B: na]m-ri-ir-ru-šú kur^{mes} ma-lu-u gh: kur.kur ma-lu-u 184 g: kur^{mes} kur.kur

- B 184a [é.ní.gal.kur.kur.ra. [bītu šā] me-lam-mu-šú ekurru ša uruza-ban
dul₆.la?]
mu
Bdefghi 185 é.šu.bur.an.na bīt hur-še bīt nap-ta-ni i-tar-ra-
su

§ 5 = GAB 186-88 (d: rev. 33-35; e: rev. 33-35; gi: 43-45)

- degi 186 é.aratta.ki.šár.ra ziq-qur-rat ^aaš-šur
degi 187 é.me.lám.an.na ziq-qur-rat ^aa-nim
degi 188 é.giš.lam.šár.šár ziq-qur-rat ^aadad
3 ziq-qur-rat bal.til^{ki}

§ 6 = GAB 189-90 (B: 39-42; f: 39-40; gi: 46-47; h: 39-42)

- Bfghi 189 uru^{an}-ta-aš uru^{libbi-āli}(šā.uru)
uru^{dur}-na uru^{ninua}^{ki}
Bfghi 190 uru^{li}-bur-na uru^{arba}-il
uru^{dūr}(bād)-a-ta-ni uru^{kāl}-zi

§ 7 = GAB 191-96 (d: rev. 36-41) // BM 121206 viii 43'-51'

- d 191 bābu šā ina pu-ut aš-šur bāb šarru(lugal)-ú-ti
bāb né-re-bi-šú ana kisalli(kisal) bāb harrān(kaskal) šu-ut ^aenlil
(idim)
kisalla-šú ki-sal-li si-dir man-[za-az ^ai-gi-gī]
d 192 bābu šā ina muḫḫi(ugu) nāri(id) bāb bur-um-me
bāb né-re-bi-šú <bāb> né-reb ^ai-gi-gī
d 193 bābu šā ^{im}šūti(u₁₈.lu) bābu kām-su ^ai-gi-gī
bāb né-re-bi-šú bāb ḫi-šib mātātī(kur.[kur])
d 194 bābu šā ^{im}iltāni(si.sā) bāb ^{mul}ereqqī(mar.gid.da)
<bāb> né-re-bi-šú bāb parak(bāra) šimāti(nam)[^{mes}]
d 195 šumāt(mu)^{mes} bābāt^{mes} eššēti(gibil)^{mes} šā bīt ^aaš-šur
d 196 bābātu^{mes} labirātu(sumun)^{mes} ul šatrā(sar)

§ 8 = GAB 197-98 (B: 43; f: 41-42; g: 48-49; h: 43-44)

- Bfgh 197 ilāni^{mes} šā ina bēt ^adayyānī(di.ku₅)^{mes} āš-bu-ú-ni
Bfgh 198 [s]u-^ruk¹-ku eš-re-e-ti parakkē(bāra)^{mes} né-me-de ma-ḫa-ze šumšunu(mu.ne.ne)

185 f om. šu e: hur-ši h om. 3rd é B: it-tar-ra-šu 186 e: ki.šár.a d: ^aen-l[il] 187 d: ^aa-
n[im!] 189 h: [u]^{an}-ta-aš-ša 190 B: n[il] = ^{ur}arba-il / -na = ^{ur}kāl-zi h: [u]^{ur}bād!(ŠI)-ata(AD)-
ni fg: ^{ur}kāl-zi^{ki} 197 B: āš-bu-ni 198 B: dingir su-ke 'dingir? iš-re'-te

- 184a [E-nigal-kurkurra-dulla(?)] [House whose] radiance the temple of Zabban;
envelops the lands
185 E-šubur-anna the pantry House which lays on
banquets.

§ 5 The Ziqqurrats of Aššur

- 186 E-aratta-kišarra the ziqqurat of Aššur (var.: Enlil);
187 E-melam-anna the ziqqurat of Anu;
188 E-gišlam-šaršar the ziqqurat of Adad:
the three ziqqurrats of Aššur.

§ 6 The Assyrian Cult-Centres

- 189 Antaš = Libbi-āli (Aššur);
Durna = Nineveh;
190 Liburna = Arbil;
Dūr-atāni = Kalzu.

§ 7 The Gates of the Aššur Temple

- 191 The gate in front of Aššur: Gate of Kingship;
its entrance gate to the courtyard: Gate of the Path of the Enlil Stars;
its courtyard: Court of the Row of Stations [of the
Igigi;]
192 the gate on the river: Gate of the Firmament;
its entrance gate: Entrance Gate of the Igigi;
193 the south gate: Gate (where) the Igigi Kneel;
its entrance gate: Gate of the Yield of the Lands;
194 the north gate: Gate of the Wagon Star;
its entrance gate: Gate of the Dais of Destinies;
195 the names of the new gates of the temple of Aššur.
196 The old gates are not listed.

§ 8 Summary

- 197 The gods who reside in the temple of the Divine Judges,
198 chapels, sanctuaries, throne-daises, seats and cult-centres: (these are) their names.

(Commentary: p. 455ff.)

Colophons

VAT 8918 (d)

(Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 207; cf. p. 8)

PA-[t]u-u gim sumun-ma

ša-tir mki-šir-aš-šur ¹⁶maš.maš é AN.ŠÁR[dum]u m^dmuati-bé-sún maš.maš é AN.Š[ÁR]

(pl. 38)

VAT 13815 (f)

(Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 270)[dub?] m^d30-šal-lim-a-ni ¹⁶sanga ša ^diškur

(pl. 41)

VAT 13816 (g)

[. . .] 'qu' x x ni x é e[n?]

[. . . ¹⁶sang]a? é.šár.ra

(pl. 43)

A LIST OF SHRINES IN E-ŠARRA

(no. 21)

This large piece from the left edge of a Neo-Assyrian library tablet is previously published in the copy of Millard as *CT* 46 51. Aside from the catalogue number, BM 134502, the tablet also bears the excavation numbers TM 79 and 138 S.W. IV(V), which indicate that it was excavated by Thompson and Mallowan in the South-West Palace of Sennacherib at Kuyunjik.

Most of the extant text of BM 134502 is a list of small shrines, all but one of which are designated *šubtu*, "seat" (that MIN is so to be read in obv. 4'-31', as well as in 34'ff., is shown by a comparison of lines 13', 17' and 27' of the obverse with reverse 26', 27' and 30', where MIN is replaced by *šu-bat*, with reference to the same three shrines).¹⁶ The single exception is termed *manzāzu*, "station", if correctly restored.¹⁷ The shrine list is divided into three sub-columns. In the first of these is given the ceremonial name of each shrine; in the second it is identified by its divine owner; the third sub-column, which is mostly lost, contained topographical details, giving the shrine's location, or cultic information. In structure and content the present text is similar to the *šubtu*-lists of E-sagil (*Tintir* II) and of the temple of Ištar in Uruk (no. 25). The list itself is followed by a theological and topographical commentary (rev. 23'-end), which gives further information on some of the shrines and gods mentioned in the preceding list, and on the temple's entrances (*nērebu*).

That BM 134502 deals with E-šarra in Aššur is nowhere explicitly stated in the surviving text. Indeed, it may be noted that some of the shrine names and their divine residents are reminiscent of the cult of Enlil at Nippur. Particularly noteworthy in this respect are the shrines E-gigir-Enlilla and E-tummal, and the divinities Enmešarra (an ancestor of Enlil), Kalkal (a gatekeeper of E-kur) and Ninimma (the scribe of Enlil). However, the long-standing syncretism of Enlil and Aššur in Assyria¹⁸ was particularly reflected in the modelling of the cult of Aššur on that of his southern counterpart. Aššur adopted Enlil's family (chief among them Enmešarra, Ninlil and Ninurta) and court (the vizier Nuska and gatekeeper Kalkal being two of several). The syncretism further accounts for the introduction into Assyria of many temple and shrine names associated with the gods of Nippur: apart from E-gigir-Enlilla and E-tummal, note also E-kiur of Ninlil and E-šumeša of Ninurta, as well as the names of the temple of Aššur itself, E-

¹⁶ On the nature and function of the *šubtu* see above, p. 9f.

¹⁷ Small numbers of "stations", on which see the commentary on *Tintir* V 86-88, occur also in the *šubtu*-lists of E-sagil (*Tintir* II) and of E-rab-ri

(no. 12).

¹⁸ Going back to the time of Šamši-Adad I: see Borger, *EAK* I, pp. 53f., 65ff. The syncretism is explicit in the *Götteradressbuch* of Aššur, where *en-lil* appears as a variant for Aššur (l. 186).

šarra and E-kur (well known outside the present texts). So it is no surprise to find at Aššur, and particularly in E-šarra, gods and shrine names associated with Nippur.

Although one cannot entirely exclude the possibility that the text deals with E-kur at Nippur, the names and lay-out of whose interior chapels and courtyards are very little known, it can be shown that E-šarra at Aššur is the more likely candidate. The most pressing evidence in this respect is the presence in the text of the well of the Leaden Court of Apsû (obv. 15' if correctly restored), whose location in that court of E-šarra, which is itself well known, is substantiated by archaeology. Equally convincing is the presence of the Gate of the Firmament (rev. 23'), which is known to have been the (south)-east gate of Sennacherib's East Annexe of E-šarra (GAB 192 and parallel). More ambiguous to the discussion are the Court of E-ḫursag-gula (obv. 14'), restored so after the name of the *šahûru*-house of E-šarra (GAB 145), the shrine name Kun-ka-tilla-E-šarra, "Step of the Outer Gate of E-šarra" (rev. 20'), and E-kiur (obv. 18'; cf. GAB 149). Of the gods

21 BM 134502 (1932-12-12, 497) Plate 45

obverse

1'	'eš?.du ₆ ?[...]		
2'	é.me.bi[r?ra?]	[MIN ...]	[...]
3'	bára.dumu.nu[n.na]	[MIN ...]	[...]
4'	ig.sag.sum.dili.na	MI[N] ^a i GAR DΓ	[...]
5'	tab.mud.ḫum.ḫum ^{ḫu-um-ḫu-um}	MIN ^a i-li-ab-rat	x x[...]
6'	é.me.te.nu.gál	MI[N] ^a di-pár	ap-ti ^{im} š[ūti(u ₁₈ .lu) ...]
7'	kar.ab.ba	M[IN] ^a asal-lú-ḫi	a-šar erū(ti ₈) ^{mušen} iq-[nu-nu ...]
8'	á.gil.dab.dab	M[IN] ^a kù-be	bītu ša tarši?(lal) x[...]
9'	IM.ŠID.kur.ra	[MIN] ^a la-ga-ma-al	pal-úr-tú x[...]
10'	za.gin.mu.uš	[MI]N ^a kù-sù	a-šar luṭ-ṭ[u ...]
11'	gul.la.ir.ra	[MI]N ^a bēl(en)-labri (sumun)-a	bītu ša ki-s[al? ...]
12'	é. ^{si} gigir. ^a en.lil.lá	[MI]N ^a en-me-šár-ra	bū ^{si} narkabti(gigir) x[...]
13'	ur.sag.sum.kud.d[a]	[MIN] ^a la-ta-ra-ak	ašrukka[ū(ašlug) ...]
14'	DU.DU.mes.la[m]	[MIN] ^a uraš	zēru(še.numun) ša ina kisal é.ḫu[r.sag.gu.la? nadū?]
15'	IG.a.kù.g[a]	[MIN] ^a id ^a ki-ša ₆	būrtu(pú) ša ina kisal abā[ri(a.bár) apsi nadāt?]
16'	gaz.si.sum.[mu?]	[MIN] ^a nergal(u.gur)	bū ^{ia} ṭāb[iḫi(gír.lá) ...]

resident in the shrines of the list some are especially well known in E-šarra and Aššur: note En-PI, a gatekeeper of E-šarra like the already mentioned Kalkal; Bēl-labrīya, Dipar and Kunuš-kadru; and probably also the exclusively Assyrian goddess Bēlat-ēqe (obv. 20'). At present it appears that the weight of the evidence favours an Assyrian context for the text, and in particular Aššur's cult-centre, E-šarra. Accordingly it takes its place in this chapter.

The date of the text is determined by the presence of the Gate of the Firmament, which as one of the four main entrances of Sennacherib's East Annexe precludes an origin earlier than the seventh century.

The lay-out and history of the temple complex of Aššur, which comprised not only E-šarra itself, but also its adjacent buildings and the sanctuaries of Ninlil, Ninurta, Ea-šarru and Ninurta (see above, p. 169), have been studied by W. Schwenzner (*A/O* 7, p. 239ff.; 8, pp. 34ff. and 113ff.; 9, p. 41ff.) and G. van Driel (*Cult of Aššur*, chapters I-II).

21 A List of Shrines in E-šarra

obverse

1'	Eš(?)du(?)-[...]		
2'	E-me-birra(?)	[the seat of...]	[...]
3'	Bara-dumu-nunna	[the seat of...]	[...]
4'	Ig-sag-sum-dilina	the seat of...	[...]
5'	Tab-mud-ḫumḫum	the seat of Ili-abrāt	...[...]
6'	E-mete-nugal	the seat of Dipar	the south window [...]
7'	Kar-abba	the seat of Asalluḫi	where the eagle nested [...]
8'	A-gil-dabdab	the seat of Kūbu	the chapel facing(?)...[...]
9'	IM.ŠID-kurra	the seat of Lāgamāl	cross(?)...[...]
10'	Zagin-muš	the seat of Kusu	where the bowl [...]
11'	Gulla-irra	the seat of Bēl-labrīya	the chapel of the court(?) [...]
12'	E-gigir-Enlilla	the seat of Enmešarra	the Chariot House...[...]
13'	Ursag-sum-kudda	the seat of Lātarāk	the lobby [...]
14'	DU.DU-meslam	the seat of Uraš	the plot(?) which [is located(?)] in the Court of E-ḫursag-[gula(?)]
15'	IG-a-kuga	the seat of Id and Kiša	the well which [is located(?)] in the Leaden Court [of Apsû;]
16'	Gaz-si-summu(?)	the seat of Nergal	the slaughterhouse [...]

17'	dúbur.kur.[gal]	[M]IN ^a šū-kur-gal-lu	áš-ruk-ka-tú bīt-a-ni-[tú . . .]
18'	é.tum.ma.a[l]	MIN ^a kū-tu-šar	é.ki.ù[r . . .]
19'	sag.'x'	MIN ^a sek-re-ti	bīt ú-ra x[. . .]
20'	giš.li.[x]	MIN ^a bēlat(MŪŠ)-e-GI	man-za-az x[. . .]
21'	na ₄ kišib.si[kil.la]	[M]IN ^a ištarān(an.gal) ^{iš-ta-ra-an}	bīt na-kam-t[e . . .]
<hr/>			
22'	é.g[i ₆ .p]ār	[MIN] ^a e-ni	bītu ša ina x[. . .]
23'	ša.ga.a	[MIN] ^a na-na-a	būt U[R . . .]
24'	ur ₄ .geštu.lal	[MIN] ^a en.PI	bābu bīt-a-n[u-ú . . .]
25'	á.lá.gù.dé	[MIN] ^a šul?šagan!-ni	ašruk[katu(ašlug)? . . .]
<hr/>			
26'	me.ur ₄ .giš.DU	[MIN] ^a a-nun-na-ki	eš-x[. . .]
27'	ni-da-na NÍG.ZU.geštu	[MIN] ^a n[^a in- ^a imma ^{mal} (BA)]	á[š-ruk-ka-tú? . . .]
28'	é.šutum ^{šu-tu-um} .lugal	[MIN] šarri(lugal)	bīt[. . .]
29'	é.sag	[MIN] ^a ar-rat na-kam-te	bīt[. . .]
30'	ir.su.un	[MIN] ^a kal-kal	b[ābu? . . .]
<hr/>			
31'	ur.máš.tur	[MIN] ^a šakkan u ^a ur.maḥ[. . .]	
32'	ḥa.lam.mar.ām.ak	[manzā]z(ki.gub)? ^a enlil (idim) ^a šamaš	[. . .]
33'	bāra.šur.KU	[šū-b]at ^a marduk	[. . .]
34'	(blank)	(blank)	[. . .]
35'	m[e?].dāra.nam.duḥ.a	[MIN] ^a bēlēt(gašan) ^{mes}	[. . .]
36'	[mu]nsub ^{mu-un-šu-ub} .ē	[MIN] ^a dumu-zi	[. . .]
37'	[x].x.túg.ba.šuba	MI[N ^a ku]sarikku(gu ₄ .alim)[. . .]	
38'	[x.i]r.li.šub	MIN [. . .]x	[. . .]
39'	(blank)	(blank)	[. . .]
40'	(blank)	(blank)	[. . .]
41'	[x x] x x x x	[MIN . . .]	[. . .]
<hr/>			
reverse			
1'	x x[. . .]		
2'	'é'.x[. . .]		
3'	'é'.nidba.níg.'kur ₄ .ra'	MIN ^a x[. . .]	[. . .]
4'	[z]a?.na.me.gal	MIN ^a [. . .]	[. . .]
5'	(blank)	(blank)	[. . .]
6'	é.ki.me.sikil	MIN ^a n[in x (x) x]	[. . .]
7'	giš[ga].dingir.e.ne	MIN ^a i-[gi-gi]	[. . .]
8'	(blank)	(blank)	[. . .]
9'	geš[tu?.tu]ku?.KAL	MIN ^a [x (x)]	x[. . .]
10'	(blank)	(blank)	a-ḥi x[. . .]

17'	Dubur-kur-gal	the seat of Šukurgallu	the inner lobby [...]
18'	E-tummal	the seat of Kutušar	E-kiur [...]
19'	Sag-...	the seat of Sekretu	chapel of the roof(?)...[...]
20'	Giš-li[...]	the seat of Bēlat-ēqe(?)	the station of...[...]
21'	Kišib-sikilla	the seat of Ištarān	the store-room [...]
<hr/>			
22'	E-gipar	the seat of the divine En-priest	the chapel which is in...[...]
23'	Ša-ga-a	the seat of Nanāy	the chapel...[...]
24'	Ur-geštu-lal	the seat of En-PI	the inner gate [...]
25'	Ala-gude	the seat of Šulšagana(?)	the lobby(?) [...]
<hr/>			
26'	Me-ur-giš.DU	the seat of the Anunnaki	...[...]
27'	Nidana-geštu	the seat of Ninimma	the lobby(?) [...]
28'	E-šutum-lugal	the seat of the king	the chapel [...]
29'	E-sag	the seat of the Queen of the Store-Room	the chapel [...]
30'	Ir-sun	the seat of Kalkal	the gate(?) [...]
<hr/>			
31'	Ur-maš-tur	the seat of Šakkan and Urmaḥ	[...]
32'	Ḥalam-mar-amak	the station(?) of Enlil (and) Šamaš	[...]
33'	Bara-šur-KU	the seat of Marduk	[...]
34'			[...]
35'	Me(?)dara-nam-duḥa	the seat of the Divine Ladies	[...]
36'	Munsub-e	the seat of Dumuzi	[...]
37'	[...]-tugba-šuba	the seat of Kusarikku	[...]
38'	[...]-ir-li-šub	the seat of [...]	[...]
<hr/>			
reverse			
2'	E-[...]		
3'	E-nidba-nigkurra	the seat of...[...]	[...]
4'	Za(?)na-me-gal	the seat of [...]	[...]
5'			[...]
6'	E-ki-me-sikil	the seat of...[...]	[...]
7'	Gišgal-dingirene	the seat of the Igigi	[...]
8'			[...]
9'	Geštu(?)tuku(?)KAL	the seat of [...]	...[...]
10'			beside(?) [...]

- 11' gi[šgal? .x.g]a.⁴irḥan[ir-ḥa]-an. [MIN ⁴r]a? HI ME gat-ti sip-pi bā[b . . .]
TIN.TIR.DÚ[B]
12' tu-'u[m-(tum) . . .]
13' šin-nu [. . .]
14' AŠ KUR še-lal-t[u . . .]
15' imšad[i(kur.ra) . . .]
16' qa-a[b-lu? . . .]
17' x[. . .]
18' [. . .]
19' é.šà.RI.ḥi.li.ba MIN [. . .]
20' kun₄.ká.tilla₄.é.šár.ra [MIN ⁴za]-¹ba₄-ba₄ [. . .]
21' é.uš.ma.al.la [MIN] ¹ša-lam x[. . .]
22' ku₇.nim.ma [MIN (⁴)pa-lī]-ih₇ i-lu-ú-u[t? . . .]
23' ⁴kunuš(gúr)^us-kád-ri in[a? . . .]x-ti bāb bu-ru-u[m-me . . .]
24' sig₇ ši-qu ša x[. . . g]u? a-la-di-šú ina qarnā(si)^{mes}-šú x[. . .]
25' ⁴kusarikku(gu₄.alim) kab-tu qar-d[u . . .]x-a-ti né-reb giš.lam ku/l[u . . .]
26' ur.sag.sum.kud.da : šu-bat ⁴l[a-ta-ra-a]k u ⁴mi-šar-ru a-šar ¹ad[. . .]
27' ⁴dúbur.kur.gal : šu-bat ⁴šu-kur-gal-li na-ši [. . .] a-lik i-di bursangê(bur.sag.gá) né-reb ¹ad[. . .]
28' ⁴en.PI ka-ri-ik u[z]-¹ni⁷ [ra]pašte(dagal)^{1e} i-na-ša-ra x[. . .]
29' ⁴kal-kal dan-dan-nu áš-tu ta-me-eḥ ^{sis}ḥaṭṭi(gidru) né-reb ¹ad[. . .]
30' NÍG.¹ZU.géštu¹ : [šú-b]at ⁴nin-i[m]ma^{ma}būt gerginakki(im.gú.la) in[a? . . .]
31' [. . . é.^{sis}gigir.⁴en.l]il.lá a-šar ilū^{mes}[^s ab]bū(ad)^{mes}-šú ú-ḥa-am-mu-šú be-lut su[m . . .]
32' [. . .]x-ú māru(dumu) a-šá-r[e-d]u ka-tim áš-ruk-ku ki-da-a-[nu . . .]
33' [é.šár.ra? b]iṭu ša bu-ul-tu l[a iraš]šú(tuk)^u la a-di-ru mim-ma šum-šú māḥi[ra(gaba.ri) la išú . . .]
34' [. . .]x bir.ra giš x[. . . m]^{es} ša si-ḥir-ti bītātī^{mes} x[. . .]
35' [. . .]-šú ḥum-mu-ru AN [. . . s]ak-la ú ¹PAD? KUR la šá-na-an x[. . .]
36' [. . .]x ⁴KA.D[I? . . .]x^{mes}-ka li-nu-š[u . . .]
37' [. . .]x bára x[. . .]
38' [. . .]-ḥa-a-ti [. . .]
39' [. . .]x ¹di⁷ x[. . .]

(Commentary: p. 467ff.)

- 11' Gišgal(?)-[...]⁴ga-Irḥan- the seat of...Gattu the door-sill of the gate
TIN.TIR.DÚB [of...]
12' the double-chamber(?) [...]
13' tooth [...]
14' ...three [...]
15' east [...]
16' middle(?) [...]
17' ...[...]
18' [...]
19' E-ša-RI-ḥiliba the seat of [...] [...]
20' Kun-ka-tilla-E-šarra the seat of Zababa [...] [...]
21' E-uš-malla the seat of the divine image...[...]
22' Ku-nimma the seat of He-who-Fears-the-Divinity-of(?)-[...]
23' Kunuš-kadru in [...]...the Gate of the Firmament [...]
24' ...watering(?) of/which...[...]¹his birth on his horns...[...]
25' Kusarikku, the noble, the valiant(?) [...]...the entrance of...[...]
26' Ursag-sum-kudda: the seat of Lātarāk and Mīšarru where [...] [...]
27' Dubur-kur-gal: the seat of Šukurgallu, who carries [...], who goes at the side of the meal-offerings, the entrance of [...] [...]
28' En-PI, who blocks (even) the widest ear, guards(?)...[...]
29' Kalkal, the almighty, the fierce, who holds a sceptre, the entrance of [...] [...]
30' Nidana-geštu: the seat of Ninimma, the archive room in(?) [...] [...]
31' [...E-gigir]-Enlilla, where the gods, his fathers, boosted his confidence, gave [him] lordship [...] [...]
32' [...]..., the son, the leader is overwhelmed, the lobby outside [...] [...]
33' [E-šarra(?), the] house which knows no shame, which fears nought, [has no] rival [...] [...]
34' [...]...[...]¹of all the chapels/rooms...[...]
35' its [...] crippled [...] lame...without equal...[...]
36' [...] Ištārān(?) [...] may your [...] tremble...[...]
37' [...]...throne-dais...[...]

OTHER CITIES

Kiš

(nos. 22-24)

The city area of Kiš divides into two parts, Kiš proper in the west (modern Uhaimir), centred on the temple of Zababa (E-mete-ursag and its ziqqurra E-unir-kituš-mah), and Hursag-kalamma in the east (Ingharra), a venerable cult-centre of Ištar.¹ Two temple lists concerned with the city of Kiš are edited here, these being VAT 10111 (*KAV* 82) and VAT 13817 (column ii), the latter previously unpublished.²

22

VAT 13817 (Assur 13956 ft), column ii

Plate 22

For this tablet in general, and for an edition of column i, which lists gates of the E-sagil temple complex in Babylon, see above, text no. 7. Column ii is divided by a double ruling into two sections, of which perhaps only the second deals with Kiš, beginning with the cellae of Zababa and Baba. What remains of the first section is apparently concerned with explaining the name of an otherwise unattested temple.

As preserved the list uses a format of two columns, with the temples' ceremonial names on the left and everyday names (*bīt* DN) on the right. However, many of the temples are also treated to an interlinear translation in Akkadian, and so the text can be compared with the explanatory temple lists of Babylon (texts nos. 2-5), Nippur (nos. 18, §§ 5-6 and 19) and Aššur (no. 20, § 4).

¹ On the city in the late period see McEwan, *Iraq* 45, p. 117ff. For the archaeological topography see P.R.S. Moorey, *Kish Excavations*, p. 19ff., and McGuire Gibson, *The City and Area of Kish*, p. 4ff.

² BM 55476, an explanatory list of temple and other ceremonial names which shares common

ground with both these texts, came to light too late to be included here, and will be presented in a forthcoming article on temple lists. A brief section of the fragmentary temple list no. 55 // *KAV* 84 also deals with Kiš-Hursag-kalamma.

- 1' 'é.nita'.kala.ga [. . .]
 alim ^{he-pi} nuⁿnunus ga [. . .]
- 2' bīt zi-ka-ri da[n-ni . . .]
 qar-ra-du ma-x[. . .]
 šá ina pu-šuq sin-niš-t[i . . .]
- 2a' bīt ^{d he-pi} šá x[. . .]
-
- 3' é.abzu.kù.ga bīt pa-pa[h . . .]
 bīt ap-si-i el-lu u ap[s]û(abzu)^a x[x]
- 4' é.galga.sù pa-paḥ ^aba-[ba₆]
 bītu šá me-lik-šú ru-qu šá [m]il-ka ma-[u-ú]
- 5' é.me.te.ur.sag pa-p[ah] ^aza-ba₄-ba₄
- 6' é.[i]nim.kù.ga b[ī]t KIMIN
- 7' é.dub.ba b[ī]t KIMIN
- 8' é.šul!(IGI.NIR).an.na b[ī]t KIMIN
- 9' é.du₆.kù.ga b[ī]t KIMIN
- 10' é.rab.ri.ri b[ī]t pa-paḥ ^amadānu(di.ku₅)
 bītu šá rab-ba i-me-es-su 'šu-qalⁿ-lu!'-lu
- 11' é.temen.bi.nu.kúr bīt pa-paḥ ^ašarrat(gašan)-kiš^{ki}
 bīt te-me-en-šú la ut-tak-ka-r[u]
- 12' é.su.lim.an.na bīt ^agašan x x¹ [(x)]
 bīt šá-lum-ma-su šá-qa-ta-[ma]
- 13' é.ki.ág.gá.a.ni pa-pa-[hu]
- 14' é.šu.luḥḥa.kù b[ī]t . . .]
 bītu šá šu-[luḥḥu-šú el-lu]
- 15' [é].x[. . .]

- 1' E-nita-kalaga [...] honoured...woman...[...;]
- 2' House of the Mighty Man [...] warrior...[...]
 who through the travail of a woman [...;]
- 2a' the temple of (the god)...of [...]
-
- 3' E-abzu-kuga the cella of [...;]
 House of pure Apsû and...Apsû;
- 4' E-galga-su the cella of Baba:
 House whose counsel is profound, which is filled with advice;
- 5' E-mete-ursag the cella of Zababa;
- 6' E-inim-kuga the temple of Zababa;
- 7' E-dubba the temple of Zababa;
- 8' E-šul-anna the temple of Zababa;
- 9' E-du-kuga the temple of Zababa;
- 10' E-rab-riri the cella of Madānu;
 House which crushes the shackle, (or) is hung(?);
- 11' E-temenbi-nukur the cella of the Queen of Kiš:
 House whose foundation platform may not be moved;
- 12' E-sulim-anna the cella of Bēlet/Šarrat-...[...;]
 House whose radiance is exalted;
- 13' E-kiaggani the cella;
 House of his beloved;
- 14' E-šuluḥḥa-ku the temple [...;]
 House whose purification [rites are pure;]

(Commentary: p. 471 ff.)

Colophon of VAT 13817

dub [. . .]

gaba.ri k[á.dingir.ra^{ki}? . . .]

é K[U . . .]

The colophon occupies the first extant lines of column iii of this four-column tablet. After a blank space it is followed by a considerable subscript, badly preserved, of a calendrical nature. The fourth column is not inscribed.

23

VAT 10111

Plate 46

This large Neo-Assyrian fragment from Aššur, previously published as *KAV* 82 by O. Schroeder, comes from the reverse of what appears to have been a tablet of two columns per side. It gives a list of temples and temple gates in its right-hand column (col. iii) and the scant remains of a mostly illegible colophon in its left (col. iv). That col. iii is concerned with Kiš is made evident by the presence of the gate Ka-unir-kituš-maḥ, which takes its name from the well-known ziqqurat of Zababa; the temple of Papsukkal-Ninšubur, E-akkil; and the river Me-Enlilla, all of which are documented in the commentary. A small fragment which has very much the appearance of belonging to the same tablet as VAT 10111 is VAT 10942 (previously published as *KAV* 86), and a transliteration of this is accordingly appended, as no. 24, to that of the larger piece.

Like the other text on Kiš, no. 22, the present text is partly an explanatory list (after the model of those edited above as nos. 2-5), in that some Sumerian ceremonial names are given an Akkadian translation. The presence of the river name, however, suggests that this text was more similar in content to *Tintir* = Babylon, though evidently briefer.

- 1' [é.gi]š.hu[r . . .]
bītu 'šá ū'-[u-rat . . .]
- 2' é.an.úr.ki.tuš.ma[h . . .]
bītu šá i-šid š[amē . . .]
- 3' é.ki.tuš.ga[l].an.na [. . .]
- 4' ká.u₆.nir.ki.[tuš.maḥ . . .]
bāb ziq-ra[t . . .]
- 5' ká.ki.tuš.gal.kur.[kur.ra? . . .]
- 6' ká.ur.sag.an.na [. . .]
- 7' ká.giskim.silim.ma [. . .]
- 8' ká.me.te.nu.[gál? . . .]
- 9' ká.u₆.nir.ki.[tuš.maḥ . . .]
- 10' ká.igi.tùr.kalam.ma [. . .]
- 11' ká.è.a.ni.šè.túm.ma [. . .]
- 12' ká.ṭ'?.gara₁₀[. . .]
- 13' ká.ḥe.'nun.na' x[. . .]
- 14' é.mú[š . . .]
- 15' é.ki[š . . .]
- 16' é.silim.x[. . .]
- 17' é.akk[il . . .]
- 18' é.me.lám[. . .]
- 19' é.x[x ku].r.kur.ra [. . .]
- 20' idme.^den.lil.[lá . . .]

- 21' 'é'. [. . .]
- 22' 'é'. [. . .]

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 1' | [E]-gišhur-[...]; | "House of the Ordinances..." |
| | House which [...] the ordinances [(...);] | |
| 2' | E-anur-kituš-maḥ [...]; | "House of the Horizon, Exalted Abode" |
| | House the horizon [...]; | |
| 3' | E-kituš-gal-anna | "House, Great Seat of Heaven" |
| 4' | Ka-unir-kituš-[maḥ...]; | "Gate of (E)-unir-kituš-maḥ" |
| | Gate of the ziqqurat [(of the exalted abode);] | |
| 5' | Ka-kituš-gal-kurkurra(?) [...]; | "Gate of the Great Abode of the Lands(?)" |
| 6' | Ka-ursag-anna [...]; | "Gate of the Warrior of Heaven" |
| 7' | Ka-giskim-silimma [...]; | "Gate of the Portent of Well-Being" |
| 8' | Ka-mete-nugal(?) [...]; | "Gate Suited to Light(?)" |
| 9' | Ka-unir-kituš-[maḥ...]; | "Gate of (E)-unir-kituš-maḥ" |
| 10' | Ka-igi-tur-kalamma [...]; | "Gate before the Cattle-Pen of the Land" |
| 11' | Ka-eaniše-tumma [...]; | "Gate Fitting for his Exit" |
| 12' | Ka-i(?) -gara-[...]; | "Gate of Oil(?), Cream..." |
| 13' | Ka-ḥenunna...[...]; | "Gate of Plenty..." |
| 14' | E-muš-[...]; | "House, Foundation..." |
| 15' | E-kiš-[...]; | "House of Totality..." |
| 16' | E-silim-[...]; | "House of Well-Being..." |
| 17' | E-akkil [...]; | "House of Lament" |
| 18' | E-melam-[...]; | "House of Radiance..." |
| 19' | E-...-kurkurra [...]; | "House...of the Lands" |
| 20' | Me-Enlilla [...]; | "Ordinance of Enlil" |

(Commentary: p. 472f.)

24

VAT 10942

Plate 46

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------------|----|------------------|
| 1' | 'é'. [. . .] | 4' | é.a[bzu? . . .] |
| 2' | é.ab[zu?.kù.ga? . . .] | 5' | é.in[im? . . .] |
| 3' | é.inim.[kù.ga? . . .] | 6' | é.[. . .] |

(Commentary: p. 473)

Uruk

THE URUK SHRINE LIST
(no. 25)

This fragment, from Late Babylonian Uruk, is previously published by Hunger in copy and transliteration as *SpTU* I 136. The text comprises a list of shrines in and around E-anna, the temple of Ištar in Uruk, some of which are designated *šubtu*, "seat", and some *parakku*, "throne-dais". The context of the list is revealed as Uruk by the presence of well-known deities of the city (Ninzalle, Nanāy, the Daughters of Uruk, Ištar and probably also Zannaru), and is defined more particularly as the E-anna temple complex by the reference to known parts of this temple (the ziqqurrat, E-gipar-iminbi, and the *gigunū*). Other *šubtu*-lists which concern themselves with a single temple or temple complex are *Tintir* = Babylon, Tablet II (E-sagil), K 2107 + 6086, rev. iii (no. 12, E-rab-ri) and BM 134502 (no. 21, E-šarra). The present text shares the format of the first and last of these, giving in turn each *šubtu*'s Sumerian ceremonial name, the name of the deity to whom it is dedicated, and further topographical or explanatory information. The shrine list is followed by extracts from a lexical text or texts, perhaps by way of a commentary on some part of the preceding text now missing, or alternatively on some unrelated text.

25

IM 74458 (W 22282a)

Plate 47

obverse

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| 1' | [. . .] | [<i>šu-bat</i> KIMIN] <i>ša é.x[. . .]</i> |
| 2' | [. . .] | [<i>šu-bat</i> KIMIN] <i>ša é.sù.s[ù].gar.ra'</i> |
| 3' | k[i.x.dir]i?.'ga' | <i>š[u-bat KIMI]N ša é.gi.gunu^{k1}</i> |
| 4' | ki.ú[n]u.ga | <i>šu-b[at KI]MIN ša é.gi₆.pār.imin.bi</i> |
| 5' | ki.šen.šen.na | <i>šu-bat K[IM]IN ša kisalli(kisal) šap-lu-ú</i> |
| 6' | èš.li.li.diri.ga | <i>šu-bat ^an[i]n-zal-le ša ^aištar(inanna) ina muh-ḫi uššab(dúr)^{ab}</i> |
| 7' | é.ḫi.li.diri.ga | <i>šu-bat ^ana-na-a ša ká.u₆.de ina bīt te-ret</i> |
| 8' | é.nir.maḫ.'ki'.u ₈ .zé.eb.ba.mu | <i>é.MIN ḡi-rim a-š[a]r šit-ti šu-tu-bu bīt ^aeršī(ná)</i> |
| 9' | é.za[l]ag.ga | <i>bīt ḡi-li-ši ša kisalli e-lu-ú</i> |
| 10' | é.me.la[m].an.na | <i>šu-bat ^ašamaš [š]á kisal é.zalag.ga</i> |
| 11' | ki.tuš.[sili]m?ma | <i>šu-bat ^amārāt(dumu.munus)^{meš} uruk(unug)[^{k1} š]á ki.šú</i> |
| 12' | ki.tuš.inim.du ₁₀ .ga.lá | <i>šu-bat ^azanna[ru(za.MÛŠ)?] x x [(x)]</i> |

A metrological text found in the Bīt-rēš temple at Uruk is published by van Dijk, *UVB* 18, p. 60f., pl. 28b, and again in *BagM*, Beih. 2, no. 96. It gives the overall dimensions and floor area of the Bīt-rēš and E-ēšgal temples of Uruk. From the same archive comes IM 65063, whose obverse lists temples (probably of Ištar) but whose reverse may treat gates of the Uruk temple complex (edited below, no. 31). For Uruk in the late period see Falkenstein, *Topographie*.

25

The Uruk Shrine List

obverse

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| 1' | [...] | [the seat of Ištar] in E-...[...] |
| 2' | [...] | [the seat of Ištar] in E-susu-garra; |
| 3' | Ki-[...]-diriga(?) | the [seat of] Ištar in E-gigunu; |
| | "Place of Profuse(?)..." | |
| 4' | Ki-unuga | the seat of Ištar in E-gipar-iminbi; |
| | "Place of the Food Offering" | |
| 5' | Ki-šenšenna | the seat of Ištar in the Lower Court; |
| | "Place of Battle" or "Shining Place" | |
| 6' | Eš-lili-diriga | the seat of Ninzalle on which Ištar sits; |
| | "House of Profuse Progeny" | |
| 7' | E-hili-diriga | the seat of Nanāy at Ka-ude in the chapel of oracles(?); |
| | "House of Profuse Luxury" | |
| 8' | E-nir-maḫ Ki-u-zebbamu | "Exalted E-nir which Makes Sleep Pleasant": the bed-chamber; |
| 9' | E-zalagga | the <i>ḡilšu</i> -house of the Upper Court; |
| | "Bright House" | |
| 10' | E-melam-anna | the seat of Šamaš in the courtyard of E-zalagga; |
| | "House of Heavenly Radiance" | |
| 11' | Ki-tuš-silimma(?) | the seat of the Daughters of Uruk in Ki-šu; |
| | "Abode of Well-Being(?)" | |
| 12' | Ki-tuš-inim-duga-la | the seat of Zannaru(?); |
| | "Abode which Bears(?) a Friendly Word" | |

13'	ki.tuš.h[é.nun.na?]	[šu-bat . . .] x x x [x x]
14'	ki.nin.x [(x) x]	[šu-bat . . .]
15'	é.su[g . . .]	
16'	'é'.[. . .]	
	reverse	
1'	b[ára . . .]	
2'	bár[a . . .]	
3'	8 parakkū(bára) ^{m[es]} . . .]	
4'	zà.du ₈ 'á'.[zi.da]	[šu-bat . . .]
5'	zà.du ₈ .á.g[ùb.b]u	'šú'-b[at . . .]
6'	ki.si.[g]ar	šu-bat ^{ra} e-ta-lak { ^{ra} e-ta-lak} šá ši-ga-rī
7'	zag : re-'e'-šú	zag : ri-ik-su : áš-ri : pi-riš-tim : šer-ret il ^{mes}
8'	zag : ta-'a'-bu	zag : a-šá-red : kul-lat : e-mu-qa : eš-ret il ^{mes} kalāma(dù.a.bi)
9'	zi : re-'e'-šú	zi : na-šu-ú šá re-eš : šá-qu-ú šá re-eš
10'	igi : re-'e'-šú	igi : mah-ri : igi : reš-tu-ú
11'	il : re-'e'-šú	il : na-šu-ú šá re-eš : šá-q[u]-ú šá re-e-šú
12'	sa-an-t[a] ^k santak ₄	re-e-'šú : santak ₄ [:] 're-eš'-tu-ú
13'	'sag' [:] 're-e-šú'	s[ag : (pa-nu) : (mah-ri) : reš-tu]-'ú' [:] 'zi-i-mu'

(Commentary: p. 473f.)

13'	Kituš-ḥenunna(?)	[the seat of...];...
	"Abode of Plenty(?)"	
14'	Ki-nin-...[...]	[the seat of...;]
15'	E-sug-[...]	
16'	E-[...]	
	reverse	
1'	Dais [...]	
2'	Dais [...]	
3'	8 daises [...;]	
4'	Zadu-azida	[the seat of...;]
	"Right-Hand Door-Sill"	
5'	Zadu-agubbu	the seat [of...;]
	"Left-Hand Door-Sill"	
6'	Ki-sigar	the seat of Etalak of the Latch.
	"Place of the Latch"	
7'	zag = head	zag = bond; place; secret; bridle of the gods.
8'	zag = good	zag = leader; everything; might; all the sanctuaries of the gods.
9'	zi = head	zi = lift, of the head; be high, of the head.
10'	igi = head	igi = in front of; igi = foremost.
11'	il = head	il = lift, of the head; be high, of the head.
12'	santak = head; santak = foremost.	
13'	sag = head	sag = [(face); (in front of);] foremost; countenance.

Ur?

EXTRACTS FROM A SHRINE LIST
(no. 26)

Three Neo- or Late Babylonian exercise tablets from Ur contain extracts from what is most probably the same list of *šubtu*'s. They were first published in *UET VII* in the hand copies of O.R. Gurney, who compared them in his catalogue with sources for the *šubtu* list of E-sagil, *Tintir II*. At present it is not possible to determine with absolute certainty which sanctuary or city is the topographical context for this list. The only clue supplied by the text of the extracts are two temple names, E-melam-sulim-gurru and Egar-ku. E-melam-sulim-gurru, "House Clad in Awesome Radiance", which appears in the first extract as the location of shrines of Lugalirra and Meslamtaea, is also known from the Canonical Temple List, in which it is a sanctuary of Meslamtae.³ Whether it is indeed a full temple, or merely a chapel of some larger sanctuary, is not the brief of that text to reveal, but the list is silent, too, as to its location. Were E-melam-sulim-gurru in Babylon one might expect to have come across it in the wealth of topographical material dealing with that city, and for this reason we decline to place the three excerpts in the missing part of *Tintir II*. The southern origin of the tablets contrasts with the bulk of the school tablets published in this book, and it must be said that the texts handed down in the scribal schools of Ur, and at Uruk too, are much less likely to have been as Babylocentric as those studied in the northern schools of Babylon, Borsippa, Kiš and Sippar. With this in mind the presence in the second extract of Egar-ku, "Pure Sanctum", is more helpful to our enquiry, since a sanctuary of this name is a known part of the temple complex of Šin and Ningal at Ur, having been rebuilt for the goddess by Nūr-Adad of Larsa.⁴ One cannot rule out the existence elsewhere of other sanctuaries of this name, but provisionally it is legitimate to suggest that the *Šubtu* list which survives in these three excerpts treated small shrines in and around E-kišnu-gal, the great cult-centre of the Moon God at Ur.

³ Pinches, *PSBA* 22, p. 364, rev. 3 // *II R* 61, no. 1, iv 19-20: é.me.lám.su.lim.gùr.ru = *bīt* ⁴*mes-lam-ta-è*.

⁴ As commemorated in his inscription, *UET I* 111, where it is described as Ningal's "dressing room" (é.nam.mu₄) in Šin's bedchamber (á.ná.da

< é.ná.da; cf. Gudea, *Cyl. B*, v 12). Instead of é.gar₆.kù one may of course also read the temple name as agrun.kù: on the readings of É.NUN see the commentary on *Tintir IV* 31. For agrun.kù as a common noun see now Charpin, *Le clergé d'Ur*, p. 212f.

26

Extract A

Ur X 132 (*UET VII* 127), obv. 8'-11'

Plate 47

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|--|
| 1 | bára.šà.diš.ša ₄ | <i>šu-bat</i> ⁴ <i>lugal-ir₉-ra</i> šá su.lim.gùr.ru. ¹ é'.[m]e.
[lám] šá ⁴ <i>lugal-[ir₉]-ra</i> ina muḫ-ḫi áš-b[u] |
| 2 | é.ḫur.sag.s[i].ga | <i>šu-bat</i> ⁴ <i>m[e]s-lam-ta-è-a</i> šá é.me.lám.su.lim.
gùr.ru šá ⁴ <i>mes-lam-ta-è-a</i> ina muḫ-ḫi áš-bu |
| 1 | Bara-šadišša | the seat of Lugalirra in E-melam-sulim- |
| | "Dais of the Perfect One" | gurru(!) on which Lugalirra sits; |
| 2 | E-ḫursag-siga | the seat of Meslamtaea in E-melam-sulim- |
| | "House of the Silent Mountains" | gurru on which Meslamtaea sits. |

Extract B

Ur X 134 (*UET VII* 136), obv. 4'-8'

Plate 47

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|--|
| 1 | ki.du ₁₀ .ga | <i>šu-bat</i> ⁴ [...] šá ⁴ x[...] ina muḫ-ḫi áš-bu? |
| 2 | é.en.nun.gá.g[á] | [<i>šu-bat</i> [...]] ina 'é.gar ₆ .kù' šá ¹ <i>mšad[i]</i>
(kur.ra) [...] ti? límmu x[...] |
| 1 | Ki-duga | the seat of [...on(?)] which...[... sits(?);] |
| | "Lovely Place" | |
| 2 | E-ennun-gaga | [the seat of...] in Egar-ku on the east |
| | "House which Appoints the Watch" | [...][...][...] |

Extract C

Ur 7/17 (*UET VII* 139), obv. 1'-5'

Plate 47

- | | | |
|----|---------------------|--|
| 1' | 'é.gub'.b[a] | [<i>šu-bat</i> ...] |
| 2' | ki.dúr.gar | <i>šu-b[at</i> [...]] ¹ <i>add[aru(še)]</i> ...] |
| 3' | bára.en.nun | <i>šu-b[at</i> [...]] ká.si.a u x[...] |
| 1' | E-gubba | [the seat of...;] |
| | "Established House" | |
| 2' | Ki-durgar | the seat [of...] Addaru [...] |
| | "Place of the Seat" | |
| 3' | Bara-ennun | the seat [of...] Ka-sia and(?)...[...] |
| | "Dais of the Watch" | |

TOPOGRAPHICAL AND EXPLANATORY FRAGMENTS

(nos. 27-34)

27

BM 66534 (AH 82-9-18, 6527)

Plate 47

BM 66534 is a Neo- or Late Babylonian fragment from Sippar. The first part of the text may be concerned with Babylon, but this is by no means certain, for there may have been other towns on the Arahtu River (l. 4') with an Ištar Gate (l. 5'). The east side of Babylon, however, could conceivably be imagined as "facing Kiš" (l. 6'). From line 9' the text appears to be dealing with a town called Zarpan, listing first its city gates (l. 10'-end). This town is no doubt the original cult-centre of Marduk's wife, the circumstance through which, obviously, she came by her name Zarpanitum, "Lady of Zarpan".¹

The tablet is ruled after every line (these rulings are omitted in the copy) and divided into very narrow sub-columns.² In view of the lack of consecutive text the transliteration observes this division; however, the reader is apparently intended to follow the lines of text across these columns.

1'	...].a	[...]
2'	...].a	<i>meh[ret(igi)]^e</i> [...]
3'	...].dúb	<i>i-na muhhi(ugu) nāri/ia^a</i> [...]
4'	...].lu	<i>i-na kišād(gú) ^{ia}a-ra-aḫ-ti</i> [...]
5'	...].x.gal	<i>i-na abul(ká.gal) ^aiš-tar i-na m[uhhi?</i> ...]
6'	...].x.lu	<i>mehret^{et} kiš^{k1}</i> <i>a-na</i> [...]
7'	...].x.mu	<i>mehret^{et}</i> <i>^aištar(inanna)</i> [...]
8'	...].dúb	<i>mehret^{et}</i> <i>^aištar hur-sa[g-kalam-ma</i> ...]
9'	...]	<i>zar-pa-an^{k1}</i> [...]
10'	...]	<i>abul</i> [...]

¹ The process is seen in reverse by the theologian of the unpublished myth K 6794+9418; lines 2-5 read:

ṭ-qī-is-sa ma-ḫa-zi ^aen-lil a-bu-ša
[i]š-ruk-ši ^{ur}zar-pa-an a-na šu-me-ša im-bi
[a]-na ^azar-pa-ni-tum ^aé-a i-qī-is-sa
[i]š-ruk-ši ^{ur}zar-pa-an a-na šu-me-ša im-bi
 Enlil, her father, presented her with a cult-centre;

he gave her Zarpan and called (it) after her name.

Ea presented (it) to Zarpanitum, he gave her Zarpan and called (it) after her name.

² A piece from the same collection and very similar in script and appearance, though not in content, is BM 67517.

- 11' ...]
 12' ...]
 13' ...]
 14' ...]
- abul [...
 abul [...
 abu[...
 a[bul ...

28

BM 76887 (AH 83-1-18, 2259)

Plate 47

An obverse fragment from Sippar, Neo- or Late Babylonian, giving explanations in Akkadian of the ceremonial names of temples, chapels and gates, mostly of Nabû and some, if not all, in Borsippa.

- 1' [é.zi.da b]ītu ki-i-ni bīt ^an[a-bi-um ...
 2' [é.ad]dir.kalam.ma bīt ^an[a-bi-um ...
 3' [ká.su.lim.m]a bāb šá-lum-ma-ti pa-ni TU[R ...
 4' [é.maḥ.?.t]i.la bīt šu-bat b[a-la-ti ...
 5' [é.šid.d]ù.an.na.ki bīt pa-qid ki[š-šat šamê u eršeti? ...
 6' [é.šu.ni]gin.šu.du, bītu šá kiš-šat-s[u šuk-lu-lu ...
 7' [é.id].lú.ru.gú kisallu(kisal) e-lu-ú 'šā' x[...
 8' [é.dār]a.an.na pa-pa-ḥi ^ae₄-ru₆-(a) ...
 9' [ká x x bā]b ^ai-lī-ab¹-ra[t ...
- 1' [E-zida], True House, temple of Nabû [...
 2' [E]-addir-kalamma, temple of Nabû [...
 3' [Ka-sulimma], Gate of Radiance, before...[...
 4' [E-maḥ(?)]-tila, House of the Seat of Life, [...
 5' [E]-šiddu-anna-ki, House of the Director of All [Heaven and Underworld(?)...
 6' [E]-šunigin-šudu, House which is Perfect in its Entirety, [...
 7' [E-id]-lu-rugu, the upper courtyard of...[...
 8' [E]-dara-anna, the cella of Erua, [...
 9' [Ka-..., the] gate of Ili-abrāt, [...

(Commentary: p. 475)

29

VAT 17123 (BE 42342c)

Plate 48

This small Neo- or Late Babylonian fragment, apparently an obverse flake, was found by Koldewey's expedition in the "Merkes temple" (E-mašdari of Bēlet-Akkade) at Babylon, and first published by van Dijk as *VS* 24 111. The text preserved deals with the interior of a temple, and is probably a list of shrines similar to *Tintir* II, the Shrine List of E-šarra (no. 21) and the Uruk Shrine List (no. 25). Significant in this respect are lines 2'-

3', which are strongly reminiscent of a phrasing occasionally employed in such lists.³ However, the presence here of [...an].ki.a *pa-pāḥ Nabû*, "cella of Nabû", makes it doubtful that VAT 17123 should be considered a missing part of the shrine list of E-sagil, for the extant text of *Tintir* II uses only the designations *šubat* DN and *manzāz* DN. Moreover, the cella of Nabû in E-sagil goes by the name of E-zida, and this probably already occurs in *Tintir* II (2': see the commentary). Another cella of Nabû known by its ceremonial name is E-šiddu-anna-ki in E-zida of Borsippa, as found in the preceding fragment and a brick of Nebuchadnezzar II (no. 28, 5' and commentary). Accordingly one might restore the present cella to read — as a (better) variant of E-šiddu-anna-ki — é.šid.dù.an.ki.a. But it is just as likely that VAT 17123 refers to quite another cella of Nabû, for example in E-niggidar-kalamma-summa or one of the god's other sanctuaries in Babylon.

- 1' ...] 'šā bāb ^ax[...
 2' ... an].ki.a pa-pa-ḥi ^anabû(nā) šā [...
 3' ... šā] ^anabû(nā) ina muḥ-ḥi uš-šā-[bu ...
 4' ...] dul-ba-nu šā ⁱm ...
 5' ... d]ul-ba-nu šā ⁱm ...
 6' ... ⁱmiltānu(si.sā) šā ašar(ki) pa-[pa-ḥi? ...
 7' ...]x šā ašar(ki) x[...
 8' ...] 'é'? [...
- 1' ...] of the gate of [DN...
 2' ...]-ankia, the cella of Nabû (on) which [...
 3' ...] on [which] Nabû sits [...
 4' ...] corridor to the [north/south/east/west...
 5' ...] corridor to the [north/south/east/west...
 6' ...] north which (is) where the [cella(?)...
 7' ...]...which (is) where...[...
 8' ...] E(?)-[...]

³ Ceremonial Name = *šubat* DN₁ ša DN₂ ina muḥḥi ašbu/uššabu; *Tintir* II 1-3, 23-27, cf. p. 9³⁶; no. 25, obv. 6'; no. 26 A, 1-2.

30

BM 75144 (AH 83-1-18, 470), obv. 1'-7'

Plate 8

On a late school tablet from Sippar, alongside extracts from *Tintir* II (MS hh above) and *Hh* III, is preserved the following fragment of text, which probably belongs to either the topographical or the cultic genre. The passage mentions a temple of Ištar-kakkabi "adjacent to the Arahtu river" (7'), which could refer to the topographical situation of Babylon after the eastward shift of the river in Persian times (see p. 356). However, this is by no means certain, for the text also speaks of temples names E-ḫili-aka and perhaps E-kar-gidda (both l. 5'), neither of which is known at Babylon.

- 1' *ina m[uḫ-ḫi?]*
 2' *ša 'é'. [. . .] x [. . .]*
 3' *ù 'x nam? ša IGI x x x x' [. . .]*
 4' *[MI]N? 'a'za-ri-qu 'a'15? [x x] duḫ.a [. . .]*
 5' *[(x)] 'é'.ḫi.li.'ak?'.a é.[k]ar.g[id.da? . . .]*
 6' *'a'lugal!?'ir₉?ra bīt 'nin-'urta' bīt? [. . .]*
 7' *MIN bīt 'ištār(15)-kakkabi(mul) ša itê(ús.sa.du) 'a-r[a-ah-tum . . .]*

31

IM 65063 (W 20030/20)

Plate 48

This is a large fragment of Late Babylonian date, which forms the lower left half of a single-columned tablet. It was excavated in the Bīt-rēš temple at Uruk, and first published in the hand copy of van Dijk as *BagM* Beiheft 2, no. 97, with introductory notes by W.R. Mayer (p. 20, based on communications from Moran and the writer).

The obverse of IM 65063 begins with the remains of a very damaged section of text, whose two lines survive only in a few disconnected traces and whose content remains a mystery. Following a ruling, the remaining lines of the tablet's obverse continue to its close (perhaps one line to its edge, perhaps none) with an explanatory temple list, probably of three-column format after the style of BM 34927 (no. 4) and the Assyrian Temple List (no. 20, §4), and thus giving the Sumerian ceremonial name of each temple, its divine owner (here 'MIN throughout), and an Akkadian translation or interpretation of the ceremonial name. The present text differs from the other explanatory temple lists edited in this book in that it deals not with the temples of a single city, but with those of a single deity. This deity is probably to be identified as the goddess Ištar, who from Sumerian times was proud of the multiplicity of her temples and shrines in the cities of lower Mesopotamia.⁴ The provenance of the text would support such an identification,

⁴ In this regard cf. the opening of Inanna's Descent and the 'Ešdam' Hymns (see Bergmann, *ZA* 56, p. 1ff.; G.J.P. McEwan, *RA* 76, p. 187f.), and of

her *balag* urú.àm.er.ra.bi XX (von Weiher, *SpTU* II 27, 4-11).

for theological interest in Ištar was naturally high in her ancient cult-centre at Uruk. Furthermore, as noted in *BagM* Beiheft 2, p. 20, there is a tempting possibility that one should restore the names of known temples of Ištar in some lines on the basis of the remains of the Akkadian translations in the third column.⁵ The list is thus probably an explanation of temple names associated with Ištar (and, perhaps, goddesses commonly identified with her). Several of the Akkadian translations can be paired in couplets according to the sense of their opening words: thus in ll. 8'-9', *tallaktu* and *alkakāt*; 10'-11': *kidudê* and *kikiṭṭê*; 14'-15': *nēmeqi* and *igigalla*; 18'-19': *têret*; 20'-21': apparently *têret* and *urtu*. This suggests that the list offers at least two explanations for each temple name (four in ll. 18'-21'); and multiple explanations of Sumerian ceremonial names are indeed a feature of similar lists.

Two problems attend the temple list. The greater of these, to which attention was brought in the notes on the text presented by Mayer, is the unwelcome appearance of the sign MEŠ at the end of some lines of the first sub-column (ll. 21'-22' certain, 17' and 23' less definite), for here we expect the end of the Sumerian temple name. With this expectation MEŠ is hardly compatible, and one begins to wonder whether the preliminary assumptions made about the lay-out of the list are at all correct. Less worrying, but equally odd, is the fact that the divine name is not explicitly written at the top of the second sub-column; instead line 3' has 'MIN in common with the rest of the list. Either we must assume that the identity of 'MIN was obvious to the reader of the broken introduction (ll. 1'-2'), and so needed no further clarification in the temple list, or that the list is an excerpt from the middle of a long list made by a scribe who did not think to replace 'MIN with the required divine name.

The reverse of IM 65063 contains material of more topographical interest, being evidently a list of gates, perhaps of the great temple complex of Anu and Ištar in Uruk (note in this regard the possible restoration of Ka-sikilla in rev. 12; the "Pure Gate" is a known gate of this complex: see Falkenstein, *Topographie*, p. 57). It is thus a possible parallel to those texts which list and explain the gates of the E-sagil complex at Babylon (nos. 6-8).

⁵ See further the commentary, ad loc.

obverse

1'-2' (a few illegible traces)

3'	[...]	[bīt] ^a MIN bītū	šá iš-tu k[...]
4'	[...]	[bīt] ^a MIN bīt	t[e]-me-en-šú [...]
5'	[...]	[bīt] ^a MIN bītū	šá ina nap-ḥar ma-[ta-a-ti? ...]
6'	[...]	[bīt] ^a MIN bītū	šá ina áš!-ri e[l-li ...]
7'	[...]	[bīt] ^a MIN bītū	šá e-tel-li u[š- ...]
8'	[...]	[bīt] ^a MIN bītū	šá tal-lak-ti [...]
9'	[...]	[bīt] ^a MIN bīt	al-ka-ka-at [...]
10'	[...]	[bīt] ^a MIN bīt	kidudê(ki.du.du) ^e [...]
11'	[...]	[bīt] ^a MIN bīt	kikiñtê(kid.kid.e.ne) ^{mes} [...]
12'	[...]	[bīt] ^a MIN bīt	tuduqqê(tu ₆ .dug ₄ .ga) ^{mes} [...]
13'	[...]	[bīt] ^a MIN bītū	šá ina nap-ḥar te? x x[...]
14'	[...]	[bīt] ^a MIN bīt	né-me-qí [...]
15'	[...]	[bīt] ^a MIN bīt	igi-gál-ā [...]
16'	[...]	[bīt] ^a MIN bīt	ki-šir [...]
17'	[... m]eš?	bīt ^a MIN bīt	šit-tul-tú [...]
18'	[...]	bīt ^a MIN bīt	te-ret [...]
19'	[...]	bīt ^a MIN bīt	te-ret [...]
20'	[... u]r ₄ ?	bīt ^a MIN bītū	ḥa-mi-mu t[e-ret ...]
21'	[...]meš	bīt ^a MIN bīt	ur-tum ka-b[it-tum? ...]
22'	[... m]eš	bīt ^a MIN bīt	ni-šir-ti [...]
23'	[... me]š?	bīt ^a [MIN bīt]	[...]

reverse

1	[...]-mi-iq a-ma-at bābu šá a-n[a ...]
2	[... b]āb ta-mar-ti šarri(lugal) e[š?] ...
3	[...]x bāb tak-ni-ti ^a anum(60) ^a en-líl [u ^a é-a? ...]
4	[... ká.sí]skur.še.ga bābu 'še-mu-ū' k[a-ra-bi ...]
5	[... š]lptu(tu ₆) ibaššú(gál) ^a k[á x]x bābu [...]
6	[...]x tu sikil [bā]b n[é-re]b bīt [...]
7	[...]x.ma ká.še.ga ^a u ká.gùn.a 3 bāb[ātu ^{mes} šá ...]
8	[... k]á x x x da bāb i-šip-pu-tu [...]
9	[...]x mar?-tum? bāb bīt mu-um-mu šá x[...]
10	[...] i-sin-ni-šú? x x x x[...]
11	[...] gal gil x nunus? x[...]
12	[... k]á.za.gìn.na ká.eš.bar u ká.sik[il.la? ...]

(Commentary: p. 475f.)

3'	[...]	the temple of do.	House which from...[...;]
4'	[...]	the temple of do.	House whose foundation platform [...;]
5'	[...]	the temple of do.	House which in all lands(?) [...;]
6'	[...]	the temple of do.	House which [(is built)] in a pure place;
7'	[...]	the temple of do.	House which...[... the noble;
8'	[...]	the temple of do.	House whose way [...;]
9'	[...]	the temple of do.	House of the ways of [...;]
10'	[...]	the temple of do.	House of the rites [...;]
11'	[...]	the temple of do.	House of the rituals [...;]
12'	[...]	the temple of do.	House of the incantation formulae [...;]
13'	[...]	the temple of do.	House which in all...[...;]
14'	[...]	the temple of do.	House of wisdom [...;]
15'	[...]	the temple of do.	House of perception [...;]
16'	[...]	the temple of do.	House of the knot of [...;]
17'	[...]-meš(?)	the temple of do.	House of consultation [...;]
18'	[...]	the temple of do.	House of the decree(s) of [...;]
19'	[...]	the temple of do.	House of the decree(s) of [...;]
20'	[...]-ur(?)	the temple of do.	House which gathers the decrees [of...;]
21'	[...]-meš	the temple of do.	House of the weighty(?) command [...;]
22'	[...]-meš	the temple of do.	House of the secret of [...;]
23'	[...]-meš(?)	the temple of do.	[House...;]

reverse

1	[...].the gate which [opens(?) on [to...]
2	[...] the gate of the king's audience(?)...[...]
3	[...].the gate of the loving care of Anu, Enlil [and Ea(?)...]
4	[...Ka]-siskur-šega, the gate which hears [prayers...]
5	[...]where the] incantation is; Ka-[...], the gate [...]
6	[...].the gate of entry of the temple [...]
7	[...].Ka-šega and Ka-guna: the three gates [of...]
8	[...].the gate of the skill of the purification priest [...]
9	[...].the gate of the cultic workshop of [...]
10	[...] its(?) festivals...[...]
11	[...].[...].[...].[...]
12	[...] Ka-zaginna, Ka-ešbar and Ka-sikilla(?) [...]

32

BM 74167 (82-9-18, 14179)

Plate 48

A fragment from Sippar, mentioning gates and, perhaps, chapels or shrines: with line 4 compare the shrine *du₆.ki.sikil* in E-sagil (*Tintir* II 30).

- 1' . . .] *ina?* am[aš? . . .
 2' . . .] *mit-ḥar* ká [. . .
 3' . . . *i?* *bābu rabū^a* x[. . .
 4' . . . k]i.sikil é x[. . .
 5' . . . r]i u ^a*da-[gan?* . . .
 6' . . .]x 'sag lul?' x[. . .

33

K 20081

Plate 48

A fragment from Kuyunjik, in Babylonian script, perhaps from a list of temple gates.

- 1 . . . k]ur? amaš.rim.ma *bāb-šú* [. . .
 2 . . .]x *bāb-šú ana imiltāni*(si.sá) [. . .
 3 . . . b]āb-šú ana ^{im}*amurri*(kur.ra) [. . .
 4 . . .] x x x x [. . .

34

K 15106

Plate 48

A fragment from Kuyunjik, perhaps metrological, concerned with the cella of an unidentified temple.

- 1' . . . *ultu*(ta)] ā[r-ka-ti . . .
 2' . . . *ulī*]u ār-k[a-ti . . .
 3' . . . *ul*]tu pa-pa-ḥ[i . . .
 4' . . . *ū*]ltu pa-pa-ḥi [. . .
 5' . . .] *ultu pa-pa-ḥ[i* . . .
 6' . . .] *ana mu*[ḥ]-ḥ[i . . .

8

MISCELLANEOUS TEXTS

(nos. 35-66)

35

79-7-8, 291

Plate 48

This fragment from Kuyunjik, part of a large list of names of gates and courtyards and previously published by van der Meer in *A/O* 13, pl. 8, is of interest here in that it provides in column i, line 6'ff., a source for the city gates of Babylon independent of *Tintir* V 49-56. The text preserved on it, however, belongs more nearly with the lexical and geographical lists than with the texts of 'topographical' genre of which *Tintir* is the prime example.

What are listed in the first extant lines of column i is not clear, but the gods mentioned (Manungal, Nungal and Ištarān) belong in Nippur rather than in Babylon, and it is unlikely that this part of the text has any topographical connection with what follows.¹ With line 6' the list of city gates begins, and ll. 7'-10' deal with the four gates of the eastern half of Imgur-Enlil, the city wall of Babylon; ll. 11'-13' list three of the four gates of its western section, omitting the Enlil Gate. One might consider restoring this last in the second half of line 6', to be equated with the "Grand Gate of Babylon". While this seems an attractive solution at first glance, it must be rejected on two counts. First the Grand Gate of Babylon can no longer be understood as one of the gates on Imgur-Enlil, but is to be sought instead near the city centre, between the quarters of Eridu and Kadingirra (*Tintir* V 94); it is probably to be considered the north gate of the east half of an older city wall, perhaps the Old Babylonian counterpart of the later Ištar Gate (see above, p. 18, and the commentary on *Tintir* V 92). The Enlil Gate, on the other hand, is certainly a gate on Imgur-Enlil, being listed with the seven other such gates in *Tintir* V, and is very probably to be located on the north stretch of the western city wall (above, p. 23, and the commentary on *Tintir* V 53). Thus an equation of the Grand and Enlil Gates would seem topographically impossible. The second objection is a lexical one. Given the lexical (as against topographical) nature of the list, we should expect the second half of line 6' to be the Akkadian translation of the Sumerian first half, as is indeed the case in

¹ If ká.gal is restored in these lines too the text then gives a series of gates of Nippur different from the standard list of *Kagal* I 2-13 (*MSL* XIII, p. 228; cf. p. 148f., *Kagal* Boghazköy I A 1-6), but offers a

further attestation of the Akītu Gate of Nippur which, though absent from the standard list, is known from the Nippur Compendium (no. 18), ii 32'.

the following lines, where the popular — not the ceremonial — name of each gate, *abul* DN, “Gate of the God So-and-So”, is ‘back-translated’ into Sumerian to make the list comply with the bilingual lay-out which became standard in lexical texts in the Kassite period. It is plain that *abul Enlil* does not come remotely close enough to *ká.gal.maḥ* to fulfil this expectation. Of course, the presence of the divine determinative in the second half of line 6’ precludes an exact equation (we might anticipate *abulmāḥu* or *abullu širtu* were it not for this determinative), but the obvious compromise is to restore *dingir.maḥ* (Bēlet-ilī). That there was no Gate of Bēlet-ilī at Babylon — so far as we know — is no objection, for the aim of the text is not topographical exactitude but lexical equation. It would be enough to know that *é.maḥ* is a temple name commonly associated with *dingir.maḥ* (see the commentary on *Tintir* IV 18) to make an equation *ká.gal.maḥ* = *abul dingir.maḥ* permissible.

Following the known gates of Babylon is a Gate of Gula (i 14’). This itself might be seen as an alternative name for the missing Enlil Gate, but there is no other evidence for such an identification. It is more probable that the text, having listed eight gates for Babylon, has now turned to another city. Gula suggests Isin, of course, for this was her cult-centre, and our proposed restoration of the first half of this line is owed to this consideration. One may also add that a Gate of Ninisinna, probably a city gate or quarter of Isin, appears in an Old Babylonian letter (*ba-ab* ^a*nin-i-si-i[n-na]*: George, *Iraq* 41, p. 135 = *AbB* X 57, 26).

The second column of text lists names of courtyards similar to *Kagal* I 16-25 (*MSL* XII, p. 228f.).

column i

1’	[x (x) ^a ma].nu[n.gal]	[. . .]
2’	[x (x) ^a nun.gal]	[. . .]
3’	[x (x) m]aḥ.edin.na	[. . .]
4’	[x (x)] ^a ki-te	x[. . .]
5’	[x (x)] ^a ištarān(KA.DI)	x[. . .]
6’	[ká.ga]l.maḥ ká.dingir.ra ^{ki}	<i>a-bul bēlet-[ilī(dingir.maḥ)?]</i>
7’	[ká.ga]l ^a amar.utu	MIN ^a ma[rduk]
8’	[ká.ga]l ^a [ina]nna	MIN ^a iš-t[ar]
9’	[ká.gal ^a uraš]	‘MIN’ ^a uraš
10’	[ká.gal] ^a za ¹ .[ba ₄ .ba ₄]	[MIN] ^a za-ba ₄ -ba ₄
11’	[ká.gal] ^a utu	[MIN] ^a šamaš
12’	[ká.gal] ^a iškur.ra ¹	MIN ^a adad
13’	[ká.gal] lugal.la ¹	‘MIN’ ^a šar ¹ -ri
14’	[ká.gal] ^a nin.i.si.in.na	‘MIN’ ^a gu-la

column ii

1’	k[isal . . .
2’	kisa[l . . .
3’	kisal [. . .
4’	kisal.i?.[. . .
5’	kisal.bar.[. . .
6’	kisal.bar.[. . .
7’	kisal.dim.[. . .
8’	[kisa]l.gam(= <di>m!?).m[a . . .
9’	[kisa]l.‘é’. . .

36

BM 78905 (88-5-12, 91)

Plate 49

This almost complete tablet from Sippar is previously edited by T.G. Pinches, *PSBA* 33, p. 155ff.; a transliteration and notes by Röllig have also appeared in *WZKM* 62, p. 299f. When the writer came to collate the tablet it became apparent that the published copy of Pinches is marred by uncharacteristic errors, and for this reason a new one has been prepared and a transliteration included in this chapter.

The text of BM 78905 is concerned not with topographical or explanatory matters, but with the measurements of various gates of a temple, including those of the cellae of Šamaš, his wife Aya, and his vizier Bunene. As Pinches remarked, the context is undoubtedly the cult-centre of Šamaš in Sippar, E-babbarra. Grounds for drawing up this text, with its careful use of technical and architectural terminology, may have been afforded by one of the several rebuildings of E-babbarra undertaken in Neo-Babylonian times, most notably by the kings Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus (Ebeling, *RIA* II, p. 263). The tablet itself is Neo- or Late Babylonian.

A tablet on a similar subject, BM 56073, follows a discussion of BM 78905 as no. 37. Other late metrological texts concerned with temple buildings are the E-sagil Tablet and VAT 9961 + 10335 (nos. 13 and 14); a tablet in the New York Metropolitan Museum, also dealing with E-sagil (86-11-102, on which see p. 109); a tablet from the Bīt-rēš temple of Uruk (W 20030/108: see p. 199); and an Assyrian fragment dealing with the temple of Anu at Aššur (Assur 19763: Weidner, *Afo* 8, p. 43).

obverse

1	<i>bāb pa-pa-ḥi šá</i> ^a šamaš <i>a-di muḥḥi(ugu) lu-ub-bu-un-du</i>
2	18 <i>ammat(kùš) šá-qu</i>
3	$\frac{2}{3}$ <i>ammat lu-ub-bu-un-du</i>

- 4 1 *ammat hi-it-ti*
 5 3 *ammat 8 ubān(šu.si) lib-nat ap-ti*
 6 1 *ammat hi-it-ti ša mu-šap-ši-hi*
 7 $\frac{2}{3}$ *ammat tal-la*
 8 3 *ammat 8 ubān e-li tal-la*
 9 2 *ammat ti-'i-ti u gušūrū(giš.ūr)^{mes}*
-
- 10 *bāb pa-pa-hi ša a-a a-di muḥḥi lu-ub-bu-un-du*
 11 16 *ammat ša-qu*
 12 15 *ammat si-ḥir-ti bīti bābātu^{mes} ša bīt a-a*
 13 16 *ammat bābātu^{mes} ša si-ḥir-ti bīti ša <a-na> kisalli ša šamaš*
 14 *bābu ša a-na tar-šu pa-pa-hi ša šamaš a-na^{ana}? k[isalli-š]u*
 15 *šap-li-i a-di muḥḥi lu-ub-b[u-un-du]*
 16 18 *ammat ša-qu*

reverse

- 17 *bābu ša bīt a-a ša a-na kisalli šap-li-[i]*
 18 18 *ammat ša-qu*
-
- 19 *bāb pa-pa-hi ša bu-ne-ne*
 20 16 *ammat ša-qu*
 21 16 *ammat bābātu^{mes} ša si-ḥir-ti bīti*
 22 $3\frac{2}{3}$ *ammat bāb né-re-bi ša bīt a-a*
 23 *ša pa-ni kisalli ša šamaš*

- 1 The gate of the cella of Šamaš, as far as the keystone(?),
 2 is 18 cubits high;
 3 $\frac{2}{3}$ cubit, the keystone(?);
 4 1 cubit, the lintel;
 5 $3\frac{1}{3}$ cubit, the brickwork of the window;
 6 1 cubit, the lintel of the air-vent(?);
 7 $\frac{2}{3}$ cubit, the cross-beam;
 8 $3\frac{1}{3}$ cubits, above the cross-beam;
 9 2 cubits, the cornice(?) and (roof)-beams.

- 10 The gate of the cella of Aya, as far as the keystone(?),
 11 is 16 cubits high.
 12 15 cubits, the temple precinct, the gates of the chapel of Aya.
 13 16 cubits, the gates of the temple precinct (leading) to the courtyard of Šamaš.
 14 The gate which faces the cella of Šamaš, (leading) to his lower
 15 courtyard, as far as the keystone(?),
 16 is 18 cubits high.
 17 The gate of the chapel of Aya (leading) to the lower courtyard
 18 is 18 cubits high.
-
- 19 The gate of the cella of Bunene
 20 is 16 cubits high.
 21 16 cubits, the gates of the temple precinct.
 22 $3\frac{2}{3}$ cubits, the entrance gate of the chapel of Aya,
 23 facing the courtyard of Šamaš.

The text begins with the gateway of the cella of Šamaš in E-babbarra, which is 18 cubits (about nine metres) high (ll. 1-2). It then continues with the measurements of what was above this gateway, that is, the structural parts of the building between the top of the gateway and the beams of the roof. That the measurements progress in an upward direction can be deduced from ll. 1-3, where first is given the measurement of the gateway as far as the *lubbundu*, and then the *lubbundu* itself; and from ll. 7-8, in which the height of the *tallu* is followed by the height of the area of wall above it (*eli tallu*); and finally from the appearance in line 9 of the beams of the gate-building's roof.

As is evident from Römer's notes on the text, which appear in his review of Salonen, *Türen*, few of the architectural terms used in this first section can be translated easily. Indeed, it is doubtful whether there even exist convenient modern terms which might exactly translate the technical language of the Babylonian monumental architect: ancient oriental and modern western building techniques obviously share no great common ground. Our translations of these awkward words are accordingly only provisional. *lubbundu* looks to be a Middle or Standard Babylonian spelling of a form **lubbuttu*, as acknowledged by CAD L, p. 232. The same word, though not necessarily with the same meaning, appears in the Assyrian dialect as *labbuttu* (AHw, p. 524). *lubbundu* has the appearance of being a feminine noun deriving from the verbal adjective of the D-Stem of *labānu*, and the conclusion has been that the word therefore has to do with brickwork. In the present context it must pertain to the brickwork of the gateway's arch. As Römer noted, the dimension of the *lubbundu* here given is that of one side of a standard $\frac{2}{3}$ cubit Neo-Babylonian building brick. Probably we should imagine the gate's arch to have been formed of standard bricks layed radially (like voussoirs), with the brick at the arch's

crown in an upright position and thus occupying $\frac{2}{3}$ cubit in the vertical dimension. The *lubbundu* could very well be understood as this central and highest brick, which corresponds, of course, to the keystone of western masonry.

Above the *lubbundu* is the *hittu*, which seems to have been a wooden beam above the opening of a gate or doorway (Salonen, *Türen*, p. 54; but cf. Römer, *WZKM* 62, p. 299f.). Brickwork then resumes, raising the height of the building by a further $3\frac{1}{3}$ cubits (about 1.6 metres), and evidently pierced above the gate by an aperture or window (*aptu*). This is surmounted in turn by its own lintel (*hittu*), which is specified as the *hitti ša mušapšihu*. This designation hints at the purpose of the opening it stretches across: the verb *pašāhu*, “calm down”, also has the nuance “cool of” (= Sum. *te.en.te.en* and *še₄*), and one may thus expect the *mušapšihu* to be something which induces coolness. The *aptu* is probably to be understood not as an opening to admit light, for the inner rooms of temples were traditionally kept dark: cf. Sum. *u₄ nu.zu*, “unaccustomed to daylight”, describing Enlil’s cella in E-kur (references by Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 57), and the word *itima* itself, written *GĀ × GI₆*, i.e. “dark chamber”, corresponding to Akk. *kiššu*, “sanctum” (ibid., p. 89). Rather the *aptu* allowed the ingress of a cooling breeze, and should thus be seen as an opening designed to improve the cella’s ventilation. It may conceivably have been fitted with an air-conditioning device (cf. *AHw*, p. 681, s.v. *mušapšihu*, “eine Lüftungsklappe...?”), acknowledging the word’s etymology).

The *tallu* (Salonen, *Türen*, p. 56; Römer, loc. cit., p. 300) may be seen as some sort of cross-piece above a doorway, perhaps the top section of a wooden frame, and is then much the same as *hittu*, “lintel”, with which it is often paired. This meaning would not agree with the present context however, in which, if we have correctly determined the progress of the list as a vertical one, the *tallu* is much above the top of the gateway, and lies between the ventilation opening and the roof-beams. Perhaps what is meant here by *tallu* are crossbeam(s) supporting a false ceiling below the roof itself. Such an arrangement is described for Marduk’s cella in E-sagil by Nebuchadnezzar II, who calls the ceiling beams *šību* (I R 54, iii 30, *ši-i-bi šap-la-nu gušūrī šu-lu-lu*). Between the cross-beam(s) and the top of the building is a further $3\frac{1}{3}$ cubits (1.6 metres), presumably brickwork; the whole is crowned by the *ti’itu* and the roof-beams (*gušūru*). Römer, loc. cit., connects *ti’itu* with *te’utu*, “fixtures”, “appurtenances”. But the context suggests that *ti’itu*, whatever its etymology, refers to the final courses of brickwork which support and enclose the beam ends. These may have been slightly corbelled and would thus stand out from the vertical plane of the brick wall below. The translation “cornice(?)” attempts to convey the idea of the uppermost courses of brickwork.

The height of the monumental gateway of Šamaš’s cella as we understand it, from floor to roof-beams, is a total of 30 cubits, or about 15 metres. Lest this be thought excessively high even for an important cult-centre such as E-babbarra, it may be noted that the height of the little temple atop the ziqqurrat of Babylon is also recorded at the equivalent of 30 cubits ($2\frac{1}{2}$ *nindanu*, E-sagil Tablet (no. 13), l. 42).

The text now goes on to deal briefly with other gateways of E-babbarra (ll. 10-end), which is seen as a building with two courtyards — the courtyard of Šamaš and a lower courtyard. The gate of Šamaš’s cella stands, as we have seen, at 18 cubits, no doubt at the mid-point of one side of the courtyard of Šamaš. Facing it, across this courtyard and giving access to the lower courtyard, is a gate of like proportions (ll. 14-16). If we have understood *sihirti bīti* correctly as the temple’s precinct (for *sihirtu* used in this way see the commentary on l. 12 of the E-sagil Tablet), then the temple’s exterior gates, leading from the precinct into that part of the temple that enclosed the courtyard of Šamaš, are those listed in line 13 at 16 cubits each. The gateway of the cella of Aya also stands at 16 cubits (ll. 10-11). The gate from the complex of rooms around this cella, the “chapel of Aya”, to the lower courtyard is of the same scale as the two great gates of the courtyard of Šamaš, at 18 cubits’ height (ll. 17-18). The gate of the cella of Bunene — also in E-babbarra one suspects — is 16 cubits (ll. 19-20), as also are the “gates of the temple precinct” associated with it (l. 21), by which must be meant the exterior gates of E-babbarra into the complex of rooms around Bunene’s cella, as against gates leading from the interior of the temple. The difficult line 12 is probably to be understood to stand in the same relation to the two lines preceding it as l. 21 does to ll. 19-21. If so it would appear that the word order of this line has become inverted: what is meant is surely 15 *ammat bābātu ša sihirti bīti ša bīt Aya*, “15 cubits, the gates of the temple precinct which (lead to) the chapel of Aya”, these being the exterior gates of E-babbarra giving access from the precinct into that part of the temple that houses Aya’s cella.

Last mentioned is a gateway leading from the chapel of Aya to the courtyard of Šamaš, whose breadth rather than height must be the dimension given as $3\frac{2}{3}$ cubits (about 1.8 metres). Accordingly the chapel of Aya gave on to both courtyards of the temple.

The tripartite division of the temple building observed in this text, according to which E-babbarra comprises three distinct sanctuaries — of Šamaš himself, of his consort Aya, and of his vizier Bunene — can be compared with the fragmentary plan of the Neo-Babylonian temple recovered by Rassam during his excavations at Abu Habba (fig. 8, on p. 220, reproduced from L. de Meyer (ed.), *Tell ed-Dēr* III, plan 3). There, immediately north-east of the ziqqurrat, E-kun-ankuga (marked Z by de Meyer), is the cella of Šamaš (room 168). Flanking the part of the temple which held this room and the rest of Šamaš’s quarters (S) are two further complexes of rooms and courts. That marked A is considered to be the chapel of Aya and its associated rooms and court, while the chambers to the south-east might be the cella of Bunene (room 174?) and adjoining rooms (see further de Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 34f.). This is a scheme of things not unlike the situation at Borsippa, where the Neo-Babylonian temple E-zida comprises a central complex containing the quarters of Nabû, adjoined on either side by the chapels and courts of the goddesses Tašmētum and Nanāy.

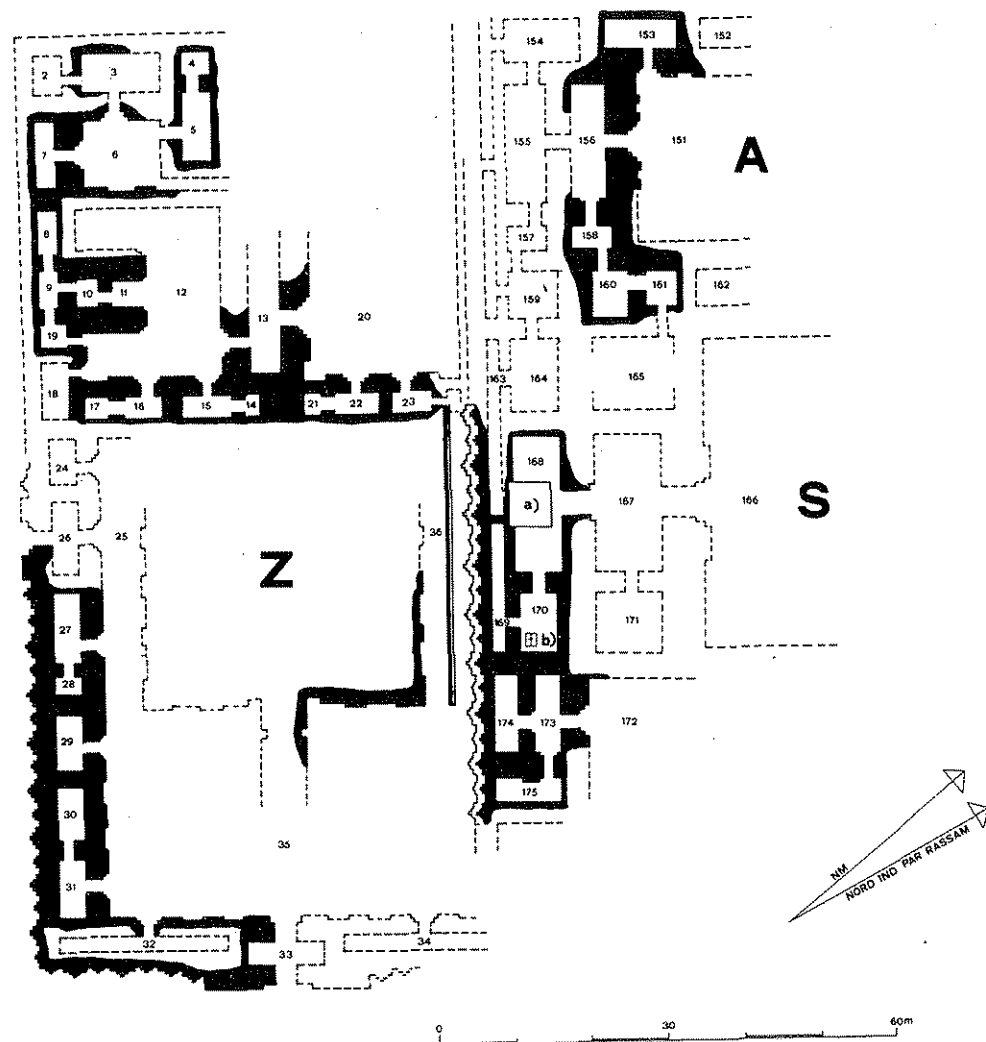


Fig. 8. Rassam's plan of E-babbarra at Sippar.

37

BM 56073 (82-7-14, 433)

Plate 49

This small tablet, inscribed only on the obverse and lower edge, has previously appeared in the copy of Pinches (*CT* 56 447). Like the preceding piece it contains a metrological text dealing with parts of a temple, this time of Bunene, the vizier of Šamaš. The provenance of the tablet seems to be Abu Habba, and it is therefore very probable that the temple in question is E-kurra in Sippar. It may be that the rebuilding of this

sanctuary by Nabonidus afforded the opportunity for the survey which BM 56073 records (Bezold, *PSBA* 11, p. 104f., i 30: *é.kur.ra bīt ābu-ne-ne šā q[é-re]b si-par*). The text divides into two sections, which purport to give the lengths of two square platforms or terraces (*tamlû*) on which the upper and lower halves of the temple were constructed, and concludes with a descriptive rubric. The obstacle to such an understanding of BM 56073, however, is the enormous figures quoted for these dimensions (4250 cubits in line 1 is more than 2 km). The explanation may be that the true measurements were multiplied by the number of courses of brickwork, in order to discover the quantity of bricks needed or used in the terrace's construction. The fact that each measurement is followed by a figure for the terrace's circumference, rather than its area, tends to support such an hypothesis, for the circumference will be the length of the brick wall enclosing the square area to be packed with fill. Division of the figure for the circumference by $\frac{2}{3}$ cubit (the size of the standard Neo-Babylonian building brick) would then yield the total number of bricks surrounding the *tamlû* (in the case of the larger Lower Court, 25500 bricks, in that of the Upper Court, 11538).

- 1 4 lim 2 m[e 50 a]mmat(kùš.meš) tam-lu-ú
- 2 šā kisalli(kisal) šaplû(ki.ta)^rū šā bīt ābunene(HAR) u bītātī^{meš}-šū
- 3 adī!({1} + en) 4 naphar(pap) 17 lim ammat(kùš.meš)
- 4 1 lim 9 me 23 ammat(kùš.meš) < tam-lu-ú >
- 5 šā ēpa-pa-ḥu šā ābu-ne-ne
- 6 kisalli(kisal) elû(an.ta)^u u bītātī^{meš}-šū
- 7 [a]dī(en?) 4 naphar(pap) 7 lim 6 me 9[2 (ammāt)]
- 8 [tam]-lu-ú šā bīt ābu-ne-n[e]
- 9 [ī]t-ti kisal-hu-šu-nu?
- 10 en? ḥi iḥ su

- 1 42[50] cubits: the terrace
- 2 of the Lower Court of the temple of Bunene and its chambers;
- 3 multiplied by 4: total, 17000 cubits.
- 4 1923 cubits: the terrace
- 5 of the cella of Bunene,
- 6 the Upper Court and its chambers;
- 7 multiplied by 4: total, 7692 [(cubits).]
- 8 The terraces of the temple of Bunene
- 9 with their(?) courtyards.
- 10 (unintelligible)

BM 77433 is an undated Neo- or Late Babylonian administrative document which includes a list of temples in and around the city of Babylon, for which reason it is published here. The tablet is of uncertain provenance.

Enough remains of the introductory section of the tablet to show that the document is concerned with the collection and disposal of food-rations² deriving from two types of offering made at the early morning 'Greeting of the Temple' ceremony and the overnight vigil that preceded it.³ The list of temples which follows the introductory section, and which makes up the bulk of the text, was no doubt drawn up in connection with this matter, and probably we are to suppose that it is income from the ceremonies performed at these particular temples that is being dealt with.

The temple listed are mainly temples of Babylon, but a few are included that are specifically mentioned as located in other places. These are temples of Zababa in *tibira*^{ki}, of Lugalirra in Luḫātu, of Gula in Dunnu-sā'idi, of Mār-bīti (and perhaps Sīn) in Elip, and of Adad in a city whose name is mostly lost (l. 34). Dunnu-sā'idi and Elip are well known in connection with Babylon, and the inclusion in this list of temples of these towns is no surprise, for Babylon was the administrative centre of a wide area.⁴ In all

² This must be what is meant by *epru*, usually written *še.ba* but here *saḫar*, although the normal words for prebendal income in the late period are *isqu* (*giš.sub.ba*) and *kurummatu* (*pad*).

³ The offerings are *guqqū* and *eššešu*: many references for these as a pair in the plural (*guqqānū* (*u*) *eššešānu*) are collected in *CAD E*, p. 372f. Both are associated with the 'Greeting of the Temple' (*šalām bīti*) ceremony and the overnight vigil (*bayyātu*) in Peiser, *BV* 107, 4-5. The *šalām bīti* ceremony is mentioned in numerous commercial and administrative documents of the Neo- and Late Babylonian periods, usually in connection with the offerings made at it: see *BRM* I 100, 22-23; *BIN* I 19, 29-30; Scheil, *RT* 17, p. 31, 2; *YOS* VI 189, 2; 192, 2; Dougherty, *GCCI* I 379, 2; and further Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 16, p. 132¹⁰. We have noted that *eššešu*-offerings are among those made at the *šalām bīti* ceremony, and the connection between the latter and the *eššešu* festival itself is explicit in a Neo-Assyrian letter, where filling the censers for the ceremony is part of the preparations for this festival (Parpola, *LAS* I 280, rev. 17). A ritual from Uruk which describes cultic practice in E-anna for the night of the 16th day of the month (the eve of an *eššešu* festival, for one fell on the 17th) gives details of the overnight vigil (*bayyātu*) and *šalām bīti* ceremonies (Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, p. 118ff., AO 6460). For the latter lamps are lit from a torch in E-

anna and taken by *ērib-bīti* priests to their various temples, at whose gates, after the offerings have been made, bonfires are kindled (p. 120, rev. 14-16). The ceremony takes place just before dawn and the divine breakfast, and is apparently an exuberant greeting of the city's temples in anticipation of the feast-day ahead. Probably the *eššešu* festivals began in much the same manner in Babylon.

⁴ Compare in this regard the cultic calendar of Babylon, *BRM* IV 25 // *SBH* VII, which is concerned not only with the temples of Babylon, but also with cults in neighbouring towns and cities. These include Dunnu-sā'idi, which lay somewhere between Sippar and Babylon (*RGTC* III, p. 56), and where, as well as the temple of Gula mentioned here, there was also a temple of Ulsigga (identified with Ištar, *CT* 24 41, xi 77; 25 30, i 17; and also in the explanatory god list K 13799, l. 2 // 81-2-4, 216, l. 10; text no. 60, pl. 55) called E-ḫili-Ištar (*KAR* 109, obv. 11). For Elip (or Ilip: the reading of *ki.bal.maš.dā* is established by Reiner, *JCS* 15, pp. 123⁷, 124) see *RGTC* III, p. 71. The town is a cult-centre of Ištar as Bēlet-Elip (*SLT* 123, iii 11; 124, ii 25: *ṢMÜŠ-i-lip*), for whom Hammurapi erected a cult-statue (Ungnad, *RIA* II, p. 179, 119); her temple bore the ceremonial name E-kituš-girzal (Moran, *Kramer Anniversary Volume*, p. 336¹², Canonical Temple List), like that of Bēlet-Eanna in Newtown, a quarter of Babylon. In *Hh* XXI Section 4, 33

probability, the other towns mentioned here were located not far from Babylon, as these two were, and thus the administration of their cultic affairs would also be centred on the capital. It would then be unwise to equate *tibira*^{ki} with the southern city of Bad-tibira, whose patron deity was in any case not Zababa but Dumuzi as Lugal-Emuš (Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 95; Jacobsen, *JNES* 12, p. 163⁶). Instead it may be compared with *uruU.tibira*^{ki} in a tablet from Kiš (*OECT* X 103, 13; Nbn).

The order of the temples in the list is not dependent on any known list, but does have a certain regard for topography, in that temples are on occasion grouped together that are in the same city quarter of Babylon, and thus also adjacent in *Tintir* IV: so in ll. 18-19, the temple of Išhara (ceremonial name E-šasurra) is paired with that of Ninurta (E-ḫursag-tila), as in *Tintir* IV 19-20; likewise in ll. 20-21, the temples of Nabû of Accounting (E-gišla-anki) and Ningišzida (E-guzala-maḫ) occur together, as in *Tintir* IV 12-13; in ll. 30-31, the temples of Belili (E-ka-dimma) and Amurru (E-me-sikilla), as in *Tintir* IV 36-37; in ll. 32-33, the temples of Nuska (E-nun-maḫ) and Bēlet-Ninua (E-gišhur-ankia), as in *Tintir* IV 31-32. The temples of the western half of the city, across the river, are grouped together in ll. 24-34.

Three temples of the list, although apparently in Babylon, are not listed in *Tintir* IV. Two of these, a temple of Lugalirra (l. 13) and E-ḫursag-kuga of Gula (l. 11) occur alongside three known temples of the quarter Kullab (l. 10: E-sag of Lugalbanda; l. 12: E-mekilib-urur of Šarrat-Larsa; and l. 14: E-ur-gubba of Pisangunuk), which are listed in *Tintir* IV 25-27, and thus they might also be sought in this quarter.⁵ The third omission is the temple of Bēltiya "of the Dais" (l. 17), by which is perhaps meant the Bīt Qulê, where was located a throne-dais (*parakku*) of Zarpanitum as Queen of Heaven (see no. 9, BM 34878 // 77236, ll. 10'-13' and commentary). If so, this may have been too modest a structure to be included in *Tintir* IV (although three throne-daises are numbered among its 43 'cult-centres'). The omission of the temples of Lugalirra and Gula is harder to explain: we are compelled to consider that these were not yet consecrated when the lists of *Tintir* were drawn up.

The text is concluded by a subscript which makes further mention of cultic personnel (*šangû*-priests, written phonetically *šangānē*).

(*MSL* XI, p. 14) *ki.bal.maš.d[ā^{ki}]* follows Babylon, and is given a scholarly translation [*n]ē-ber-ša-bi-ti*, "Gazelle's Ford".

⁵ For the temple of Lugalirra in Babylon see further the commentary on *Tintir* V 86-88. E-ḫur-

sag-kuga, "House of the Pure Mountain", can be equated with neither of *Tintir* IV's temples of Gula, Eḡal-maḫ and E-sa-bad, but is a third sanctuary, whose location was probably not the quarter Kullab, however, but TE.E^{ki} (see above, p. 131).

obverse

- 1 [x x š]á bābili(tin.tir)^{ki} [x (x)]
 2 [x (x) hu]r eprī(sahar)^{mes} šá gu-[qa-né-e]
 3 [eš-še-š]á-a-ni šá-lam bīti b[īt? ilī^{mes}?]
 4 [ba-a]-^ra¹-ta-ni ¹ūērib(ku₄)-bīt^{me}[š]
 5 [iz?]-bi-la ú-šá!(ZA)-az-za-za
 6 ^rū?¹ ¹ūšangānū(é.bar)^{mes} i-na-áš-šu-ú

- 7 bīt ^anabū(nà) šá ha-re-^re¹
 8 bīt ^abe-let-ilī^{mes}
 9 bīt ^abēlet(nin)-é-an-na
 10 bīt ^alugal-bàn-da
 11 bīt ^agu-la šá é.hur.sag.kù.ga
 12 bīt ^ašarrat(gašan)-larsa^{ki}
 13 bīt ^alugal-ir-ra
 14 bīt ^apisan_x(MES)^{saq-umug}^{ki}
 15 bīt ^aza-ba₄-ba₄ šá tibira^{ki}

reverse

- 16 bīt ^alugal-ir₉-ra šá lu-ha-tu
 17 bīt ^abēlīya(gašan) šá parakki(bāra)
 18 bīt ^aninurta(maš) šá é.hur.sag.ti.la
 19 bīt ^aiš-ha-ra
 20 bīt ^anabū(nà) šá nikkassi(níg.ka₉)
 21 bīt ^anin-giš-zi-da
 22 bīt ^agu-la šá dun-nu-sà-'-id
 23 bīt ^aaš-ra-tum
 24 bīt ^abēlet(nin)-é-an-na šá tub-qu dūri(bād)
 25 é.nam.ti.la
 26 [bīt] ^anabū(nà) šá tu₉(KU)-ba
 27 [bīt] ^ra¹šm(30) u ^amār(dumu)-bīti šá elip(ki.bal.maš.dà)
 28 [bīt ^aa]dad šá é.nam.hé
 29 [bīt ^ašama]š šá é.di.ku₅.kalam.ma
 30 [bīt ^aša]ra u ^abe-li-ī[ī]
 31 [bīt ^aamu]rru(mar.dú) šá é. <me> .sikil.l[u]

top edge

- 32 [bīt ^anu]ska
 33 [bīt ^abēlet-n]i-nú-a
 34 [bīt ^ae]a(40?.ke₄)?

obverse

- 1 [...] of Babylon [...]
 2 [...]...the food-allowances(?) of the *guqqū* (and)
 3 *eššešu*-offerings of the *šalām bīti* ceremonies of the temples(?) (and)
 4 the overnight vigils, the temple personnel
 5 [have] brought(?); they will enter (the amounts) up
 6 and(?) the *šangū*-priests will take charge (of the income).

- 7 The temple of Nabû of the *harû*; (Tintir IV 15)
 8 the temple of Bēlet-ilī; (18)
 9 the temple of Bēlet-Eanna; (22)
 10 the temple of Lugalbanda; (27)
 11 the temple of Gula of E-ḫursag-kuga;
 12 the temple of Šarrat-Larsa; (25)
 13 the temple of of Lugalirra;
 14 the temple of Pisangunuk; (26)
 15 the temple of Zababa of Tibira(?);

reverse

- 16 the temple of Lugalirra of Luḫātu;
 17 the temple of Bēlīya of the Dais;
 18 the temple of Ninurta of E-ḫursag-tila; (19)
 19 the temple of Išhara; (20)
 20 the temple of Nabû of Accounting; (12)
 21 the temple of Ningišzida; (13)
 22 the temple of Gula of Dunnu-sā'idi;
 23 the temple of Ašratum; (17)
 24 the temple of Bēlet-Eanna in the recess of the city wall; (41)
 25 E-namtila; (34)
 26 [the temple of] Nabû of Tuba; (43)
 27 [the temples of] Sîn and Mār-bīti of Elip;
 28 [the temple of] Adad of E-namḫe; (40)
 29 [the temple of] Šamaš of E-diku-kalamma; (38)
 30 [the temples of] Šara and Belili; (33, 36)
 31 [the temple of] Amurru of E-me-sikilla; (37)

top edge

- 32 [the temple of] Nuska; (31)
 33 [the temple of] Bēlet-Ninua; (32)
 34 [the temple of] Ea(?); (35)

left edge

- 35 *bīt* ^a*na-na-a* ^r*šá é.me*.u[r₄.ur₄]
 36 *bīt* ^a*adad* ^{ur}*šá*-[. . .]
 37 *šá* ¹*šá-an-ga-né-e* ^r*šīru*(uzu)^r [. . .]

- 35 the temple of Nanāy of E-me-urur; (30)
 36 the temple of Adad in...[...]
 37 of the *šangū*-priests, meat [...]

Note

The writing *tu₉(KU)-ba* (l. 26) for the city quarter Tuba also occurs in one source for *Tintir* IV 43 (MS v; see further the commentary on *Tintir* V 102).

39

K 8382

Plate 50

The last extract on the obverse and the first on the reverse of this exercise tablet come from one or two geographical texts or temple lists of the lexical (rather than 'topographical') repertoire. E-rab-riri, E-tur-kalamma and E-namhe are well-known temples of Babylon (*Tintir* IV 4, 8 and 40), while E-dara-anna is the cella of Zarpanitum in E-sagil (see no. 6, BM 35046, 7). E-sa-bad, sandwiched as it is between Marad and Parak-māri, is the town of that name rather than the temple in Babylon (see on this the commentary on *Tintir* IV 42).

obv. ii, extract b

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>é.rab.ri.ri</i> | <i>bīt</i> ^a <i>madānu</i> (di.ku ₅) |
| 2 | <i>é.tur.kalam.ma</i> | <i>bīt</i> ^a <i>be-let-ba</i> -<ab>-i-lí |
| 3 | <i>é.še.ri.ga</i> | <i>ekurru</i> (é.kur) <i>šá dūr</i> (bād)- <i>šarru</i> (20)- <i>kēn</i> (gin) ^{k1} |
| 4 | <i>é.nam.ḥé</i> | <i>bīt</i> ^a <i>adad</i> <i>šá bābili</i> (ká.dingir.ra) ^{k1} |

rev. i, extract a

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | ^r <i>é.dāra.an.na</i> ^r | <i>bīt</i> ^a <i>zar-pa-ni-tú</i> |
| 2 | <i>marad</i> . ^r <i>da</i> ^{k1} | <i>ma-rad</i> |
| 3 | <i>é.sa.bad</i> | <i>bīt</i> ^a <i>gu-la</i> |
| 4 | <i>bāra.dumu</i> ^{k1} | <i>pa-rak ma-ri</i> |
| 5 | <i>la₇.rā</i> ^{k1} | <i>la-rak</i> |

40

BM 38293 (80-11-12, 175)

Plate 50

From the bottom left corner of a ritual tablet, this piece from Babylon apparently deals with the positions of divine images during some cultic event. The topographical context is certainly Babylon: Ka-Lamma-(a)rabi and Ka-ḥegal are gates of E-sagil, while Ka-nun-abzu is located on the ziqqurra (see p. 85ff.). E-namtila of Enlil, E-namhe of Adad and E-sa-bad of Gula are the well-known temples of west Babylon (*Tintir* IV 34, 40 and 42).

obverse

- 1' ^a[x x]x x[. . .]
 2' *a-n[a]* ^r*nabû*(nā) *bēl*(en) ^r*é*?[zi.da? . . .]
 3' *ki-is-se-e* x[. . .]
 4' *ana pān*(igi) *ká*.^a*lamma.ra.bi* [. . .]
 5' *i-na* *ká.nun.abzu* x[. . .]
 6' ^a*be-lé-et-bābili*(ká.dingir.ra)^{k1} *š[ar-rat šamē?* . . .]
 7' *ana pān* *é.nam.ti.la* [^a*en-lil uš-šab?* . . .]
 8' *ana pān* *é.nam.ḥé* [^a*adad uš-šab?* . . .]
 9' *ana pān* *é.sa.bad* ^a*gu-la* *u[š-šab?* . . .]
 10' *ana pān* ^a*bēlet*(nin)-*é-an-na* x x[. . .]
 11' [*a-n*]*a?* *ká* x x[. . .]

reverse

- 12' ^r*ana pān* *bīt ziqrat*(u₆.nir) ^a[. . .]
 13' *ana bīt ziqrat* ^r*u bīt?* [. . .]
 14' ^a*marduk* *ī[t?~ti? ša]rri* [. . .]
 15' *k[á* . . .]
 16' *ī[na k]á?* [x] x[. . .]
 17' *ina* ^r*ká*.^r*ḥé.gál* ^ax[. . .]
 18' *ina* *ká*.^a*[lamma?r]a?*.^r*[bi?* . . .]
 19' *ina* *ká.ḥé.gál* [. . .]

41

82-3-23, 100

Plate 51

From Kuyunjik comes this flake from the bottom edge of a ritual tablet, the topographical context of which is again Babylon — as indicated by mention of the procession street Ay-ibūr-šabû (*Tintir* V 64) and the dais Timplak-eḥis (no. 9, BM 34878 // 77236, 8').

- 1' . . . *a*]-^r*a i-bur šá-bu-ú* [. . .]
 2' . . . *a*]-^r*a i-bur ga-ru-š[u* . . .]
 3' . . .]x *ittiq*(dib)^{1a} *u parakku*(bāra) *labiru?*(sumun) *šá la* x[. . .]

- 4' . . . *ti-im-/til-lak-e-ḫi-is* x[. . .
 5' . . . *b]u-'a-ri a-na da-r[i?* . . .
 6' . . . *s]ig^{mes} nin-zil-zil-le* x[. . .
 7' . . . *iz]aqqap(gub)^{ap} i-šat-taq ni-i-r[a*

42

K 3655

Plate 51

A corner fragment, apparently from a tablet of prayers and rituals. The topographical context is either E-sagil of Babylon or E-zida of Borsippa, both of which were equipped with a Dais of Destinies (*parak šīmāti*: *Tintir* II 16' and commentary) and a *ká.gùn.a* (no. 6, BM 35046, 29, and commentary).

- 1 . . .]x *li-dam-mi-iq egirrâ*(inim.gar)-k[a]
 2 . . .] *lú.nu.ku₄.ku₄.da nu-ḫar*
 3 . . .] *ana tar-ši parak šīmāti*(nam)^{mes}
 4 . . . *āna tar-ši bāb mā-āli*
 5 . . . *an]a tar-ši ká.gùn.a*
 6 . . .]x *ina tarbaš*(tūr) ¹⁴*kalê*(gala)^{mes}
 7 . . .] *ar-lī-ab-r[at]*
 8 . . .]x x[. . .]

43

BM 46060 (SH 81-7-6, 507)

Plate 51

A fragment from the right edge, from Babylon, most probably from a ritual. E-engurra and E-duku (ll. 6'-7') are known shrines of Ea in E-sagil at Babylon (*Tintir* II 4-5).

- 1' . . .]x x x [x (x)]
 2' . . .]x *lú.u₁₈.lu* [x] x [(x)]
 3' . . . *n]i?-ip-ḫi* ¹⁵*ina túb!-q[?]*
 4' . . .]x *5 mut-til?-la[?]* ¹*níg?*.gu₇?^{hā} 3^{k[am]}
 5' . . .]x-du *ina pāni-šú sis-sin-nu e-ri*
 6' . . .] ^{im}*šūti*(1) *é.engur.ra u é.du₆.kù*
 7' . . .]x.kù *é.du₆.kù bára u 'é.du₆.kù*
 8' . . .] ^{im}*iltāni*(2) *ki.du₆?gal? nadū*
 9' . . .] (blank) *šá šal-meš KIMIN*

44

BM 93046 (83-1-21, 1782)

Plate 51

A fragment from near the bottom right corner of a large library tablet, of uncertain provenance. As it now stands, the text deals with temple gates, particularly those leading to a Lower Court (for a courtyard of this name in E-sagil see p. 404, and in E-tur-kalamma, p. 307; but sanctuaries in other cities, e.g. E-babbarra in Sippar, were also equipped with Lower Courts). The repeated mention in the text of gypsum (*gašsu*) and bitumen (*ittū*) calls to mind that temple fittings and facades could be decorated with white and black washes of these materials in the Neo-Babylonian period (I R 54, ii 48-50: Nbk; Smith, *BHT*, pl. 6, 14: Nbn); not without reason, for they had apotropaic properties, as the exorcistic rituals and commentaries show (IV R² 59, no. 1, rev. 7; Livingstone, *MMEW*, pp. 172, 1; 174; 178, 46-47; 184; cf. Lambert, *JSS* 13, p. 110f.). The smearing of temple fixtures, and especially doors and gates, with purifying substances is known from the extant temple rituals (Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, pp. 119, 10; 154, 330), and it is probable that BM 93046 belongs to this genre. For this reason we provisionally restore *tulappat* in rev. 3'ff., and the instructions are thus to paint with washes of gypsum or bitumen certain gates (or, better, their various parts, as the repetition in rev. 3'ff. would indicate) and other fixtures of a temple.

obverse

- 1' . . . *ḫ]I* x[. . .]
 2' . . .]x *ga[b* . . .]
 3' . . . *š]ap-li-i p[e]-t[u-u* . . .]
 4' . . . *šap-l]i-i la-bi-ri 'a' x[x]*
 5' . . . *tar?-š]i-šú ittū*(esir) *la-bi-ri* x[x]
 6' . . . *šap?]-li-i-šú-nu* x[x]
 7' . . . *esir?] te-qí-[te?*
 8' . . .]x *šú* x x [(x)]

(small gap)

reverse

- 1' . . . *it]tū*(esir) *te-qí-[te]*
 2' . . .] (blank) [Ø]
 3' . . . *bābi ša ana kisall]i šap-li-i pe-tu-u itt[ā*(esir) *tulappat*(tag^{mes})?
 4' . . . *bābi ša ana kisalli šap]-li-i pe-tu-u MI[N MIN?*
 5' . . . *bābi ša ana kisalli ša]p-li-i pe-tu-u MIN [MIN?*
 6' . . . *bābi ša] ana kisalli šap-li-i pe-tu-u gaš[ša*(im.babbar) *MIN?*
 7' . . . *g]ašša*(im.babbar) *at-man-šú MI[N MIN?*
 8' . . . *it]tū*(esir) *bāb kisalli-šú 'šá im? kur? ri?' [x]*
 9' . . .]x *'meš šú'* [. . .]

45

BM 35019 (Sp II 546)

Plate 51

This corner fragment, probably from Babylon, is apparently from a ritual tablet (note *šēnu* in obv. 1'; for shoes in rituals see Livingstone, *MMEW*, p. 218, 83; Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, p. 118, 5-6); it is of interest here in that it mentions temples of Gula in Borsippa, namely *é.zi.da.ba.ti.la* and *é.ti.la*. These are the same as *é.zi.ba.ti.la* and *é.til.la*, two of the three temples of Ninkarrak-Gula in Borsippa rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar II (e.g. *CT* 37 15, ii 63-68: the third is *é.gu.la*; cf. Unger, *RIA* I, p. 414). *ur^uhi-in-za-nu* is the town of *Ḫindānu* on the middle Euphrates (see Postgate, *RIA* IV, p. 415f.). Zarātu, sacked by Sargon II campaigning against Merodachbaladan, is probably to be sought in lower Babylonia (Gadd, *Iraq* 16, p. 186, 53; *MSL* XI, p. 39, *Hg* B V vi 14).

obverse

1' . . .]-bu ina pāni(igi)-šú še-e-nu
 2' . . . t]um šá ina lib-bi là šaknat?(gar) ^anabû(nà) u ^an[a-na-a]
 3' . . . š]á? ^{ur^u}hi-in-za-nu
 4' . . . b]it ^agula(ME.ME) é.ab.^rzu? ^agula(ME.ME)
 5' . . .] é.zi.da.ba.ti.la ^agula(ME.ME)
 6' . . .]x ina é.ti.la ^agula(ME.ME) ^alamassu(lamma) u ^abēl-šar-bi
 7' . . .]x UD šá ^aea(idim) u ^adam-ki-an-na
 8' . . .]x [b]a? ^anabû(nà) šá ^{ur^u}za-ra-tum ^amār(dumu)-bīti
 9' . . .]x UD ina lib-bi a-šib
 10' . . .] šá x[(x)]

reverse

1' . . . ^abēle]t(nin)?-é-an-na
 2' . . .] '5?'-šú
 3' . . .] bi ba ma

46

BM 36646 (80-6-17, 378), obv. 4'-14'

Plate 52

An unpublished hymn to Marduk, BM 45986 + 46065 + 46121 + 46166, contains a eulogy of Babylon (ii 20-27) which also appears, in a better state of preservation, as the second extract of the obverse of BM 36646, a Neo- or Late Babylonian school tablet. In the hymn the eulogy is introduced by the words "Eridu is its name, Babylon [...]" (BM 45986 +, ii 19: *eri.du₁₀ šūm-šú E^k[ⁱ . . .]*). The text of the school tablet only is reproduced here.

4' āl ki-din-nu da-ru-^rū [. . .]
 5' bīt ni-šir-tum šum-d[u-lu . . .]
 6' ^{s^{is}}sikkūr(sag.kul) ^{na⁴}sāmti(gug) x[. . .]

7' ^{na⁴}šurru(zú) ^{na⁴}uqnī(za.gin) ^{na⁴}pappardilī(babbar.dili) [. . .]
 8' ^{na⁴}āš-pū-ú!(NUN) šu-qu-ru x[. . .]
 9' kīma(gim) tāmī(a.ab.ba) na-ši [. . .]
 10' ki-ma ^{s^{is}}kiri(kiri₆) inbi(gurun) la-le-š[ú la iš-šeb-bi?]
 11' ki-ma!(BA) e-de-e e-mu-qa-tu-šú š[a-qa-a]
 12' kakkab(mul) ^amarduk ša-a-a-ḫu ú- [. . .]
 13' e-ma!(BA) ^ašamaš abulla(ká.gal)-šú [. . .]
 14' im-gur-^aen-lil-l[á? . . .]

4' Eternal city of privilege [...]
 5' spacious treasure house [...]
 6' bolt of carnelian...[...]
 7' obsidian, lapis lazuli, White-Stone, [...]
 8' precious jasper...[...]
 9' like the sea it is lifted [...]
 10' like an orchard of fruit its sumptuousness [is inexhaustible(?);]
 11' like a flood-wave its might is [exalted.]
 12' Delightful star of Marduk...[...]
 13' wherever the sun (is), its city gate [...]
 14' Imgur-Enlil* [...]

* Imgur-Enlil is the wall of Babylon (*Tintir* V 57).

47

VAT 17523

Plate 52

This is a small fragment from the bottom edge of a tablet of Neo- or Late Babylonian date. The text, which is concluded by the last line of the obverse (the reverse being given over to a colophon), is perhaps a liturgical lament, addressed to Babylon. It is written in Sumerian and much marred by erasure and superscription.

obverse

1' tin.tir^{ki} x x x ki?.gub.maḫ.e al.n[ar?]
 2' saḫar?.zi.mu gir^{min}.bé a.ba ba.an.gúr dumu.bi 'a.ba' ba.a[n.x]
 3' tin.tir^{ki} gir^{min}.bé a.ba ba.an.gúr dumu.bi a.ba ba.an.[x]
 4' ŠUB!?.da.bi šu.e ba.an.du₈ dumu ki.duru₅ bí.in!x
 5' [s]ipa.da.bi u₈ sila₄ na.mu!un.šub mu.lu.r[a x (x)]

reverse

1 im.gíd.da
 2 mu-x[(x)]x-lim/ši gala ^ames [(x x)]

- 48** Ashmolean 1924-1538 Plate 52
Exercise tablet from NB Kiš, previously published by Gurney, *Iraq* 36, pl. 7; rev. 2'-3' // E-sagil Tablet 12-13, see the commentary, ad loc.; 8'-9' is perhaps an excerpt from a dais list: see p. 100.
- 49** 82-3-23, 24 Plate 52
Geographical list, transliteration published in *MSL* XI, p. 63; see p. 2. For l. 9' see p. 246.
- 50** BM 41911 (81-6-25, 531) Plate 53
Geographical list; see p. 2.
- 51** BM 82861 (83-1-21, 24) Plate 53
Geographical list; see p. 2
- 52** BM 82902 (83-1-21, 65) Plate 53
Geographical list; see p. 2
- 53** Ashmolean 1924-877, col. iv Plate 53
Geographical list, previously published by van der Meer, *Iraq* 6, p. 159, no. 29; cf. *Sumer* 35, p. 227⁴⁷. For ll. 5-8 see p. 237, for l. 10, p. 377.
- 54** K 14950 Plate 53
Temple list fragment; see p. 2.
- 55** BM 123383 (1932-12-10, 326) (+) 128062 (1929-10-12, 718) Plate 53
Temple list previously published as *CT* 51 178 and 179, duplicate of *KAV* 84. From Kuyunjik; see pp. 2 and 193².
- 56** Rm 350 // Rm 921 Plate 54
A list of city gates and temple gates, previously published by van der Meer, *AfO* 13, pl. 10; see p. 2.
- 57** BM 41239 (81-4-28, 787) Plate 54
Procession calendar, from Babylon; see p. 304. Previously discussed by Pinches, *Oriental Studies Haupt*, p. 217f., and cited by Unger, *Babylon*, p. 145.

- 58** K 18438 Plate 55
God list fragment? See the commentary on *Tintir* II 21-24.
- 59** BM 39843 (80-11-12, 1730) Plate 55
List of names of Marduk // Cavigneaux, *Textes scolaires* I, p. 175, 79.B.1/30. From Babylon; for ll. 3-6 see p. 83⁹.
- 60** K 13799 // 81-2-4, 216 Plate 55
A god list similar to *CT* 24 45, 51ff.; cf. p. 222⁴.
- 61** K 18013 Plate 55
Fragment; see p. 402.
- 62** BM 54311 (82-5-22, 463), rev. Plate 56
Commentary, from Sippar, obv. not copied; ll. 3-5 quote *Enūma eliš* VI 151-53. Other citations are metrological: for l. 8 see p. 425, for 16-18, p. 418.
- 63** BM 138172 (89-1-12, 6) Plate 56
NB royal; see p. 354.
- 64** K 2062 (+) 11542 Plate 56
Literary fragments; for K 11542, l. 6' see p. 250.

PART TWO

COMMENTARY

TINTIR I

1-3 A close parallel to these lines is the lexical text *Diri* IV 89-92, as reconstructed from two Aššurbanipal tablets, K 4174 and Rm 905 (*CT* 11 45, ii 6-9, and 50, 6; cf. Meissner, *MVAG* 15/V, p. 511). This passage gives the pronunciation of the sign group tin.tir^{ki} and lists the equivalent Akkadian renderings. Although the first two sub-columns of this part of *Diri* are preserved only on K 4174, where they are badly vitrified, collation of the two sources gives a reading thus:

[t]e-'en-tir?	tin.tir ^{ki} [ⁱ]	[te]-en te-er ki-ki	ŠU (var.: 'šu!'-an'-[na])
			ba-bi- <i>l</i> [u]
			šu!-bat nu-uh-[š]
			šu!-bat ba- <i>l</i> [a-tu]

Other lexical lists equate tin.tir^{ki} with both *bābilu* and *šuan*na, as can be seen from a survey of the lexical entries for Babylon in the bilingual lists:

tin.tir ^{ki} [ⁱ]	[šu]-an-na
tin.tir ^{ki} [ⁱ]	[ba]-bi-lu
ká.dingir.ra ^{ki} [ⁱ]	[MIN]

MSL XI, p. 14, Hh XXI/4 30-32

tin.tir ^{ki}	š[u]-an-na
tin.tir ^{ki}	b[a]-bi-lu
eri.du ₁₀ ^{ki}	MI[N]
ká.dingir.ra ^{ki}	M[IN]

Ashmolean 1924-877, iv 5-8 (no. 53, pl. 53)

igi.nir.gál	eri-du ₁₀ -ú
eri.du ₁₀	ba-bi-il-ú
tin.tir ^{ki}	šu-an-nu-ú

MSL XVII, p. 68, *Erimhuš* V 24-26

[tin.t]ir ^{ki}	ba-ab-bi-lu
[eri.d]u ₁₀ ? ^{ki}	MIN
[ká.dingir.ra ^{ki}]	MIN

Cavigneaux, *Textes scolaires* I, p. 112, 79.B.1/25, 4'-6'

Note that in one line only (*Diri* IV 89) is made the equation tin.tir^{ki} = *tintir* (represented by the cipher ŠU in K 4174; the pronunciation of the sign group is apparently strictly *tentir*, following the first sub-column of *Diri*, but a transliteration tén.tir^{ki} is avoided as unnecessarily pedantic). Elsewhere tin.tir^{ki} is equated with Babylon, its by-name Šuanna

(on which see further below, the commentary on *Tintir* I 4), and with the scholarly 'translations' *šubat nuḥši* and *šubat balāti* (for which see further below). One is driven to wonder whether the ŠU of K 4174 is not indeed the 'Wiederholungszeichen', but rather a corruption to be emended — especially in the light of the variant reading of Rm 905 — to *šu-<an-na>*.

Aside from *Diri*, evidence for the pronunciation of the toponym written *tin.tir^{ki}* may come from a document of the Old Babylonian period from Susa, in which is mentioned a merchant from a place *NE-in-ti-ir^{ki}*, possibly to be read *dè-en₆-ti-ir^{ki}* and perhaps then referring to Babylon (Scheil, *MDP* 28, p. 149f., no. 551, 9).

Whether or not *dè-en₆-ti-ir* is really Babylon, it certainly indicates the existence of a toponym very similar to the *tentir* of *Diri* IV. This toponym resembles in structure such names as Zimbir, Kingir and other geographical names that have no obvious Sumerian etymology, and which probably belong to the substrate language which has been called, among other things, 'Proto-Euphratic' (Landsberger, *AÜDTFD* 2, p. 433 = *MANE* I/2, p. 9). In the extant sources the toponym Tentir or Tintir first appears in the Ur III period in connection with the god Nergal, who is *ⁿè.eri₁₁.gal tin.tir^{ki}* in two accounts of land set aside for the provisioning of various cults (*BIN* V 277, 62-63, and a parallel text, Forde, *Nebraska CT*, 37, 21-22); and *ⁿè.eri₁₂.gal tin.tir^{ki}* in an account of labour (Schneider, *AnOr* 1 88, 300-01). All these texts can be ascribed with confidence to the Umma archive on the basis of month names or content. In the land accounts Nergal of Tintir appears in the company of the goddesses Geštinanna of *KI.AN^{ki}* and Ninḫursag of *ka.ma.ri^{ki}* and *a.e.bar^{ki}*, and of Nergal of Garšan. These four towns are known to have been near Umma (Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* II; Sollberger, *Afo* 18, p. 104ff.), and the likelihood is that the Tintir of these Ur III administrative texts is also to be sought in a position local to Umma, near enough for its cult to be easily administered from that centre. An identification with Babylon, which in any case is never known as a particular cult-centre of Nergal, is accordingly ruled out (so also Edzard, *RGTC* II, p. 194).

In the Old Babylonian period *tin.tir^{ki}* is found in military and religious contexts in year-names of kings of Larsa (Šin-iddinam 'c' and Rīm-Šin 14: Ungnad, *RIA* II, pp. 151, 216; 159, 180) and Apil-Šin of Babylon (on a tablet from Babylon, Meek, *AJSL* 33, p. 218f., no. 1, perhaps the name of his 15th year: Ungnad, *RIA* II, p. 177, 79). In these *tin.tir^{ki}* is evidently a name of, or writing for, Babylon. So it definitely is in an Old Babylonian copy of a Sumerian hymn of Inanna, in which the goddess claims the well-known temple E-tur-kalamma (*Tintir* IV 8) as her residence in Babylon (*PBS* V 157, i 3: *tin.tir^{ki} é.tùr.kalam.ma gá.a.kam*). The toponym also occurs in a commercial document dated to the reign of Šin-erība of Larsa (*YOS* XIV 348, 3), presumably in reference to Babylon. Other examples of *tin.tir^{ki}* from the Old Babylonian period come from the forerunners to *Hh* XXI (*MSL* XI, pp. 104, 291; 131, iii 48; 140, 7). In the last of these *tin.tir^{ki}* is listed directly before *ká.dingir.ra^{ki}*, and is thus certainly to be understood as Babylon.

In royal inscriptions *tin.tir^{ki}* is first found late in the Kassite period (Kadašman-Turgu: Beckman, *ARRIM* 5, p. 1, 6; Marduk-apla-iddina I: *BBS* 5 = IV R² 38, i 24). From the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I, who describes himself as *ši-it tin.tir^{ki}*, 'a native of Babylon' (*BBS* 6 = V R 55, i 2), it becomes common.

In the absence of concrete evidence it is difficult to determine whether *tin.tir^{ki}* is an ancient toponym long associated with the city of Babylon (perhaps even borrowed from some other place in the early Old Babylonian period much as the name of Eridu was adopted, probably syncretistically, in the Kassite period), and for this reason later became an orthography for the city often to be read not as *tintir* but as *bābīlu*, or even *šuan-na*; or whether it is to be understood instead as simply a scholarly orthography deriving from a scribal tradition separate from, but perhaps no less ancient than, that which produced the commoner orthography of *ká.dingir.ra^{ki}*, and then adopted as a name of Babylon only at some later date (as *ká.dingir.ra^{ki}* itself is in *Tintir* I 22; note that Kienast, *Sumer* 35, p. 247, speculates on an origin of the orthography *tin.tir^{ki}* in the 'Kiš Tradition' of writing): whether, in short, *tin.tir^{ki}* was first a name of, and only later a writing for Babylon, or vice versa. The existence of a toponym Tintir in the third millennium is evidence that favours the former hypothesis. After the Kassite period *tin.tir^{ki}* is certainly both a rather erudite name for Babylon (as in the present text, and in Sumero-Akkadian bilinguals, in which it is commonly the 'Sumerian' name for the city), and one of several possible orthographies of the city's name, becoming used as such in every kind of text. A third use, as a writing of, if not even an alternative name for, the quarter of Šuan-na near the Uraš Gate, is discussed in the commentary below on *Tintir* V 93.

As observed in the introduction to Chapter 1, *Tintir* = Babylon and other texts of the genre are partly explanatory texts after the fashion of the bilingual lexical and geographical lists, explaining the obscure in terms of the familiar. Three explanations in Akkadian of the 'Sumerian' *tin.tir^{ki}* are given in the present lines (excluding its topographical explanation as *bābīlu* which is shared with the names and epithets of the following 48 lines, occupying the second sub-column of the entire Tablet). The first, *ša tanādāti u rišāti šarkaš* (the correct reading of this last word, established by the variant writing in MS a, was first put in print by Gurney, *Iraq* 36, p. 39¹), is a literary phrase that is also associated with *tin.tir^{ki}* in a god list which explains names of Marduk (*CT* 25 7, K 13665, 3-4):

[^d umun.t]in.tir ^{ki}	^d MIN	<i>bēl ká.dingir.ra^{ki} ša ta-na-da-a-ti</i> <i>u ri-ša-a-ti [šar-kaš]</i>
[Umun]-Tintir	= Marduk,	Lord of Babylon, [on which fame] and jubilation [are bestowed.]

Umun-Tintir is a name parallel to Lugal-Šuan-na (*Enūma eliš* VII 101; *CT* 25 38, Sm 115, 5) and its primary interpretation as *bēl Bābīli* is a straightforward translation, found also for the latter name in *STC* II 61, K 2107+6086, obv. ii 17. However, there does not

appear to be any obvious etymological basis for the extraction of the remaining phrase from the signs tin and tir or their homophones, and the derivation of the phrase and its application to tin.tir^{ki} seem obscure. The appropriateness of the phrase, however, is not in question, for the idea of Babylon achieving "fame" (as the centre of the world and its most important city) and being a place of "jubilation" (where men are free from anguish and oppression, and continually engaged in festivity) is rooted in the Sumero-Babylonian concepts of the theological and cosmological place of the city: on fame see below, the commentary on I 40; on jubilation, that on I 9.

The two latter interpretations in these lines of tin.tir^{ki} as *šubat nuḥši* and *šubat balāti* are, as seen earlier, also found in *Diri* IV, and rely on a breakdown of the toponym into its constituent syllables of tin (= *balātu* commonly, and evidently also *nuḥšu*, though such an equation is nowhere substantiated in lexical or bilingual texts) and tir (= *šubtu*: *MSL* XIV, p. 467, *A* VII/4 85; XVII, p. 159, *Antagal* III 254). Such interpretations are achieved only through a disregard of Sumerian grammar and word order, of course, and belong to that class of etymologizing which seems to modern philology spurious and invalid, but is nonetheless a characteristic feature of Babylonian scholasticism (see above, p. 73f.). Outside *Tintir* I and *Diri* IV, the equation of tin.tir^{ki} and *šubat balāti* can be found in the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn bilingual (V R 62, 44), where lipiš bal.til^{ki} tin.tir^{ki}.ta is translated *ul-tu qé-reb aš-šur^{ki} a-na šu-bat ba-la-tu*, "from Aššur to (Tintir), the Seat of Life". The same equation is implicit in the Balawat Gate inscription of Šalmaneser III, who describes the city as [ur]^uká.dingir.ra^{ki} mar-kas, *šamē^e u eršete^{te} šu-bat ba-lā-ti*, "Babylon, the bond of heaven and underworld, the seat of life" (Michel, *WO* 4/I, p. 32, v 5).

The concept of the city and its temples as the source of the nation's life and prosperity is traditional in the Sumero-Babylonian world view, according to which the country's well-being depended on the benevolence of the temples' divine inhabitants. This benevolence could be encouraged, though not of course guaranteed, by the proper care and maintenance of the cults of these temples, and the provisioning of the gods was accordingly a prime function of mortal kingship. References to cities and temples as sources of life and prosperity are abundant in the extant literature (see, e.g., the city and temple epithet kur ḥé.gál.la, "mountain of abundance", for which references have been collected by Falkenstein, *SGL* I, p. 50, and Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 59), and allusions to this function are made in the ceremonial names of countless temples. The position of Babylon as source of life and prosperity is reiterated in *Tintir* I 43-45, and is reflected, with a subtle shift of emphasis from nation to individual, in the syncretistic hymn to Nippur and Babylon (*KAR* 8, obv. ii 12-13):

lú.tuš.a tin.tir^{ki} nam.ti.la bi.in.diri.ga
a-šib ba-bi-lim ba-la-ṭa ut-t[ar]

He who lives in Babylon prolongs (his) life.

The source in Greek script, our MS c, accords with the cuneiform text in these lines except for the unwelcome v after the break in line 3, where we expect the end of a Greek transcription of tin.tir^{ki}. This v, quite clear on the tablet, may perhaps be explained by the consideration that tin.tir^{ki} can be read *šuan*na (for the lexical evidence see the passages quoted above), and is indeed probably always read so when used as an orthography of the city quarter Šuanna (see further *Tintir* V 93 and commentary). As is evident from line 4 of MS c, the final open syllable of *šuan*na disappears in Greek transcription: perhaps, then, tin.tir^{ki} in lines 1-3 of the cuneiform text was transcribed by the equivalent of *šuan*(na) in the Greek tablet. This need not imply that tin.tir^{ki} as a name of Babylon must be read in *Tintir* I 1-3 or elsewhere as *šuan*na, but can be put down to confusion by this Hellenistic scribe of tin.tir^{ki}, the name of Babylon, and tin.tir^{ki}, an orthography for the quarter Šuanna: this latter usage of the sign group is still known in the Seleucid period (see *CT* 49 130, dating to Seleucid Era 73, quoted in the commentary on the city quarter). (On MS c and other texts in Greek transcription, and the phonetic peculiarities they exhibit, see the article of Sollberger, *Iraq* 24, p. 63ff. More 'Graeco-Babyloniaca' has since been published by M.J. Geller, *ZA* 73, p. 114ff., and J.A. Black and S.M. Sherwin-White, *Iraq* 46, p. 131ff.)

4 Šuanna is a name of Babylon which appears repeatedly in the bilingual lexical texts as an 'Akkadian' interpretation or explanation of tin.tir^{ki} (*Diri* IV 89, variant; *Hh* XXI/4 30; Ashmolean 1924-877, iv 5; *Erimḫuš* V 26: all quoted above, on I 1). This close association no doubt accounts for the place of Šuanna in the present list, following directly on Tintir, and helps to explain the variants in *Tintir* V 93 for the name of the city quarter between the Uraš Gate and the city centre (given variously in the extant sources as tin.tir^{ki}[], *šu-a[n-na]* and *šu-ma-an*: see further the commentary ad loc.).

As a name of Babylon Šuanna is first attested under the Second Isin Dynasty, in HS 157, a tablet from Nippur dated to the fifth year of Marduk-nādin-aḥḥē (Aro, *BSAW* 115/II, no. 3 = Bernhardt, *TMHNF* V 44), the text of which includes an inventory of garments brought from *šu-an-na*^{ki} (l. 109) to Nippur on the occasion of a wedding in the king's second year. In the bilingual text IV R² 20, no. 1, one of several fragments concerned with Marduk's return to Babylon in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I (as argued by W.G. Lambert in the *Seed of Wisdom*, p. 9f.; see further J.J.M. Roberts in *Finkelstein Memorial Volume*, p. 185ff.), and probably composed soon after this memorable event, *šu-an-na*^(ki) is found in lines 12 (Sumerian) and 14 (its Akkadian counterpart). The name Lugal-šuan, referring to Marduk, appears in the Creation Epic, which may well also date to this time, but it is by no means certain that the name already alludes to the god's status as "King of Šuanna-Babylon": as is noted below, this may have been a secondary interpretation. However, in the Erra Epic, the context of which is generally held to be that of the end of the Second Isin Dynasty, or slightly later (see Lambert, *AfO* 18, p. 398ff., against von Soden, *UF* 3, p. 255f.), *šu-an-na*^{ki} occurs on four occasions. While it

is true that in the extant manuscripts for this text *tin.tir^{ki}*, *ká.dingir.ra^{ki}* and phonetic writings of the city's name are substituted for each other at random, it is significant that on three of the four occasions when *šu-an-na^{ki}* is used (I 124, III d 8, V 36) all sources are in agreement. That this orthography is preserved without variant in these lines in copies of the epic from Aššur, Nineveh and Sultantepe strongly suggests that its use there is as old as the composition itself; and further that it is to be read phonetically as a name of the city, as also it must in the Nebuchadnezzar bilingual.

As it occurs in the royal inscriptions of the Sargonid and Chaldaean kings (e.g. Sargon: Winckler, *Sargon*, I, pp. 52, 304; 54, 317; Sennacherib: I R 41, v 16; Esarhaddon: I R 49, i 11; *KAH* I 75, rev. 18; Aššurbanipal: III R 27, 48; Nebuchadnezzar II: I R 55, iv 2; Wadi Brisa A vi 49; Nabonidus: V R 64, ii 19), *šu-an-na^{ki}* may however often be no more than an ornamental writing for *bābilu*. Certainly by the close of the Neo-Babylonian period it appears to have become one of several literary orthographies used indiscriminately by the composers of official inscriptions, who delighted in abstruse, as well as archaic, mannerisms. A good example of the quite arbitrary use of *šu-an-na*, *tin.tir^{ki}*, *ká.dingir.ra^{ki}* and *ká.dingir.meš* in a single inscription is the clay barrel of Cyrus (V R 35) in which these orthographies occur on four, seven, one and two occasions respectively, and are probably to be read *bābilu* throughout.

A question that remains problematical is the derivation of Šuanna as a name for a city quarter, and for the city itself. The fact that it does not appear until the end of the second millennium would seem to exclude it from the toponymy which, being of uncertain etymology, has been christened 'Proto-Euphratic' (see above, on I 1), and to which the ancient names Tintir and Bābil(u) may well belong. Indeed, as it stands Šuanna looks Sumerian, being orthographically identical to the divine epithet *šu.an.na*, "lofty-hand(ed)", which translates into Akkadian as *ša emūqāšu šaqā*, "whose might is exalted" (*Utukkū lemnūtu*, CT 16 14, iv 10-11; *Enūma eliš* VII 101; King, *STC* II 61, K 2107+6086, ii 16). From what is known of ancient toponymy it is unlikely that such an epithet could of itself become a place name, even in literary circles (we would rather expect to find *uru.šu.an.na*, "City-whose-Might-is-Exalted"), but is the similarity between Šuanna, the name of Babylon, and *šu.an.na*, the divine epithet, to be explained away simply as coincidence? The two latter references given above for the equation *šu.an.na* = *ša emūqāšu šaqā* are in fact explanations of the name of Marduk, Lugal-Šuanna (the name in *Enūma eliš* is to be emended after CT 25 38, Sm 115, 5). In the Creation Epic, where this name is, like others, subject to extended etymological speculation, the scholar resists an obvious interpretation of Lugal-Šuanna as "Lord of Babylon", and this rather suggests that Šuanna was not yet a name of Babylon. The commentary published by King, however, is quick to make this very interpretation (K 2107+6086, ii 17: [*lugal.šu.an.na*] = *be-el* *ká.dingir.ra^{ki}*; note also l. 18, = *mud-diš* *ká.dingir.ra^{ki}*), alongside the conventional "lord whose might is exalted". It may be conceivable that the epithet *šu.an.na* was adopted as a name of Babylon either as a result of the misunderstanding of Lugal-

Šuanna, the name of Marduk (rather as *lugal.e* apparently came to be misunderstood as "king of Babylon", leading to the common Neo-Babylonian orthography *E^{ki}*: see on this Brinkman, *PHPKB*, p. 167f.) or through a deliberate reinterpretation of the same name, by which means, we would then suggest, it was sought to endow it with extra significance, causing it to embrace not only the etymologically correct meaning, "lord whose might is exalted", but also the theologically desirable meaning, "lord of Babylon". However, neither hypothesis explains how Šuanna came to be equated in the lexical lists with the much older toponym *tin.tir^{ki}*.

The Akkadian translation of *šu.an.na* in the present line is unique, but not so very different from *e-muq a-nim*, one of the several 'etymological' interpretations offered in the Creation Epic (VII 101-02; a variant tradition, represented by *STT* 11, has instead *e-[m]uq-qan ši-rat*). The equation of *šu* and *emūqu* does not occur in the lexical texts, but is well known in bilinguals, both in the stock phrase *šu.an.na* = *ša emūqāšu šaqā* (for which references have already been given), and elsewhere, in *Angim* 162 (as a variant of *usu*) and in a hymn to Nergal (Macmillan, *BA* V, p. 642, no. X, obv. 7-8 = Pinches, *PSBA* 28, p. 210, 4 (coll.), emending to *šu!(LA).a.ni.šè*).

5-7 These lines expand on the preceding one: in them the scholar offers further interpretations of the name Šuanna which he justifies etymologically by taking the name's first syllable as *si* = *nūru*, *sa* = *markasu* and *sa₄* = *nibītu* in turn. By these means he finds meanings of Šuanna appropriate to Babylon's exalted theological and cosmological position. The modification of orthography for such speculative purposes is a scholarly device also used, at greater length, in the E-sagil Commentary (no. 5), the Nippur Compendium (no. 18) and the Nippur Temple List (no. 19).

The equation *si* = *nūru* is known from lexical lists (*MSL* III, p. 66, *S^a N 3'*; XIV, p. 341, *A III/4* 168) as well as from various commentaries and bilingual texts (references are collected in *CAD* N/2, p. 348). *nūru* is a common divine epithet, applied frequently in its most literal sense to solar and astral deities, but also found figuratively with other gods, including Marduk (in the incantation *KAR* 26, 17; the hymn *KAR* 337, obv. 18; *ibid.*, rev. 10 (+) 304, rev. 24 = Lambert, *Seed of Wisdom*, p. 11f.). Divine epithets are commonly borrowed by cities and their temples, and this may be one explanation of the present line. But note that the endowment of city and temple with luminary imagery can be traced back to the Keš Temple Hymn (*TCS* III, p. 170, 50; Old Babylonian):

é an.šè utu.gim è.a ki.šè iti.gim bàra.ga

Temple rising heavenward like the sun, spreading over the underworld like moonlight.

(Here, and passim, "underworld" as a translation of *ki* = *eršetu* in the pairing "heaven and underworld" means that part of the universe below the heavens: not only the flat disc of the earth but all that lay beneath it, including Apsû and the realm of Ereškigal; the latter is distinguished in this book as the "netherworld".) In a much later period E-sagil,

evidently written [é.si.an].gíl, is explained as *bītu nūr ilī rabūti*, “House, light of the great gods” (no. 5, E-sagil Commentary, l. 27). Distinct from this speculative imagery are temple names like E-babbarra, “Shining House”, of the Sun God, Šamaš (in Sippar and Larsa), and E-gišnu-gal, “House of the Great Light”, of the Moon God, Šin (in Babylon, Ur and Nippur: see the commentary on *Tintir* IV 24; note a late translation of this name as *bīt nūr šamē rabūti*, “House of the light of the great heavens”: no. 3, BM 34850, rev. 5’): these simply reflect the character of their divine occupants.

For *sa* = *markasu* see the bilingual incantation *CT* 17 35, 54-55, where *sa nu.duḥ.ù.da* is translated *mar-kas la pa-ṭa-ri*; and our restoration of the E-sagil Commentary, ll. 25-26 (above, no. 5). While *markasu* is literally a mooring rope, in cosmological contexts it is a rope which connects together, or “binds”, the component parts of the Babylonian universe, by the holding of which the cosmos is controlled (see on this the commentary on I 35). The cosmic ropes, or “bonds”, of the heavens may have been visible from the earth as constellations: see Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, p. 153, 330, where, in an invocation to Bēltiya, the constellation Ursa Major (Babylonian ^{mul}*ereqqu*(*mar.gid.da*), “Wagon-Star”) is given the epithet *mar-kās šamē*^e. That Babylon and E-sagil were considered to be the earthly counterparts of the constellation ^{mul}*ikū*(AŠ.IKU), which may be our Pegasus, is known from inscriptions of Esarhaddon (Borger, *Esarh.*, pp. 21, 51; 94, 33: *é.sag.il . . . tam-šil* ^{mul}*ikī*), from the title of an invocation to E-sagil (Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, p. 136, 274: ^{mul}*ikū é.sag.il tam-šil šamē u eršeti*), and from *Antagal* G 312 (*MSL* XVII, p. 229: [^{mul}*ikū*] = *bāb-il^{mes}*); and this may be one allusion made in Babylon’s assumption of the epithet *markas šamē*. But in its application to Babylon this epithet should be seen principally as a variation on the time-honoured city epithet *markas šamē u eršeti*, which refers to the cosmological position of the city at the centre of the universe, and which Babylon borrowed from Nippur (for this epithet and its cosmological implications, see the commentary below on I 35). The same can be said for the scholarly explanation of the name of E-sagil, written [é.sa.an].gíl, as *bītu markas šamē rabūti*, “House, bond of the great heavens” (no. 5, E-sagil Commentary, l. 25). But it must also be noted that *markas šamē* is a translation of one of those stock epithets for cities and temples in Sumerian literature: in the lament *TCL* XV 15 and duplicates it is used of Lagaš (ii 10: *dim.gal an.na.ke₄*); in the litany *TCL* XV 1 it refers to the temple of Sud in Šuruppak (4: *é dim.gal an.na.mu*). For *dim.gal* = *markasu* see the syncretistic hymn *KAR* 109, rev. 14, where the goddess to whom the hymn is addressed is described thus: *ina é.dim.gal. kalam.ma mar-kās māti(kur)*, “In E-dimgal-kalamma (you are) the bond of the land” (here, and passim in this hymn, the etymology of the temple name is alluded to in the goddess’ epithets); the bilingual Exaltation of Ištar, where the *šēdu damqu* is described as the “bond of E-kur” (*dim.gal é.kur.ra* = *mar-kas é.kur*, B. Hruška, *ArOr* 37, p. 489, 47-48); and a litany to Nergal, where *dim.gal* = *mar-’ka-su’* (Meek, *BA* X/1, p. 90, no. 13, 7-8 (coll.), now + K 69, Craig *ZA* 10, p. 276f.). References for *dim.gal* (*kalam.ma/an.ki.a/ùg.šár.ra*) as an epithet of cities and temples are collected by Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 67, who

translates “mast”, equating *dim.gal* with *tarkullu* in preference to *markasu*. But *tarkullu* is not so much a boat’s mast as the pole by which it is moored (with *CAD* M/1, p. 283; *AHW*, p. 1330; cf. A. Salonen, *StOr* VIII/4, p. 127), and thus the object to which the mooring rope (*markasu*) is secured, as in *Maqlû* III 134. Used metaphorically in cosmological context the function of *markasu* and *tarkullu*, that of “mooring” the component parts of the universe to each other, is much the same.

sa₄ = *nabû* is well known, and the equation with *nibītu* is thus well-founded. *nabû*, “to call (by name)”, has also the nuance of the “call (into being)”, by virtue of the fact that, in the Babylonian view of things, the first act of creating an object is the naming of it: cf. the expression *mala šuma nabû* with the meaning “as many as exist”; something without a name cannot be deemed to exist (cf. *Enûma eliš* I 1-2). In this way *nibītu*, as something called by name, comes to mean also something brought into existence.

As an epithet of Babylon, *sa₄.an.na* is inconsistent with the well-attested tradition that Babylon was created and founded by Marduk (for which see I 13 and commentary). Before Marduk’s rise to pre-eminence in the Kassite and Second Isin periods he would not have been (theologically speaking) in a position to create and name a city of his own initiative, for such actions are the prerogative of the senior, destiny-decreeing gods (as in the Sumerian Flood Story, *PBS* V 1, where the creation of the antediluvian cities in ii 91-98 can be most probably credited to Enlil). Significant in this regard is the consideration that the theological exaltation of Babylon in the Old Babylonian period was the work of Anu and Enlil, the highest-ranking gods, rather than of Marduk, the city god (*CH* i 16ff.). Accordingly it is conceivable that time was when there existed a tradition in which Babylon was first created by a god or gods other than Marduk, to wit his predecessors in supreme office. Residual traces of such a tradition may well have survived to influence the compiler of *Tintir* I. We note also that the etymologist of the E-sagil Commentary may allude to such a tradition when he interprets the temple name as *bītu nibū Anim u Enlil*, “House called into being by Anu and Enlil” (no. 5, l. 29) Note further *Tintir* I 42, where Babylon is the “creation of Enlil”.

8 For *dub.sag.gá* = *mahrû* see also the bilingual proverb *BWL*, p. 254, 3 and 7. We understand *mahrātu* (variants with final *-a* and *-i*) as the adjective in stative conjugation (sg 3 f), with ‘redundant’ final vowels typical of late orthography (although a subjunctive form with final *-u* might be taken as evidence of a MB origin for the text: see von Soden, *GAG* §83a).

The line alludes to the notion of the ‘first’ or ‘oldest’ city. This title is commonly expressed in the Old Babylonian period as Sumerian *uru.ul*, which translates into Akkadian as *āl šī’ātim*. It is borne by Nippur (in the royal hymn *SRT* 36, 57; the Collection of Sumerian Temple Hymns, *TCS* III, p. 19, 41, with particular reference to Tummali; and N 1320, 2, for which see *ibid.*, p. 58); by Ereš (in Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdanna 253); by Uruk (*I R* 3, no. X, ii 6: Rīm-Šin of Larsa; cf. its later

appellation *úru.sag* = *āl^{ki} reš-ti-i* in a bilingual litany, IV R² 19, no. 3, 35-36); and by Sippar (Gelb, *JNES* 7, p. 269, A ii 14 = B iii 5: Hammurapi; Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 39, p. 6, 8-9: Samsuiluna). In later periods the title was much used of Sippar (Goetze, *JCS* 19, p. 121, 12: Simbar-šihu; Erra Epic IV 50; the hymn *KAR* 109, obv. 9), and in a geographical list, 82-3-23, 24 (*MSL* XI, p. 63 = no. 49, pl. 52), 9', one finds the fuller epithet *uru.u₄.ul.dù.ā[m^{ki}]* as one of several names of Sippar. This epithet is also attested in *Hh* XXI 9 (*MSL* XI, p. 11, *uru.u₄.ul.dù.ā^{ki}*: collated — see below the commentary on the Nippur Compendium i 1-10') as a name of Nippur, along with *uru.nisag^{ki}* and *uru.sag^{ki}* (ll. 11-12), which have similar meaning.

In respect to Babylon the epithet *āl šāti* is found only once, in an inscription of one of the Kurigalzu's (Sommerfeld, *Afo* 32, p. 1, 4: *ip-pa-am-ba-li pa-rak šar kaš-ši-i a-li ša-a-ti*, "in Babylon, the throne-dais of the king of the Kassites, the ancient city"; on the orthography of the city name see below, the commentary on I 22). The application of this epithet, previously a title only of the most ancient Sumerian cities, to Babylon may be seen as consistent with the tendency in Kassite literary circles to dignify the country's capital with a history that was not its own, another consequence of which was the mythological and theological syncretism of Babylon and the venerable city of Eridu (see the commentary on I 21). Such inventions were desirable to justify the theological and cosmological pre-eminence required for Babylon as the city of the king of the gods.

A nice parallel to the imagery of the present line can be found in the Old Babylonian hymn to Nippur in a poetic expression of that city's ancient status in Sumerian cosmology as the oldest city (*UET* VI 118, i 8-10; coll.):

<i>sig₄.kilib.ba</i>	Of all the brickwork
<i>kala[m.m]a ki.gar.ra</i>	laid in the land,
<i>'sig₄¹.zu sig₄.sag.bi.im</i>	your brickwork is the very first.

9 Babylon is also a place of jubilation in the syncretistic hymn *KAR* 8, obv. ii 10-11:

tin.tir^{ki} lú igi.du₈.šè asilal diri.eš
ba-bi-lu ša ana da-ga-l[i] ri-ša-ti ma-lu-¹u'

Babylon, which to behold is filled with jubilation!

A similar expression occurs in an invocation connected with the Babylonian New Year Festival, K 9876 (copy: Pallis, *Akitu Festival*, pl. 8), obv. 13: *[ti]n.tir^{ki} re-el-tú ma-la*. The city as a place of jubilation is an allusion to its role as venue for the great religious festivals, which were the scene of much singing, dancing and general merrymaking: this is implicit in the Hymn to Arbil, a city famous for its festivals of Ištar (Ebeling, *LKA* 32 = *JKF* 2, p. 277, 3-5):

<i>āl ni-gu-ti ur^uarba-ī[l]</i>	City of joyousness, O Arbil!
<i>āl i-si-na-ti ur^uarba-ī[l]</i>	City of festivals, O Arbil!
<i>āl bīt hi-da-a-te₉-e ur^uarba-ī[l]</i>	City of the temple of rejoicing, O Arbil!

Allusion to the joyous aspect of Babylonian religious life is also made in *Tintir* I 46, which describes Babylon as "the city of festivals, rejoicing and dancing".

In MS c the *λ* of the expected *αλ* has either elided with following *ρ* (assimilation of *l* to a following consonant is an occasional feature of Akkadian: *GAG* §34c), or has been omitted by accident. The omission is repeated in the following line.

10-11 The epithets of these lines are stock phrases in both Sumerian and Babylonian literature, going back to the time of Gudea, for whom Nanše is "mistress of the precious ordinances" (nun billuda/garza kal.la.ke₄, Cyl. B iv 6). In the Old Babylonian period a parallel phrase is used in a hymn to Enlil, with reference to E-kur whose "ordinances are precious things" (billuda/garza nig.kal.kal.la.kam, Falkenstein, *SGL* I, p. 13, 50 // Çiğ and Kızılyay, *SETP* I, p. 126, Ni 1180, with Akkadian gloss *šu-qu-ru-tu[m]*: cf. Wilcke, *KSLT*, p. 22, 50). Similar phraseology appears in the bilingual inscription of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, in connection with the re-establishment in E-sagil of the gods' "precious ordinances and their choice rites" (me kal.kal šu.luḥ.ḥa.e.ne billuda.bi SUḥ.ga.e.[n]e = *par-ši-šu-nu šu-qu-ru-tu pil-lu-du-šu-nu nu-us-su-qu-tu*, V R 62, no. 2, 51-52). An inscription of Aššurbanipal refers to the "precious ordinances" of the goddess Šarrat-kitmuri (*par-še-e-ša šu-qu-ru-ti*, Thompson, *PEA*, p. 31, 23), while an incantation uses a parallel phrase in broken context (*pil-lu-de-e šu-qu-ru-[ti]*, *TIM* IX 77, rev. 5', following *uṣurāt^{mes} ši-ra-a-ti*, l. 4').

12 The same epithet is used of Babylon twice in the Erra Epic (I 124: *šu-an-na āl šār il^{mes}*; IV 2: *dim.kur.kur.ra^{ki} āl šār il^{mes} ri-kis mātātī*) and once in a Kedor-laomer text (Brinkman, *PHPKB*, p. 80, obv. 9: *tin.tir^{ki} āl šār il^{mes} d⁴marduk*). A parallel epithet is that used frequently by Sargon II of Assyria, describing Babylon as the "city" or "cult-centre of the 'Enlil' of the gods" (*āl/ma-ḥa-zi* ⁴en.lil.lá *il^{mes}*, Winckler, *Sargon*, I, pp. 38, 236; 120, 24; 124, 140; II, no. 41, 7). Obviously these epithets can be no older than the time of Marduk's promotion to the kingship of the gods, which probably became official in the 12th century (see above, p. 6).

13 The epithet is also used, no doubt of Babylon, in an unpublished Neo-Babylonian fragment, perhaps of a liturgical or ritual text (BM 76960, 4': *ālu ni-bīt d⁴amar.utu*). For the implications of *nibītu* in this context see above, on I 7. The tradition of Babylon as a city created and named by Marduk is naturally a very strong one. In the Creation Epic Marduk proposes to build his cult-centre at the centre of the universe, to be the site for a regular divine assembly, and explains (*Enūma eliš* V 129):

lu-ub-bi-ma šum-[šú bābilu]^{ki} bītār^{mes} il^{mes} rabūt^{mes}

I will call [its] name [Babylon], the temples of the great gods.

The building of the city and its principal sanctuary is then carried out by the Anunnaki at Marduk's command (VI 55-73). This accounts for Nabopolassar's belief that the city wall was founded by the Igigi and Anunnaki (al-Rawi, *Iraq* 47, p. 10, ii 23-25). Belonging to the same tradition is another creation myth, *CT* 13 36, 2-4 (photograph: Heidel, *Babylonian Genesis*, fig. 16):

[tin.tir^k]¹* ba.dù é.sag.íl.la šu.du₇
 ká.dingir.ra^{k1} e-pú- <uš> é.sag.íl šuk-lul
 [dingir a].nun.na.ke₄.e.ne téš.bi ba.an.dù
 il^{meš} a-nun-na-ki mit-ḥa-riš i-pu-uš
 [uru].kù.ga ki.tuš ša.du₁₀.ga.ke₄.e.ne mu maḥ.a mi.ni.in.sa₄.a
 ālu el-lum šu-bat tu-ub lib-bi-šu-nu ṣi-riš im-bu-ú

Babylon was built, E-sagil completed;
 (Marduk) made the Anunna-gods, all of them,
 (and) they called their happy abode by the exalted name of the 'Sacred City'.

A further exposition of Marduk's creation of Babylon is given in the mythological introduction to the hymn IV R² 18, no. 1, 1-4 (coll.):

[^dma]rduk ša ba-'bi-lī' šum-šú ki-niš im-bu-ú
 [^dMIN* k]á.dingir.ra^{k1}.k[e₄ m]u.ne zi.dē.eš bí.in.sa₄.ām
 [ēš.gú.zi]* ká abzu.ta é ki.ág.gá.a.ni mu.un.dīm.ma
 [é.sag.íl] ina ba-ab ap-si-i bi-tu ša i-ra-am-mu e-pu-uš

Marduk, who called Babylon by its true name,
 (who) built E-sagil, the house which he loves, at the Gate of Apsū.

(* Restorations demanded by considerations of space; on ēš.gú.zi see below, on IV 1.) This is the tradition accepted by Berossus, who reports that Bēl (Marduk) built the walls of Babylon as one of his first acts of cosmic organization (P.O. Schnabel, *Berossus and die babylonisch-hellenistische Literatur*, p. 256, 13). For other traditions as to the divine founder of Babylon see I 7 and commentary.

Asarre, also known by the fuller names of Asalluḫi and Asaralimnunna, is the city god of Kuara near Eridu, and the first-born of Enki (on this god in general see Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 80f.). The equation of Marduk and Asalluḫi, which marks the former's adoption into the family of Enki and the prestigious pantheon of Eridu, is first attested in the reign of Sin-iddinam of Larsa, early in the Old Babylonian period (being implicit in his description of Asalluḫi as "king of Babylon" in a letter to the goddess Ninisinna: [^dasa].l.ḫi lugal ká.dingir.ra^{k1}, Hallo, *Kramer Anniversary Volume*, p. 216, 16; see further W. Sommerfeld, *Der Aufstieg Marduks*, p. 13ff.). This syncretistic promotion of Marduk — and Babylon — is very probably owed to the political successes of the first kings of

Hammurapi's dynasty, by whose efforts Babylon became a power of considerable importance in the land of Akkad.

The cursive gudu₄(AH!ME) of MS a is evidently a rebus writing — or perhaps a 'Hörfehler' — for gù.dé. Other phonetic peculiarities in the texts edited in this book are kur.ra for kur₄.ra (*Tintir* I 19), ḫal.ti.lu for al.ti.la (IV 7), úr.nam for úru.na.nam (IV 21) nu.maḥ for nun.maḥ (IV 31), edin.na for dīm.ma (IV 36), galam.ma for kalam.ma (IV 39), gul.la probably for gu.la (no. 6, BM 35046, 15), a.na for an.na (ibid., 30), and ^dUD.é for u₆.de (no. 14, VAT 9961 + 10335, 6).

14 The epithet is a favourite literary phrase. For la.(la) gi₄.(gi₄) in Sumerian literature see the references collected by Sjöberg, *Nanna-Suen*, p. 174. The correspondence of this phrase to *lalû nešbû* (also *lalâ šebû*) is found in other bilingual texts: IV R² 9, obv. 22-23 (hymn to Sîn); ibid., 28*, no. 4, rev. 69-70 = Mark E. Cohen, *Sumerian Hymnology: the Eršemma*, p. 115, 51; and Sjöberg, *JCS* 24, p. 126, 2 (Examenstext D). The Akkadian phrase is used again in the eulogy of the city incorporated into a hymn to Marduk (no. 46, BM 36646, obv. 10'), in which, as we restore it, Babylon is compared for "inexhaustible sumptuousness" to an "orchard of fruit" (*kīma kirī inbi lalēš[u] lā iššebbi?*). Similar poetic imagery, though with a different emphasis of meaning, is found in the Erra Epic in Marduk's lament for the devastated city (IV 41):

'ù'-a tin.tir^{k1} ša ki-ma ^{is}terinnāt(še.ù.suḫ₅) še'im^{im} ú-ma-al-lu-šú-ma la áš-bu-ú la-lu-šú

Alas for Babylon, which I filled like a pine-cone with kernels, but had not full pleasure of its luxury!

The "luxury" or "sumptuousness" of which Babylon had so much may well be the accumulation of material wealth — through military and economic success — which is referred to elsewhere in this Tablet (II. 44-45, 50), and which was beneficial to human and divine beings alike. *lalû* encompasses the idea of the satisfaction of one's desires: when Marduk says in the Creation Epic that he will build a house to be the abode of his *lalû* (*Enūma eliš* V 122), he means a house of his "pleasure", that will fulfill all his material needs (for this nuance of *lalû*, common in genitival constructions, see *CAD* L, p. 49f.: an example in this book is found in the E-sagil Commentary, where the temple name is interpreted as *ekal lalê ilī ša šamê*, "palace (that satisfies) the pleasure of the gods of heaven": no. 5, l. 5).

15 The equation of ní.dúb and *pašāḫu* is known also from *Antagal* A 146 (*MSL* XVII, p. 186) and a bilingual hymn to Inanna from the Old Babylonian period, where ní.dúb.bu.dē appears phonetically written as ni₅-in-tu-bu-ṭe₄ = *šu-up-šu-ḫu-um* (Sjöberg, *ZA* 65, p. 118, 115).

While this epithet may partly allude to the security offered to the inhabitants of Babylon by its mighty fortifications, which prompted both Hammurapi (*LIH* I 58, 30:

ki.tuš ne.ḥa = 57, 33: *šu-ba-at ne-eḥ-tim*) and Nabopolassar (*BRM* IV 51, 31-32: *šu-ub-ti ne-eḥ-ti*) to describe the city as a "secure dwelling-place", the presence of *guruš* = *eḥlu* emphasizes that the people to whom peace is especially brought are the city's workforce, and this suggests that the phrase is making particular reference to the status of Babylon as *āl kidinni*, whose citizens accordingly held certain privileges that included exemption from labour and military service (on Babylon as *āl kidinni* see I 48 and commentary). The implication of *šupšuḥu* here is thus one of freeing from obligations of service, and the verb is found in a parallel usage in an inscription of Sargon II which refers to his re-establishment of freedom from such duties for several Babylonian towns: *ša dēr^{ki} ur^{ki} uruk^{ki} eridu^{ki} larsa^{ki} kul-aba^{ki} ki-is-sik^{ki} uru^{ne}-med-[^{da}la-gu-da an-du]-ra-ar-šu-un aš-kun-ma ú-[šap-ši-ḥa] niš^{meš}-šú-nu* (Weissbach, *ZDMG* 72, p. 176, 4-5: restoration assured from the parallels, Winckler, *Sargon*, I, pp. 96, 9; 174, i 17).

16-18 With the epithet of line 16 compare an interpretation of the name E-sagil as *bītu...rā'im kitti*, "House which...loves truth" (no. 5, E-sagil Commentary, I. 19). The Akkadian of line 17 does not exactly translate the Sumerian ("city which administers true justice") but is influenced by the stock phrase *kittu u mišaru*. It appears again used of Babylon in the literary fragment K 11542 (no. 64, pl. 56; line 6': *ina šu-an-na^{ki} āl mi-ša-ri kit-ti*), and of Borsippa in the cylinder inscription of Nabû-šuma-imbi (Lambert, *JAOS* 88, p. 126, I b 16: *bār-sipa^{ki} āl kit-ti u mi-ša-ri*), where it is perhaps an allusion to the name of that city's chief temple, E-zida, "True House", of Nabû. *kittu* and *mišaru* form a common pair (for many references see *CAD* K, p. 470f.; M/2, p. 117f.), and are deified as members of the court of Šamaš (^anig.zi.d[a] and ^anig.si.sá: *CT* 24 31, 74-75; cf. ^anig.gi.na and ^aki-it-tum, *ibid.*, 81-82; other references in *CAD*, loc. cit.). The epithet of line 18 is perhaps also a stock literary phrase, for it too appears deified among the divine attendants of E-babbarra, the temple of Šamaš (*CT* 24 32, 103, ^anig.érim.ḥul.gig).

The epithets of these lines (and of ll. 24-27, which reiterate the theme) demonstrate the long-established tradition of the city and temple as places where justice is dispensed. References in Sumerian literature to temples as "places of judgement" (*ki di.ku₅.ru*), and as judges which clear the innocent and convict the guilty after the manner of the river ordeal (^aid.lú.ru.gú) are collected by Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 60f. Note further the role of Nippur as an agent of justice in a hymn to Enlil (Falkenstein, *SGL* I, p. 12, 29-30):

uru nig.gi.na sa₁₂.e.eš rig₇.ga
nig.zi nig.si.sá ge₁₆.sa.šè ak.a

City endowed with truth,
which does right and justice always!

19 lú.kur₄.ra = *ka-ab-tum* in *MSL* XII, p. 184, OB *Lu* B v 23. The use of this epithet — in slightly different form — as a name of Babylon is found in the synonym list *Malku* I 220 (A.D. Kilmer, *JAOS* 83, p. 428: *é.lú.kur₄.ra* = *ba-bi-lu*). Sumerian lú.kur₄.ra is literally "fat man", and *kabtu* has implications of great standing in material wealth as

well as in influence, the two notions going hand in hand (note *kabtu* as the opposite of *muškēnu*, one of the lower orders but, in later texts, also "pauper": the contrast, which occurs particularly in omen apodoses, is documented in *CAD* M/2, p. 275). Our epithet is an allusion to the general social standing of the inhabitants of Babylon (as evinced by a proverbial wealth), as well as to their standing at court.

20 ^{si}dim.(me) = *ma-ku-tum* in *MSL* VI, p. 65, *Hh* VI 159 (and variant). The *makūtu* is usually the pole of a waterlift (*šādūf*), otherwise a buttress or pier in the construction of a house or quay wall (*CAD* M/1, p. 143). Here, however, the reference is probably cosmological, using imagery comparable with the borrowing from nautical language of *markasu* and *tarkullu* to denote cosmic "bonds" (on which see above, on I 6). One might imagine *makūtu* to refer to some kind of cosmic "support".

The case for reading *kù.si(g)*_x is argued by Civil, *JCS* 28, p. 183f., and the values *si*₂₂ and *sig*₁₇ of GI are now noted in Borger, *ABZ*, p. 432.

21 Eridu is a name of Babylon in the lexical texts: it appears in Ashmolean 1924-877, iv 7, *Erimḥuš* V 25 and can probably be restored in Cavigneaux, *Textes scolaires* I, p. 112, 79.B.1/25, 5 (these are quoted above, p. 237). The first certain use of Eridu as a name of Babylon is to be found in the Šittī-Marduk *kudurru* (*BBS* 6 = V R 55, i 3), in which Nebuchadnezzar I is *šakkanak*(šagana) *eri.du₁₀*, "governor of Babylon" (not of Eridu: see the note of Brinkman, *PHPKB*, p. 116⁶⁵³). Still not proven (although accepted by Khaled Nashef, *RGTC* V, sub Babylon) are certain references from the Kassite period. In the cryptically written colophon to a chemical text from the reign of Gulkišar of the First Sealand Dynasty ownership of the tablet is ascribed to a Le'i-kala-Marduk, *šangū*-priest of Marduk, and ¹eridu^{ki} (Gadd, *Iraq* 3, p. 89f.; reading the PN with *CAD* L, p. 160). As Gadd notes, the dealer's provenance for this tablet was Seleucia, but this was hardly in Gulkišar's sphere of influence, and the dealer's information may be regarded with scepticism: the tablet probably comes from a site much further south, perhaps even from Ur. Certainly from Ur is a legal document from the reign of Kadašman-ḥarbe (*UET* VII 2), which mentions a place *eri.du₁₀* (obv. 15) and a *šangū* of *eri.du₁₀* by the name of Bābilāyū (^mká.dingir.ra-a-a, obv. 17-18), who is involved in the litigation. Ur is, of course, a very long way from Babylon, but not far from Eridu, and it is much more plausible that a priest of the latter should have his case heard at Ur, which was somewhat revitalized in the Kassite period and may have been the centre of a provincial administration. No great obstacle is raised by the presence of a *šangū* of Marduk in Eridu, since Marduk had long been a member of the pantheon of that city (see above, on I 13); and the dating of Le'i-kala-Marduk's tablet to the reign of Gulkišar is evidence — even though circumstantial — in favour of him being from the deep south of Babylonia. While the available evidence has this southern bias it would be unwise to argue for Eridu as already a name of Babylon in the reigns of Kadašman-ḥarbe and Gulkišar. That it should

first appear to be so in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I may be no coincidence, for his was a time of increased speculation as to the theological and cosmological place of Babylon, the city of the new king of the gods (see above, p. 6f.).

In later periods, especially as it appears in business and legal documents from the time of the Chaldaean and Persian kings (some references collected by Unger, *Babylon*, p. 25¹, and *RIA* II, p. 465), eridu^{k1} may be no more than a scholarly orthography of Bābilu (cf. the note of Pinches, *PSBA* 33, p. 161).

The use of the name of the venerable city of Enki for Babylon is probably a later consequence of the aforementioned syncretism of Marduk and Asalluḫi, which brought about a certain assimilation of the pantheons of the two cities and the establishment in Babylon of an important cult of Ea. This theological identification of the Old Babylonian period appears to have been followed by a mythological syncretism, in which the traditions of Eridu became those also of Babylon. Witness to this is a creation myth in which Eridu and Babylon are considered one and the same place, the first city to appear out of the watery chaos (*CT* 13 35, 12-36, 2):

[u₄.ba eridu]^{k1} ba.dù é.sag.il.la ba.dím
 ina u₄-mī-šú eri-du₁₀ e-pu-uš {uš} é.MIN ba-ni
 [é.sag.il] šā.abzu.ke₄ {e.ne} ⁴lugal.du₆.kù.ga mu.ni.in.ri.a
 é.MIN šā ina qé-reb ap-si-i ⁴lugal-du₆-kù-ga ir-mu-ú
 [tin.tir]^{k1} ba.dù é.sag.il.la šu.du₇
 ká.dingir.ra^{k1} e-pu- <uš> é.sag.il šuk-lul

At that time Eridu was built, E-sagil created —

E-sagil, in which Lugaldukuga settled in the midst of Apsû —

Babylon was built, E-sagil completed.

The context demands that Lugaldukuga is here not the ancestor of Enlil, but Marduk's father, Ea (as also in *Tintir* II 16: see the commentary below), who set up his temple in Apsû (*Enūma eliš* I 73-78). In the present myth the establishment of E-abzu by Ea in Apsû is telescoped with the parallel founding of E-sagil and Babylon on the body of Ti'āmat (see the commentary on II 1): accordingly it is E-sagil that is here occupied by Ea in Apsû, and Eridu and Babylon refer to the same primeval city. This identification of the two cities in at least some mythology may well account for the cosmological connection between Babylon and the Gate of Apsû, which one might expect to have been at Eridu (on the Gate of Apsû see *Tintir* IV 3 and commentary). Further evidence of a syncretism comes from Berossus, in whose list of antediluvian kings the name of the first city is not Eridu, as attested in the parallel cuneiform sources (the Sumerian King List, and no doubt the Dynastic Chronicle: for the beginning of the latter see now Finkel, *JCS* 32, p. 66), but Babylon (as noted by Jacobsen, *AS* 11, p. 70⁵, Lambert, *Atrahasis*, p. 137, and Burstein, *SANE* I/5, p. 18 and note 29). The adoption by Babylon of traditions of Eridu

is symptomatic of the need for history very probably felt in the new capital, by which means it was sought to justify the young city's exalted theological and cosmological status. The same need no doubt underlies Babylon's adoption of traditions of Nippur (see p. 5f.). As well as a name of Babylon, Eridu came to refer to the city's central religious quarter around E-sagil (on which see V 92 and commentary).

The Akkadian translation of the toponym Eridu(g) offered in the present line interprets it traditionally as uru.du₁₀, and is a translation also to be found in the metrological commentary BM 35385, i 8' (no. 16). But whether the name Eridu is simply a dialect form of original *Urudu(g) is uncertain: both share final -g, but it may be significant that the writing of the city name as eri/uru.du₁₀, in which such an interpretation is explicit, does not appear until the second millennium; in the third the toponym is always written eridu(NUN)^{k1} (Edzard, et al., *RGTC* I, p. 49f.; II p. 47f.; the name and etymology of Eridu are discussed by Jacobsen, *JCS* 21, p. 102¹⁴).

22 The equation of ká.dingir.ra^{k1} and bābilu is well attested in the lexical texts (for *Hh* XXI/4 32, Ashmolean 1924-877, iv 8, Cavigneaux, *Textes scolaires* I, p. 112, 79.B.1/25, 6 (restored), see above, p. 237; note also *MSL* XI, p. 12, *Hh* XXI/2 4; p. 36, *Hg* E 27: [ká.dingir.ra^{k1}] = ŠU = uru.bāb-il^{meš}).

Ka-dingirra(k), "the Gate of the God", is here a name of Babylon comparable with Šuanna, Eridu and Dim-kurkurra. It derives, of course, from the orthography ká.dingir. (ra)^{k1} which is universally used to write the toponym Bābilu. This orthography is first found in a year name of Šar-kali-šarri, which records the building of a temple of the Akkadian deities Anūnītum and Il-aba in ká.dingir^{k1} (Thureau-Dangin, *SAK*, p. 225, II c). An earlier mention of Babylon may probably be found, however, in a fragmentary Early Dynastic inscription belonging to a ruler who describes himself as 'en₅.[si] ba₇-ba₇^{k1}... dím é⁴amar.utu (*YOS* IX 2, 1-2 and 6-7: recently discussed by Sommerfeld, *Der Aufstieg Marduks*, p. 20f., and Lambert, *BSOAS* 47, p. 8f.). We follow Lambert's proposal that ba₇-ba₇^{k1} (written BAR.KI.BAR) is a phonetic rendering of an original toponym Ba(b)bar or Ba(b)bal, and that this is Babylon. Such an interpretation finds support in the view put forward by Gelb (*Journal of the Institute of Asian Studies* 1, p. 1ff.), and followed by Borger (in Unger, *Babylon*³, p. v), Kienast and Trenkwalder (*Sumer* 35, pp. 246ff., 237ff.), that the Sumerian Ka-dingirra(k) is a secondary rendering of Bāb-ilim, itself a folk-etymology of a "pre-Akkadian and pre-Semitic form", Bābil. This form can be viewed as belonging to the toponymical repertoire, since it is found also as one element of the toponym Tir-Babilla(k), written ⁴štir-ba-bil/-bil/-bil₄-(la)^{k1}, a place in Ur III times near Lagaš (for which references are collected by Gelb, loc. cit., and *RGTC* II, p. 195; on its location see also Falkenstein, *IGL*, p. 37). The toponym Bābil can be compared with Urbil/Arbil, whose etymology is equally obscure (although later interpreted as Arba'il, "Four Gods"), and may thus probably be assigned to the so-called 'Proto-Euphratic' toponymy of Mesopotamia (see above, on I 1). Whether the original

form is Ba(b)bal or Bābil, it is evident from Šar-kali-šarri's logogrammatic orthography, *ká.dingir^{ki}*, that the folk-etymology or reinterpretation of the toponym as *Bāb-ilim* had already taken place in the Old Akkadian period.

In the sources of the Ur III period the name of Babylon is usually written *ká.dingir^{ki}*, with the occasional orthographies *ká.dingir.ra* and *ká.dingir-ma* (Gelb, loc. cit.; Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* II, p. 21f.). As Gelb argues, the resumptives with *-ma* indicate that *ká.dingir.(ra)^(ki)* is not to be read in Sumerian, but to be taken as a logogrammatic writing of a toponym ending in Akkadian case vowel and mimation. The obvious reading is then the folk-etymology *Bāb-ilim*. In the Old Babylonian period this logogrammatic writing is also favoured, usually with final *-ra*, while there are also found for the first time rare occurrences of *tin.tir^{ki}* (which may be at this time an alternative name of Babylon rather than a logogrammatic orthography: see above, on I 1). In the Kassite period a number of phonetic writings occur, both in original documents and in later copies of royal inscriptions (collected by Khaled Nashef, *RGTC* V, p. 47: *pan?-ba-li*, *pa-an-ba-li/-lum^(ki)*, *pa-am-ba-li* and *bà-bà-lim/-lam*), all of which show the vowel /a/ in the second syllable and are thus so at odds with the traditional folk-etymology *Bāb-ilim* that, as Lambert notes (loc. cit., p. 9), they "can only be explained as a reflection of actual speech", and therefore lend support to the posited original Ba(b)bal (now showing a typically Middle Babylonian dissimilated or nasalized double consonant).

There is great variety of both logogrammatic and phonetic orthographies for the city name after the Kassite period. The conventional *ká.dingir.(ra)^(ki)* of the preceding periods is still universal, but is supplemented by such other logogrammatic variations as *bāb(ká)-ilī(dingir)^{mes}* (e.g. Michel, *WO* 4/I, p. 32, vi 4: Šalmaneser III; *YOS* I 38, i 14: Sargon II; *BRM* IV 51, 30 = *YOS* IX 84, 31: Nabopolassar; *V R* 35, 15 and 17: Cyrus; *MSL* XI, p. 36, *Hg* E 27; XVII, p. 229, *Antagal* G 312; *Enūma eliš* VI 57; III *R* 53, no. 2, 4: esoterica; and contracts, *VS* III 147, 18; Strassmaier, *Darius* 379, 9); *bāb(ká)-ilī(dingir.dingir)^{ki}* (*I R* 55, iv 32: Nebuchadnezzar II); *bāb(ká)-ilī(60)* (Esarhaddon, Merodach-baladan, Aššurbanipal) and *bāb(ká)-ilī(60.60)* (Esarhaddon, Aššurbanipal, Kandalānu, Nebuchadnezzar II, Nabonidus: references for writings with 60 and 60.60 (reduplicated plural) are collected by Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 31). *ká-60* and *ká-60.60* are cryptographic or esoteric writings owed to the equation of the numeral 60 with Anu: if 60 represents the sign AN in the divine name, it can also convey other meanings of the same sign, e.g. *dingir* = *ilu*. The writing *ká.dingir^{min.ki}*, unique to an inscription of Sennacherib (*III R* 4, no. 4, 46-47), can best be explained as a conflation of *ká.dingir^{mes.ki}* and *ká.60.60^{ki}* rather than as evidence of a dual form **bāb-ilān* (cf. Borger, op. cit.; such a form is unacceptable on grammatical grounds, however attractive the parallel with the Hellenized form βαβυλών. Further to Borger's notes there is no evidence for a reading of any logogrammatic writing of the toponym with the extended plural of *ilu* (i.e. **bāb-ilāni*), and the Hellenized form noted above, which has previously been used as evidence for such a form, can be better explained as Bābil(u) + Greek ending -ων: note that the Greek

transcription of Bābilu in the 'Graeco-Babyloniaca' tablet, MS c, is not the Hellenized form but βαβιλ. It is doubtful, indeed, whether the toponym retained any vocalic ending in the first millennium: beside the evidence of the 'Graeco-Babyloniaca' one can put Hebrew בבל and phonetic writings without vocalic ending in cuneiform sources, for which see the next paragraph).

Writings with mixed phonetic and logogrammatic orthography occur rarely: note *bāb(ká)-i-lī* (*ABL* 896, obv. 8) and *ba-bi-ilī(dingir)^{ki}* (*I R* 55, iv 28: Nebuchadnezzar II). The usual phonetic writings of Babylon in the first millennium are *ba-bi-lu/-li* and *ba-bi-lam/-lim*, which are too common to need documentation. Less well known are *ba-ab-i-lī* (*MSL* XVII, p. 240, *Antagal* N ii 24'; K 8382 (text no. 39), obv. b 2: geographical list; *Enūma eliš* VI 72; J.S. Cooper, *Iraq* 32, p. 58, 5: *šulla*; Lambert, *JCS* 21, p. 128, 7: myth); *ba-bi-lī* (Sack, *Amēl-Marduk*, no. 33, 27); *ba-bi-i-lī/-lu* (above, p. 72: MS z colophon; and in inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II: *CT* 37 7, 35; *I R* 52, no. 6, 7; *VS* I 49, 2; 51, 5); *ba-a-bi-i-lu* (Strassmaier, *Cambyzes* 423, 2); *ba-ab-bi-lu* (Cavigneaux, *Textes scolaires* I, p. 112, 79.B.I/25, 4); *ba-ab-bi-i-lu* (Ball, *PSBA* 10, p. 368f., i 20: Nebuchadnezzar II; with the double middle consonant compare the phonetic writings from the Kassite period, above); *ba-bi-il-ū* (*Erimhuš* V 25: above, p. 237); and, without vocalic ending, *ba-bé-el* (Ball, loc. cit., ii 7) and *bi-bil* (Erra Epic V 38, var. from MS O, perhaps simply defective). For writings of the city name deriving from other names of Babylon, i.e. logogrammatic use of *tin.tir^{ki}*, *eridu^{ki}* and *šu.an.na*, see the commentary, ad loc. On the common Neo- and Late Babylonian orthography *E^{ki}* see above, p. 243.

The Akkadian translation of *ká.dingir.ra^{ki}* offered here is a somewhat ornate version of the usual *bāb ilī*, "Gate of the Gods" (an interpretation implicit in the orthographies *ká.dingir^{mes}*, *ká.dingir.dingir* and *ká.60.60*), itself a development of the supposed original folk-etymology *Bāb-ilim*. *nēreb masnaqti* is a stock phrase from the literary repertoire, which is also found in the inscriptions of Aššurbanipal (*VAB* VII, p. 66f., viii 14; p. 80, ix 110, where it is part of the name of a gate of Nineveh: *nē-reb mas-naq-ti ad-na-a-ti/-te*, "Gate of the Mustering of Mankind") and Nebuchadnezzar II (*PBS* XV 77, 4, where *[ab]ul nē-re-bi ma-ās-na-aq-ti* describes a gate of Babylon). A similar interpretation of *Ka-dingirra(k)* is found in an inscription of Esarhaddon, for whom Babylon is *a-lu₄ mas-naq-ti ilī^{mes}*, "city of the mustering of the gods" (Borger, *BiOr* 21, p. 147, Ep. 35, 19-21, now restored by Millard, *Afo* 24, p. 118 and pl. 13, BM 42668, iii 7-8). A translation closer to *bāb ilī* is offered by the etymologist of the syncretistic hymn *KAR* 109 (obv. 12: *ká.dingir.ra^{ki} nē-reb ilī^{mes}*, "Babylon, entrance of the gods"). The allusion in all these later interpretations of *Ka-dingirra(k)* is to Babylon's theological status as the place of the divine assembly, where the gods gathered yearly from all over the cosmos to proclaim Marduk's sovereignty. This is a role set out mythologically for the city in the Creation Epic (*Enūma eliš* V 125-28: Marduk is addressing the gods):

e-nu-ma ul-tu apsi(abzu) tel-la-a ana pu-^ruḥ-ri^r
 áš-ru-uš-šu lu-u nu-bat-ta-ku-un ana ma-ḥar pu-ḥur-[k]u-un
 e-nu-ma ul-tu ša-ma-mi tur-r[a-da] ana [pu-^ruḥ-ri]
 áš-r[u-uš-šu] lu nu-bat-ta-ku-un ana ma-ḥar pu-ḥur-ku-un

When you ascend from Apsû for the assembly,
 let your night be spent in this place (E-sagil-Babylon) before your assembly;
 when you descend from the heavens for [the assembly],
 let your night be spent in this place, before your assembly.

(Since *nubattu* is commonly the night before a ceremony (*CAD* N/2, p. 308), it is hard to escape the conclusion that *maḥar* is here being used not in a spacial but, exceptionally, in a temporal sense.)

23 The word order of the Sumerian betrays a late origin. For ŠIBIR = *šerretu* see *MSL* VI, p. 130, *Hh* VIIB 197-97b:

š ¹⁸ eškiri(ŠIBIR)	=	šer-re-tu
š ¹⁸ éš.kiri ₄	=	MIN
š ¹⁸ mar.kàs	=	MIN

ŠIBIR is glossed eš-ki-ri in *VS* X 101, 11 (litany) and eš-gi-ri in *MSL* XIV, p. 48, *Proto-Ea* 418. For references to šibir and eškiri see further van Dijk, *MIO* 12, p. 70ff. The alternative orthography éš.kiri₄-(ak) defines it as a “nose-rope”, the conventional means by which oxen and other domestic animals were led. To hold someone’s “nose-rope” is a metaphorical expression of having complete power over him: such imagery first appears in royal inscriptions in the time of Narām-Sîn of Akkade (*PBS* V 36, rev. viii 15-18: *še-ra-at ni-ši qá-ti-ís-su i-di-nu*). The specific phrase *šerreta tamāḥu* is found in the Kassite period in the Agum-kakrime inscription (V R 33, i 21: *ta-mi-iḥ šer-re-ti*), and thereafter *šerret šamê/nišī/māti tamāḥu* is common in divine and royal epithets.

Developing from the image of the “nose-rope” by which gods and kings control their subjects is a cosmological connotation. The cosmic “nose-rope” is found in incantations as a source of disease and is identified at the same time with a star or constellation (Goetze, *JCS* 9, p. 14; read the variant *zi-qú-ra-at* as *še-(KU)-ra-at?*); elsewhere *šerret šamê* is the source of rain (as in a prayer, Lambert, *Afo* 19, p. 61, 9, and the Agum-kakrime inscription, V R 33, vii 16-21). But most revealing is the equation in cosmological contexts of *šerretu* and *markasu*, the cosmic mooring rope, or “bond”, which is also visible from earth as a constellation (see above, on I 6). The identification of the two words is explicit in the Marduk hymn, Craig, *ABRT* I, pl. 31, 8 (coll., + Ki 1904-10-9, 205, unpub.):

uk-tin-ma it-muḥ-ma ^dmarduk rit-tuš-šú še-er-re[t ^d]i-gi-gi ^danunnakk(600) mar-kas
 šam[ê u eršetī]

Marduk fixed up and took in his hand the bridle of the Igigi and Anunnaki, the bond of heaven [and underworld.]

The “bond of heaven and underworld” is well known as the cosmic cable linking the various parts of the universe, and the means by which they were controlled (see below, the commentary on I 35). It is again referred to as a *šerretu* in the bilingual Exaltation of Ištar, where it is decided to symbolize Ištar’s new status by giving her control of the cable (B. Hruška, *ArOr* 37, p. 483, 23-24):

š¹⁸-er-éš.kiri₄ an.ki^{PI}.a dil.a.ni a.ba.ni.in.tab
 lit-mu-uḥ e-diš-ši-šá šer-ret šamê^e u eršetī^{ti}

She alone is to grasp the bridle of heaven and underworld!

See also a broken passage of the Creation Epic, which, in the context of Marduk’s fixing in position of heaven and underworld, speaks of *šerretu*’s as the means by which they were fastened together (*Enūma eliš* V 65-68 = *STT* 12, obv. 15’-17’):

ip-^rte^r-eq-ma šamê^e u eršetim^{tim} lu x x
 [x x] ri-kis-su-nu ma? x [i]š kun-nu-ni
 iš-tu ^rpi^r-lu-de-šu uš-ši-ru ú-ba-ši-mu par-š[i-šu]
 [šer-r]e-e-ti it-ta-da-a ^dé-a uš-ta-aš-bit

He moulded heaven and underworld...,
 [...] their bond was twisted like...;
 after he designed his rites and fashioned his ordinances,
 he put on the bridles and had Ea take hold of them.

The allusion of the present line is thus to Babylon as the place where Marduk, as king of the gods, holds the cosmic cable, and provides an obvious parallel to I 35.

24-25 The language of these two lines is very reminiscent of explanations of names of Marduk as ^dšà.zu, as found in *Enūma eliš* (VII 43-56, ^dsuḥ.rim, ^dsuḥ.gú.rim, ^dzáḥ.rim and ^dzáḥ.gú.rim), a commentary on the same names (King, *STC* II 62, obv. ii 31-35), and a Gattung I incantation (*LKA* 77, i 53-54: [^dšà].zu suḥ.[gú.ér]im.ma = ^dšà-zu [m]u-na-siḥ nap-ḥar a-a-bi; cf. *CAD* N/2, p. 2). Elsewhere similar language is used of Marduk’s temple, E-sagil, which the E-sagil Commentary explains as *bītu nāsiḥ naphar ayyābī* (no. 5, l. 13); and in *Tintir* V 27, where a throne-dais of Marduk is listed as *ḥulliq naphar ayyābī*.

nipru is a rare word indeed: it is found twice in the Creation Epic (II 2 and VII 48, latterly as the object of *hulluqu*); in a hymn to Marduk (Hehn, *BA* V, p. 387, DT 71, rev. 16, again as the object of *hulluqu*); and in lexical texts, especially the synonym lists, where it is equated with *māru*, *zēru*, *lillidu* and *pirhu* (*CAD* N/2, p. 247). *nipra laqātu* in the present passage is an alternative to the commonly attested metaphor, *zēra laqātu*.

The broken sign x, partly preserved in line 24 by MSS bg, but in line 25 only by g, is probably the same in both instances: perhaps gál!, less likely bi!.

26 As in the previous two lines the Sumerian follows the word order of the Akkadian. *ka-ar*kar = *ha-ba-lu* in *MSL* XIV, p. 495, *A* VIII/1 220; [hul] (so *AHw*, p. 1522; abbreviated as here from *hul.gig*) is explained as *ze-e-ri* in a commentary on *Iqqur-īpuš* (*CT* 41 39, 10). The role of the city and temple in punishing the wrongdoer is noted above, on I 16-18.

27 The two halves of the line agree only with some contortion. That the Akkadian is rather unlikely suggests that the Sumerian phrase is misinterpreted, and the scribe's translation of *nam.šu.du₇* as a negated participle (no doubt relying on the equation of *nam* and *lā* in *Idu* II 62 and other lexical texts: *CAD* L, p. 1) betrays his plight. With this line's *mu.lu.zi.zi* = *šabū* compare *si.si.a* = *mu-še-eb-bi* in a bilingual hymn to Hammurapi (*CT* 21 42, iv 11); *MSL* XIV, p. 96, Proto-*A* 181:5': *si* = *šu-ub-bu-ū-um*; and *si* = *ša-bu-ti* in a commentary on the names of Marduk, King, *STC* II 62, obv. ii 30. But "(city) which rises up (in) perfection" might be a more fitting epithet (*zi.zi* = *tebū*, *nam.šu.du₇* = *šukultu?*).

28 *KU* for *šubtu* may be read either *dūr* or *tuš* (note glosses *du-ur* and *tu-uš* in *MSL* III, p. 58, *S^a* G 6'-10'). As an arbitrary rule we have usually read *KU* when found on its own in such a meaning — as often in ceremonial temple names — as *dūr*, noting the gloss *tur* on *é.KU.kù.ga* in *Tintir* IV 28 (MS i), and the possible allusion of *é.KU.maḥ* in II 19' to cosmological *dūr*./*dur.maḥ*. Exceptions have naturally been made where there is contrary evidence, as with *E-tuš-mes* of *Bēlat-ekalli* in *Aššur* (after the gloss in the Assyrian Temple List: GAB 166). The sign group *ki.KU*, which is equally often found in ceremonial temple names, we read *ki.tuš*, however (the evidence is presented in the commentary below on *Tintir* IV 22). For *Asarre* and *Marduk* see above, I 13, and the commentary.

29 *asar.alim.nun.na* is another form of *Asarre-Asalluḫi* (*An* = *Anum* II: *CT* 24 15, ii 70 // 27, iii 26) — with the speculative interpretation of the name in this line compare *Enūma eliš* VII 6, where the name is analysed as *muš-te-šir te-ret a-nim en-lil é-a u nīn-šji-kù*. Thus *Marduk's* name *Asaralimnunna* is deemed to encompass the great Sumerian trinity of gods whose high rank became his as their victorious champion. The significance

of the present epithet is accordingly a theological rather than a practical one, for while important cults of *Enlil* (certainly) and *Ea* (probably) were already long established at *Babylon* in the Old Babylonian period, the city is never noted as a significant cult-centre of *Anu*. *Babylon* became, of course, the seat of all the gods after its exaltation, by virtue of its theological position as site of the divine assembly (explained in *Enūma eliš* V 125-29 and VI 51-54, 74-81), and this is a circumstance to which allusion is often made (as in *Šurpu* II 154, where *Babylon* and *E-sagil* are *šu-bat ilī^{meš} rabūti^{meš}*).

30 The Sumerian epithet, both in word order and choice of vocabulary, has the look of 'back-translation' from the Akkadian.

Two separate strands of tradition are apparent. The city as "creator" of men is a notion similar to the city as the source of the nation's "life", discussed above, p. 240, but is perhaps also a specific allusion to a role of the cosmological 'first city', as we know it from the *Uzumua* Myth (the 'Myth of the Pickax', on which see Jacobsen, *JNES* 5, p. 136f.). According to the tradition drawn on by this myth *Enlil* causes mankind to grow from the spot where heaven and underworld were sundered, which is named as *uzu.mú.a*, "flesh-grower", in *Dur-anki-Nippur* (*Nippur* as *uzu.mú.a^{ki}* *dur.an.ki.ke₄* is also the location singled out for the creation of mankind in *KAR* 4, obv. 24). The attribution of such a role to *Babylon* could be owed to its adoption of many of the mythological and cosmological traditions of the older city — whether by usurpation or by syncretism — in the Kassite or Second Isin periods (see p. 5f.). But one may also note the probable existence of a parallel tradition — no doubt differing in detail — in the mythology of *Eridu-Babylon*, as witnessed by the creation myth *CT* 13 35-38. In this the creation of mankind follows immediately on the completion of the first city, *Eridu-Babylon* (see above, p. 252), and occurs before the building of the other primeval cities, *Nippur* and *Uruk*.

The creation of the gods took place, in one tradition, that of the Sumerian dispute *Laḫar* and *Ašnan*, at the hands of *An* in a cosmological location known as *du₆.kù.ga*, "Pure Mound", while at other times *Keš*, the city of the Mother Goddess, is the cosmic "birth-place" (*SA₇.ALAM an.ki*; see below the commentary on *Tintir* V 89-90, where *Babylon* itself is hailed as *SA₇.ALAM dingir.gal.gal.e.ne*, "the place of creation of the great gods", an epithet partly parallel to the present one). The assumption by *Babylon* of the role of creating the gods is also attested in the *E-sagil* Commentary, where the temple name is explained as *bītu bānū naphar ilī* (no. 5, l. 7). The existence of this tradition can be partly explained by the presence in *Babylon*, as earlier in *Nippur*, of *du₆.kù-ki.nam.tar*. *tar.re.e.dē* (II 17'), the throne-dais of destinies (*parak šīmāti*), of which the mythological *du₆.kù.ga* of *Laḫar* and *Ašnan* is the cosmological prototype (see further the commentary on II 5). One may also note that in the syncretistic creation myth cited in the previous paragraph, the creation of the *Anunnaki* by *Lugaldukuga* (*Ea*) and/or *Marduk* takes place, apparently, in the newly built city of *Eridu-Babylon* (the passage is quoted above,

p. 248; on the protagonist of the myth see p. 252). But the reference may not only be to these mythological matters, for the important business of the construction and refurbishment of divine images took place in the E-sagil temple complex, culminating in a ritual 'bringing to life' in E-kar-zaginna, the temple of Ea (for this temple's role in the *mīs pī* and *pīt pī* rituals see the commentary on *Tintir* IV 3). In this way also Babylon could be imagined to be, in a very real manner, the "creator of gods" (cf. Esarhaddon's description of Aššur, where he refashioned the images of the gods of Babylon, as *a-šar nab-ni-it ilp̄nes*, "birth-place of the gods": Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 88, 13; and the role of the *bīt mummi*, for which see below, on II 41).

31-32 Knowledge and gathering of *me*'s are functions which are commonly attributed to deities, but they are also found in reference to cities and temples. For the stock phrase *me.(kilib) ur₄.ur₄* in divine epithets and ceremonial temple names see *Tintir* IV 25 and commentary. A similar phrase is found describing Nippur in a royal hymn (*SRT* 36, 57): *ēš nibru^{ki} uru.ul me ḫal.ḫa*, "temple Nippur, ancient city which apportions the *me*'s". The allusion there is probably to Nippur as the cult-centre of Ninurta, for he is one of a select band of gods accorded particular expertise in the handling of *me*'s. Ištar's similar position of control over the *me*'s is also attributed to one of her most famous cult-centres in the Hymn to Arbil: *mu-kin paršī(garza) ru-qu-ū-ti ur^uarba-il*, "Arbil, which establishes the distant ordinances!" (*LKA* 32, obv. 13). Marduk is not especially known as a controller of *me*'s, but his omniscience in these areas is referred to in a *šulla* prayer, where he is "one who knows the divine decrees (ordained for) the people" (*mu-du-ū te-ret nišp̄mes*, Ebeling, *AGH*, p. 20, 22-23), a parallel to our line 31.

33 *e.ku.a* is preserved in MS b; the only other source extant at this point is g, which reads [x].ká.a. The latter seems closer to the Akkadian interpretation — *ká* = *nērebu* being obvious, while *ku* = *nērebu* is less so (although *ku₄* = *erēbu* of course, and so also *nērebu*; cf. *ku-ūku* = *e-re-bu-ū-um* in *MSL* II, p. 150, 6). One suspects for this reason that the Sumerian should properly read *é.ká.a* (thus giving *é* = *bītu*). *e.ku.a* would then be a 'phonetic' rendering or a Hörfehler, of which there are other certain examples in MS b, and in a, which appears to be from the same hand. The variant with *ká* makes implausible, of course, any connection with *é.umuš.a*, Marduk's cella in E-sagil, and the origin and significance of the epithet remain obscure.

34 Cf. *pi-ri-lgpirig* = *šar-rum* in an omen commentary, Leichty, *TCS* IV, p. 228, 552.

The epithet alludes to the reaffirmation of the monarch's kingship of the land at the annual New Year Festival, at which he took the hand of Marduk in procession. One may also note that before the theological exaltation of Babylon the dominion of the land had been subject to the confirmation of Nippur, in that a ruler's acceptance as monarch in that city was the desideratum which justified his ambition. The present epithet can thus also be seen as part of the theological heritage adopted for Babylon upon its exaltation.

35 *úz.sag* is translated *markasu* elsewhere only in the bilingual Exaltation of Ištar (passage quoted below). The Akkadian epithet is also used of Babylon by Šalmaneser III (*ká.dingir.ra mar-kas₅ šamê^e u eršete^{te}*, Michel, *WO* 4/I, p. 32, v 5). The Sumerian phrase, however, is already current in the Old Babylonian period, when it refers to Nippur (*nibru^{ki} úz.sag.maḫ an.ki.ka*, Falkenstein, *SGL* I, p. 11, 13, hymn to Enlil). A variation appears in the Hymn to Nippur from the same era (*UET* VI 118, i 20-22):

<i>úz.sag</i>	You are the bond
<i>sig.igi.nim.ma</i>	of Above and Below,
<i>dim.gal ùg.šár.ra me.en</i>	the "mooring-rope" of the multitudes.

(on *dim.gal*, one of several words rendered by Akk. *markasu*, "mooring rope", and thus a synonym of *úz./úz.sag*, used metaphorically as a cosmic "bond", see above, p. 244f.)

The meaning of the epithet is established by the bilingual Exaltation of Ištar, in which *dur.an.ki úz.sag an.ki.a* = MIN *mar-kas šamê^e u eršetim^{tim}*, "Dur-anki, bond of heaven and underworld" (B. Hruška, *ArOr* 37, p. 489, IV B 35-36). From this it is clear that the epithet is an alternative rendering, or perhaps an explanation, of Dur-anki, the well-known by-name for Nippur. This name, which is first attested for Nippur in the Early Dynastic period (Biggs, *OIP* 99, p. 46 = Lambert, *BSOAS* 39, p. 430¹, line 4; for its use in later texts see Bergmann, *ZA* 56, p. 9), is itself translated "bond of heaven and underworld" in a creation myth (*uzu.mú.a^{ki} dur.an.ki.ke₄* = *i-na uzu-mú-a^{ki} ri-ki-is šamê^e u eršeti^{ti}*, *KAR* 4, obv. 24) and in *Nabnitu* W (*dur.an.ki* = *mar-kás šamê^e u eršetim^{tim}*, *MSL* XVI, p. 310, ii 4). Other epithets parallel to *dur.an.ki* and used of Nippur are *dim.gal an.ki* (in a royal hymn, *TCL* XV 9, iv 45 // *UET* VI 85, obv. 3) and *dúr.giš.lam^{ki}*, a name of the city in *Hh* XXI 7 (quoted in the commentary on the Nippur Compendium, i 1-10'; *dúr* for *dur*, "bond", and *giš.lam* = *šamê^e u eršeti*).

The epithet "bond of heaven and underworld" is also used of E-engurra, Enki's temple in Eridu, in the myth Enki and the World Order (*dim.gal an.ki.a*, Bernhardt and Kramer, *WZJ* 9, p. 232, 10), and of E-ḫursag-gal-kurkurra, the cella of E-šarra in Aššur (*mar-kás/-kas šamê^e (u) eršetim^{tim}*, Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 85, 47).

A clue to the nature of the cosmological "bond" comes from a second passage of the Exaltation of Ištar, in which the word *úz.sag*, this time translated as *riksu*, denotes something that can be physically held (B. Hruška, *ArOr* 37, p. 484, III 33-34, reading as Lambert, *OrNS* 40, p. 93; Anu is speaking to Ištar):

<i>an.šár lugal.la sag.én.tar.bi me.en úz.sag.bé šu u.me.ti</i>
<i>^da-nu be-el a-šir-šu-nu ana-ku ri-kis-su-nu aḫ-zi-ma</i>

I, Anu, am the lord who directs (the heavens): take hold of their "bond"!

Holding their "bond" is evidently the means by which Ištar is to control the heavens, now placed at her command. *markasu* is essentially a "rope", particularly that by which a boat is secured to its mooring-post (*tarkullu*), and *riksu*, as also Sum. *dur* (= *turru*), has not

only the vague notion of “bond”, but also the specific idea of a “cord” that binds things together. It appears that the various parts of the Sumerio-Babylonian universe were conceived as being linked or ‘bonded’ by one or more such cords or ropes (the existence of a cosmic cable is noted by Lambert in Blacker and Loewe, *Ancient Cosmologies*, p. 62). That there was more than one rope is suggested by the existence not only of the “bond of heaven and underworld”, but also the “bond of the heavens”, which was perhaps visible as a constellation (on this see above, p. 244), and an earthly “bond of the land(s)/peoples”, on which see further I 51 and commentary. One such cosmic rope is known by name as *durmāhu* (dur.maḥ, “exalted bond”), into which Marduk wove Ti’amat’s tail when he reorganized the cosmos (*Enūma eliš* V 59), and which is itself interpreted as *markas ilṁeš*, “the bond of the gods”, in *Enūma eliš* VII 95. By holding these cosmic ropes a deity could control the universe, and this is clearly the significance of Anu’s gift to Ištar in the above passage. Holding the “bond of heaven and underworld” is indeed well attested as a position of power exercised by Marduk, as in Craig, *ABRT* I, pl. 31, 8, where the apposition of *markas šamē u eršeti* and *šerret Igīgī Anunnakī*, “the bridle of the Igigi (in the heavens) and Anunnaki (in the underworld)”, again makes clear the function of *markasu* as a means of control (on the metaphor of the cosmic “bridle” see above, I 23 and commentary, where this passage is quoted). Marduk also holds this “bond” in Streck, *VAB* VII, p. 278, 8; and in a hymn, Macmillan, *BA* V, p. 656, DT 46, rev. 16. But other gods are also found in the same connection, among them Nabû (Ebeling, *AGH*, p. 108, obv. 39), Adad (Strong, *JRAS* 1892, p. 343, 6, reading *mu-kil*; hymn of Aššur-bēl-kala), Gula (in the divination prayer *STT* 73, 4-5 and 24-25), Aššur (George, *Iraq* 48, p. 134, 8-9: Sennacherib), and Ninurta (*I R* 29, i 3-4: Šamši-Adad V).

The use of the epithet *markas šamē u eršeti* for first Nippur, then Babylon, alludes metaphorically to their special status as centres of the universe, and, as the seats of Enlil and Marduk, the places from which the entire cosmos is controlled. We should note, however, that for Dur-anki as a name of Nippur there exists a second explanation. While, as noted above, dur may be interpreted here as *markasu*, the cosmic rope, it may also refer to quite another kind of “bond”, one that is explained in the Uzumua Myth. In this myth (on which see further p. 259) Enlil separates heaven and underworld leaving a hole (būru) at their last point of contact. This hole is explicitly stated to have been in Dur-anki, “the bond of heaven and underworld”, a name very obviously appropriate for the point which had connected the two parts of the Sumerian cosmos (for the interpretation see Jacobsen, *JNES* 5, p. 136f.); a similar tradition may have existed for Isin, whose by-name bulug an.ki — translated *pu-lu-uk šamē u eršetim*^[tim] in a *balag* composition, Reisner, *SBH* 46, obv. 8-9 — goes back to Early Dynastic times (Biggs, *OIP* 99, p. 51, 186: zā.mí hymn; for the reading see Lambert, *BSOAS* 39, p. 430²), as does Dur-anki, and means “meeting point of heaven and underworld”. The epithet “bond of heaven and underworld”, at least when applied to Nippur, thus had additional significance (cf. Lambert, *Zikir šumim*, p. 212).

36-37 The epithets in these broken lines may have been parallels, for the Sumerian of both seems to refer to the city’s “eye” in superlative terms (‘igi.gál’ = *na-šu-ú šá i-ni*, “to lift (of the eyes)”, *MSL* XVI, p. 146, *Nabnītu* XVI 154; *sukud* = *elū*, “high”; perhaps in line 37, given the remains of the Akkadian, one should read *igi.bi rú.rú*, “whose eye is expert”: *rú* = *le-é-a-um*, *CAD* L, p. 152). This calls to mind the remarkable eyesight of Marduk, whose four eyes gave him vision in all directions (*Enūma eliš* I 98), and would suggest that these lines adopt for the city the attributes of its divine owner, a well-attested theological and literary device.

38 If our reading of what remains of b is correct, the Sumerian of this line — which as it stands seems meaningless — ought probably to be understood as a corruption of *u₆.de.kur.ra*, “wonder of the land”. Thus in the Akkadian version of the epithet, which would typically be prolix, *u₆.de* would give *tabrītu*, and *kur šadū* and *mātu*, so leaving the lost verb (*šakānu*?) to be extrapolated from either element.

39 Since *bār(a)* = *šuparruru* (in lexical lists from Old Babylonian on: see the references cited by *AHW*, p. 1278), one expects in the second half of the line either *uš-par-ra-ru* or *šu-par-ru-ru* (transitive use of stative, as often in *Tintir* I), but the text seems corrupt here also. The scribe of w appears to have written *šu-tam-ra-t[im]*, which is difficult grammatically and syntactically; but confusion of *šutamrū* and *šuparruru*, no doubt stemming from the orthographics (*par* = UD = *tam*), appears again in *Erimḫuš* V 161 (*MSL* XVII, p. 74), where *bāra.du₁₁.ga* is equated with *šu-tam-ru-ú* rather than the expected *šu-par-ru-ru* (*TCL* VI 35, iv 12: LB copy; the mistake is pointed out in *CAD* M/1, p. 308; cf. *AHW*, pp. 617, 1279). The preceding word, which both sources agree is *x-qu-tú/tum*, and which should translate *nam.kù.zu*, “wisdom” (usually Akk. *nēmequ*), might suggest a new abstract noun *emqūtu* (from the adjective *emqu*, see *GAG* § 56s), but while the text is in disorder and *x* is not easily read as *em* or *en* it seems better to leave the problem unresolved. Babylon as a distributor of wisdom is an obvious allusion to the city god, Marduk, who is the “lord of wisdom” (*bēl nēmeqī*) par excellence, and the line is thus something of a parallel with lines 36-37.

40 The restoration at the beginning of the line, which fits the extant traces on both tablets, relies on the equation of *mūš* (glossed *mu-uš* or *ni-in*, reading *nín*) = *mātu*, well attested in the lexical texts (*CAD* M/1, p. 414), but not, apparently, in bilinguals. With *gù.nun.dé* = *ḫabību* compare the group vocabulary V R 16, iv 40: *[gù.nun.de* = *ḫa-bi-bu*, and *MSL* XVII, p. 38, *Erimḫuš* II 207: *[gù.dé.d]é* = *ḫa-ba-bu*. The epithet refers to Babylon as a place of fame (cf. I 1), the centre of attention of all mankind.

41 *ši.ma.al.la* (Emesal of *zi.gál.la*) also corresponds to *šik-na-at na-piš-ti* in the penitential psalm IV R² 29**, obv. 1-2. Our translation of *tā našū* (here transitive stative)

relies on the parallel use of the verb with *šiptu* and *šu'illakku* (see *CAD* N/2, p. 108f., for the idiom). The epithet no doubt refers to the expertise of Marduk-Asalluḫi in exorcism; for a parallel see the Collection of Sumerian Temple Hymns, where the temple of Ningirimma at Murum is described as "house which recites the incantation formulae of heaven and underworld" (é tu₆.tu₆ an.ki.a šid.da, Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 31, 231).

42 The Sumerian of this line gives no obvious sense, and is perhaps corrupt. The creation of Babylon is usually attributed to Marduk (see above, on I 13), but there is evidence of another tradition, or other traditions, in which older gods take this role: see on this the commentary on I 7.

43-45 We read in line 43 gub rather than gin (against *CAD* N/1, p. 297), noting that where DU = *kunnu* in bilinguals it can be resumed with -ba and -bu (*CAD* K, p. 160, and I 34 of the present text), but is not found with -na. gar.(gar) is common for *kamāru* (*kummuru*) in mathematical texts, but note also the equation in bilinguals: *UET* I 146a, 7 (Hammurapi) and Langdon, *OECT* VI, pl. 28, K 5256, 9-10 // pl. 30, K 5159, rev. 7-8 (ba.a.mar.ra.ta = *ik-kām-ra*). These three lines repeat the theme, already noted in I 2-3, of Babylon as the source of the nation's life and prosperity.

46-47 The equation of gu₄.ud.gu₄.ud and *mēlultu* (note the variant *mēlulu* in MS a) is not attested elsewhere; but the Sumerian is translated *šitahḫutu*, "to leap about", a near synonym of *mēlulu*, in *MSL* XIII, p. 203, *Izi* G 250. For zal.zal = *šutabrū* see *MSL* XVI, p. 58, *Nabnitu* I 326.

The celebration of constant festivals would have been a particular feature of a religious centre of Babylon's importance. Such festivals, foremost among them the New Year Festival in Nisannu, were the scene of much merriment and rejoicing, as noted earlier, p. 246f. A MB lament recalls that Babylon had been the scene of "jubilee and dance" (Scheil, *RT* 19, p. 59, 2: *e-le-lum mu-um-mé-el-lum*; cf. *CAD* M/2, p. 196). Such was also the case at Nippur, no doubt: a hymn to Enlil offers a close parallel to our line 47 (Falkenstein, *SGL* I, p. 14, 73):

ezen gal.gal.ba ùg.e nam.ḫé.a u₄.bi im.di.ni.ib.zal.e

At (Nippur's) great festivals the people pass their time amid plenty.

Cf. further, *ibid.*, p. 13, 53: u₄.šú.uš ezem.ma, "every day (in Nippur) is a festival!"

48 EZEN × KASKAL (with glosses ú-ba-ra and um-ba-ra) = *ki-di-nu* in *MSL* III, p. 150, S^b II 351, and the group vocabulary *CT* 18 30, rev. i 23 // Thureau Dangin, *RA* 16, p. 167, iii 37. The equation of si.il.lá and *kasû* appears to be unique to the present line, and is probably influenced by the presence of lá, for which *kasû* is a well-attested

correspondence. The verb si.il can, in fact, mean the exact opposite of *kasû*, as in a bilingual hymn to Šamaš, IV R² 17, obv. 7-8 // Gray, *AJSL* 17, p. 236, 91-5-9, 80, where si.il.le.e.da.zu.dè = *ina ru-um-mi-ka*, "upon your releasing (the cosmic bolt)". The Sumerian of the present line may thus mean (against the Akkadian) "privileged city which releases and liberates" (from public obligations, as below).

Babylon is also given the title *āl ki-din-ni* by Esarhaddon (Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 21, 18), while the city and its wall are described by Nabopolassar as *bīt ki-di-ni šā a-nu-um ù en-lil* (al-Rawi, *Iraq* 47, p. 10, ii 20). On *kidinnu* in general see Leemans, *van Oven Festschrift*, p. 36ff., and Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, p. 120f. The granting to certain cities of privileges of exemption goes back at least to the time of Išme-Dagān of Isin, who freed the citizens of Nippur from military service and payment of tribute (Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, p. 80ff.). The word *kidinnu*, apparently borrowed from Elamite in the second millennium, is used of this status commonly in the royal inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian kings, with reference not only to Babylon (from the time of Šalmaneser III, E. Michel, *WO* 4/I, p. 32, vi 4), but in addition to the other great cities of southern Mesopotamia, chiefly Nippur, Sippar, Uruk and Borsippa. However, the use of *kidinnu* in the same context in an earlier period is found in the Erra Epic (on the date of which — probably much nearer the time when we suspect *Tintir* to have been compiled — see p. 241), where the people of Babylon are *šābē^{mes} ki-di-ni* (IV 33).

The nature of *kidinnu*-status in the first millennium — exemption from military service, conscript labour and certain taxes and tribute — can be determined from the text known as Advice to a Prince, which explains that freedom from such obligations was decreed for Sippar, Nippur and Babylon in the divine assembly (*BWL*, p. 112, 30; the word used in this text to denote such freedom is *šubarrū*, a term synonymous in the context with *kidinnu*). The freedom of the citizens of Babylon from such obligations was already established in the Kassite period, though here, too, the word *kidinnu* is not used: Kurigalzu is *ša-ki-in an-du-ra-ar ni-ši* ká.dingir.ra^{k1}, "the establisher of the freedom of the people of Babylon" (Sommerfeld, *Afo* 32, p. 3, 13; for *andurāru* used in the sense of freedom from, not debts or slavery, but obligations to the state, see *CAD* A/2, p. 117). This special status of the city of Babylon is also found for the Second Isin Dynasty in Marduk's Autobiography, which says of Nebuchadnezzar I that "he will (re)-establish exemption for my city Babylon" (*zakūta*(luḫ)[^{ta}] a-na āli-ia, ká.dingir.ra^{k1} *išakkan*(gar)[^{an}], Borger, *BiOr* 28, p. 9, 24-25). See further Frayne and Grayson, *ARRIM* 6, p. 15ff.

The privileged status of Babylon became proverbial: anyone, even a dog, who entered the city was assured of the protection of *kidinnu* (*ABL* 878, obv. 9-11). This would suggest a further function of *kidinnu*, namely that of providing sanctuary to any who come under its protection, and this is the allusion of the present line in which Babylon, according to the Akkadian phrase, provides a refuge for the oppressed, metaphorically "liberating the captive".

49 The equation is also made in *MSL* XI, p. 37, *Hg B V* 18, *uru!kù.ga* = *ālu el-[lu]*, probably referring to the place of this name in east Sumer (apparently part of the city state of Lagaš or a by-name for Lagaš itself, Urukug is now identified with Al-Hibba — see lately V. Crawford, *Iraq* 36, p. 29f. — and attested in the second millenium as the home of the First Sealand Dynasty: Lambert, *JCS* 26, p. 208ff.). As a name of Babylon the Sacred City also appears in the bilingual creation myth *CT* 13 36, 4 (quoted above, p. 248), with the translation *ālu ellu*, and in a text celebrating Marduk's return from Elam in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I (*IV R*² 20, no. 1, 9-11: *uru.kù.ga* in both the Sumerian and Akkadian lines).

The coupling of *āl kidinni* and *ālu ellu* in successive lines may be significant, for *ellu* has a nuance "free (from claim)" (*CAD* E, p. 105), which is a description appropriate for a city protected by *kidinnu*. But the primary allusion is to Babylon as a holy place of cultic purity, the religious centre of the universe and the home of the gods. Comparable is a name of Nippur, *uru.šen.šen.na^{ki}*, "Pure City" (*Hh* XXI 10, quoted below in the commentary on the Nippur Compendium, i 1-10'), on which the Sumerian Hymn to Nippur expands (*UET* VI 118, iii 2-3):

<i>uru^{ki} šà.zu kù.ga.àm</i>	O city, your inside is sacred,
<i>bar.zu šen.šen.àm</i>	your outside is pure!

50 The epithet reiterates the theme of Babylon as a place of wealth and prosperity.

51 The equation recurs in *Antagal* III 8 (*MSL* XVII, p. 150: *dim.kur.kur.ra* = *ri-kis ma-ta-a-ti*; cf. also the litany, Reisner, *SBH* 24, rev. 7-8, where *mu.lu dim!.kur!* (*SISKUR*).*ra.ke₄* = *be-lu mar-kàs ma-a-tum* in a divine epithet).

The "Bond of the Lands" is a name first used of Babylon in the Erra Epic, where the poet plays on the name in his description of the downfall of the city (*IV* 2):

šà dim.kur.kur.ra^{ki} āl šār il^{mes} ri-kis mātāti(kur.kur) tap-ta-ṭar ri-kis-su

Of Dim-kurkurra, the city of the king of the gods, the Bond of the Lands, your have undone its bond!

The name is also found in a Nabû myth (*KAR* 360 = Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 91, 6: *dim.kur.kur.ra^{ki} mar-kas kib-ra-[a]-ti*). Its presence in a Neo-Babylonian letter (*dim.kur.kur^{ki} ba-bi-lu ri-kis ma-ta-a-ti*, *ABL* 878, obv. 8, coll. Laessøe: see Borger, *AfO* 18, p. 117) looks very much like a direct quotation of the present line.

The "bond" of the lands is a cosmic rope or cable of the kind already found in *I* 6 and *I* 35, and discussed in the commentary on the latter line. As an epithet of city or temple it is first found in Cylinder B of Gudea, describing the temple of Ningirsu (i 1-3):

<i>é dim.gal kalam.ma</i>	House, bond of the land,
<i>an.ki.da mú.a</i>	grown (tall) in heaven and underworld,

<i>é.ninnu sig₄.zi éen.líl.le nam du₁₀.ga</i>	E-ninnu, true brickwork, for which Enlil
<i>tar.ra</i>	has decreed a fine destiny!

In the Baba hymn of Išme-Dagān it is an epithet of Lagaš-Girsu (Römer, *SKI*, p. 236, no. 9, 23: *lagaš^{ki} gir.su^{ki} dim.gal kalam.ma.ka*). Elsewhere the epithet is used as the ceremonial name of the temple of Ištarān at Dēr, E-dimgal-kalamma (for references to which see Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 131f.), interpreted in the syncretistic hymn *KAR* 109, rev. 14, as *mar-kàs mātī(kur)*; and also appears in the Hymn to Arbīl (*LKA* 32, obv. 12: *ri-kis mātāti(kur.kur)^{mes} uru.arba-il*). But the use of the epithet as a name of Babylon, like the use of the parallel epithet "bond of heaven and underworld," is probably owed to a deliberate borrowing from the repertoire of epithets used of Nippur. Nippur is the "bond of the multitudes" in the Sumerian Hymn to Nippur (passage quoted above, p. 261), and *ri-kis kib-ra-a-ti*, "bond of the world-regions", in the hymn to the Queen of Nippur (Lambert, *Zikir šumim*, p. 200, *IV* 1): in both cases the epithet appears as an expansion of the name Dur-anki (*markas šamē u eršeti*), a circumstance which underlines the cosmological implications of these earthly "bonds". (Note further in this connection the parallels *dim.gal kalam.ma* and *an.ki.da mú.a* in the passage of Gudea's Cyl. B quoted earlier.) For both Nippur and Babylon the primary reference of the epithet "bond of the lands/multitudes/world-regions" is to their cosmological location at the centre of the world, at the very point where the "four quarters" of the Sumero-Babylonian world-view meet and join together. For Babylon this central position is met again in *ABL* 588, 12, where the city is *qablu(murub₄) šà mātāti(kur.kur)*, "the centre of the lands"; and in the Babylonian world map (*CT* 22 48, obv.) in which the city is represented by a rectangle marked *tin.tir^{ki}* and situated astride a pair of parallel lines denoting the Euphrates, at a point a little way above the compass hole that occupies the very centre of the world-disc.

A secondary allusion of the epithet is to the theology of kingship. As noted above, p. 261f., the holding of a cosmic "bond" allows for the control of whatever is secured by it. The earthly "bonds" would thus be a means of controlling the nations of the world, the prerogative of legitimate, divinely decreed kingship. The reference is then to Babylon and Nippur in their status as the seats of mortal kingship, where the king's authority is ratified by the king of the gods, whether Enlil or Marduk (see above, on *I* 34). In this sense the earthly "bonds" convey political power, and this would account for Nebuchadnezzar II's description of his palace at Babylon, the seat of his government, as the "bond of the land" or the "bond of the people" (*VS* I 38, ii 8: *ma-ar-ka-su ma-a-tim*; *I R* 57, vii 37: *ma-ar-ka-sa ma.da*; 66, iii 28: *ma-ar-ka-às ni-ši₆ ra-bi-a-tim*).

The place of Dim-kurkurra = *rikis mātāti* at the end of *Tintir* I may deliberately emulate the list of names of Marduk in the Creation Epic, the last of which is the parallel Bēl-mātāti, "Lord of the Lands" (*Enūma eliš* VII 136: note that this name of Marduk is borrowed from Enlil — in the myth, the latter confers it on his successor himself — just as we suspect the epithet "bond of the lands" to have been borrowed for Babylon from Enlil's city, Nippur).

TINTIR II

1 This *šubtu* (for the term as used in *Tintir* II see p. 9f.) is probably referred to by the commentary on Marduk's Address to the Demons (Lambert, *Afo* 17, p. 315, Commentary 4⁵): [*aššu*]*m(mu) bēl šā ina á-ki-it ina qa-bal tam-tim áš-bu*, "Referring to Bēl who during the Akītu sits in the middle of the Sea (Ti'āmat)". The significance of the name Ti'āmat as the designation of Marduk's *šubtu* is drawn from his victory over her, as recounted in the Creation Epic and celebrated annually in the Akītu-Temple outside the city walls (Lambert, *Iraq* 25, p. 189f.). The physical act of Marduk's sitting on Ti'āmat is symbolic of this triumph, and has a mythological precedent in Ea's establishment of his temple on his defeated enemy, Apsū, a temple that is also named after the vanquished party (*Enūma eliš* I 71-78). A depiction of Marduk's statue resting on Ti'āmat may be found on the lapis lazuli seal presented to the god by Marduk-zākir-šumi I and intended to be hung around his neck (for details see further Brinkman, *PHPKB*, p. 203¹²⁵⁵). The seal's relief shows Marduk standing on parallel rows of wavy lines which represent, in the conventional manner, the sea, of which Ti'āmat is, of course, the personification.

It has been suggested that the *šubtu* Ti'āmat be sought in the Akītu-Temple (so Lambert, loc. cit.), but we have argued above that the shrines of *Tintir* II are all to be located in the E-sagil temple complex (see p. 10f.); further, the Akītu-Temple, E-siskur, is nowhere mentioned in the extant text of *Tintir* = Babylon, which appears in any case to deal almost exclusively with only those religious buildings that lay inside the double circuit of the city wall (Imgur-Enlil and Nimit-Enlil), that is, within the city proper. As it happens, there may be evident in the opening section of Tablet II an order which might assist in locating some of the *šubtu*'s more exactly: one notes that there is a sequence of gods in lines 1-5 (Marduk, Anu, Enlil and Ea) that is partly paralleled in lines 7-11 (Zarpanītum, ⁴GIŠ.ŠAR..., Enlil, Anu and Ea). Leaving aside the problematical deity who follows Zarpanītum in the list, it is apparent that here we have listed the *šubtu*'s of the two main deities of E-sagil, Marduk and his wife, each followed by those of the ancient triad, Anu, Enlil and Ea. Now there is evidence which suggests that the *šubtu* of Zarpanītum in line 7, E-ḫal-anki, is to be located in her cella in E-sagil (see the commentary ad loc.). The conclusion then tempts one, that in these lines we have listed the *šubtu*'s of the cellae of Marduk and Zarpanītum, and this would be supported by the consideration that if *Tintir* II is a list of shrines in and around E-sagil, as we think it is, then one would expect it to open with those in the temple's most important cultic locations, namely E-umuša of Marduk and E-dara-anna of Zarpanītum. A significant snippet of further evidence is that Tašmētum, a goddess known from an inscription of Esarhaddon to have been a resident of Marduk's cella in E-sagil, turns up in line 3 of the list as the occupant of Enlil's *šubtu* (for the documentation see the commentary, ad loc.).

The *šubtu* Ti'āmat is thus probably to be seen as Marduk's "seat" in E-umuša, and can with some confidence be identified with the *šu-bat* ⁴mes, "seat of Marduk", from which

the procession of the eighth day of the New Year Festival started (according to a list of names of Marduk arranged according to his progress on this journey: see above, p. 83⁹, no. 59, l. 3).

2-3 *tilmun*^{ki} and *aratta*^{ki} are understood as divine epithets: in the lexical texts both are equated with *kabtu* (see the references cited by CAD K, p. 25), and both appear elsewhere as epithets of Enlil (e.g. in M.E. Cohen, *Sumerian Hymnology: the Eršemma*, pp. 110, 1; 113, 1; Reisner, *SBH* 46, rev. 27-28: *tilmun*^{ki} = *kab-tum*; and in an omen commentary, *a-rat-tu-ú* = ⁴en-[*lil*], CT 31 10, rev. (!) i 11, on which see CAD A/2, p. 239). Were it not for this parallel one might have understood *aratta*, at least, as a reference to the *šubtu* itself, for *arattū* is equated with *šubtu* and with *kussī nēmedi*, also an item of cultic furniture, in the synonym lists (A.D. Kilmer, *JAOS* 83, pp. 429, *Malku* I 283; 443, Explicit *Malku* II 145; von Soden, *ZA* 43, p. 240, *Malku* II 182; CT 18 3 = Explicit *Malku* III, rev. iii 4; cf. also *MSL* V, p. 187, *Hg A* I 33; *arattū* as a designation of a type of divine throne is found in royal inscriptions of Aššurnāširpal II, Thompson: *AAA* 19, p. 110 = pl. 87, 36; Aššurbanipal: Bauer, *IWA*, p. 47 and pl. 37, K 3136, 5-6; and Nabonidus: Messerschmidt, *MVAG* 1/I, p. 78, viii 17).

Oannes is now a well-attested figure in cuneiform literature, a name of the sage Adapa (see Lambert, *JCS* 16, p. 73f.; Hallo, *JAOS* 83, p. 176). The name is variously written *u₄.an*, *u₄.⁴an*, *u₄.an.na*, *u₄-ma-⁴a-nim* and even *umun(U)*, a list to which the orthography of the present line can be added. The identity of 'Son of Oannes' is not clear, nor is it understood why he should occupy a *šubtu* dedicated to Anu (unless simply as a result of the theological speculation reflected in some of the above-listed writings of his name). How Tašmētum comes to sit on Enlil's *šubtu* is likewise obscure, but this *šubtu* is almost certainly the one restored by Esarhaddon (Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 84, rev. 39): *šubat*(*ki.tuš*) ⁴is⁴*musukkanni iṣ-ṣi da-re-e a-di kēr-zap-pi ḫurāša ruššā*(*ḫu.š.a*) *lit-bu-šu a-na* ⁴*tašmētum*(*panun*) *bēlti rabūti* ⁴*a-ši-bat* *é.umuš.a pa-paḫ* ⁴*marduk šā qé-reb tin.tir*^{ki}, "the seat of *musukkannu*, the everlasting wood, as well as a footstool plated with red gold, for Tašmētum, the great lady who sits inside E-umuša, the cella of Marduk in Babylon, (I remake)". The *šubtu* occupied by Tašmētum is not to be confused with her cella, which lay elsewhere in E-sagil (see *ABL* 119, obv. 14, cited below in the commentary on text no. 7, BM 38602 // VAT 13817, i 5').

4-5 These shrines also appear together in text no. 43, BM 46060, 6'f. *é.engur.ra* in E-sagil is also mentioned in a letter to Esarhaddon or Aššurbanipal on the rebuilding operations at the temple (CT 53 60, rev. 6'). The name of the shrine is borrowed from Ea's temple in Eridu, which went by the synonymous names of *é.engur.ra* and *é.abzu* (for 'phonetic' writings of *é.engur.ra* of Eridu, and for other temples of the same name, see Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 54f.). *é.du₆.kù* is a temple name also associated with Ea and E-engurra in the Collection of Sumerian Temple Hymns, where it appears as an epithet of,

or a shrine within, the temple of Eridu (*TCS* III, p. 17, 4); and in *Malku* I, where synonyms of Apsû are collected (A.D. Kilmer, *JAOS* 83, p. 429, 288-92; cf. *CAD* A/2, p. 194):

é.engur ¹ .ra	=	ap-su-u
[engu]r.ra	=	MIN
du ₆ .kù	=	MIN
lâl.gar	=	MIN
a[bz]u	=	MIN

Cf. further *Idu* II 33 (*CT* 11 29, i 31): [du-u]u₆ šá du₆.kù = abzu. But this identification of du₆.kù and Apsû is in conflict with other known traditions as to the cosmological locations of du₆.kù, whether on “the mountain of heaven and underworld”, as in the Sumerian dispute Laḥar and Ašnan; in the eastern mountains where the sun rises, as in *Bīt rimki* (line quoted on p. 290); or in heaven, as seems to be implicit in the prayer *BRM* IV 7, 37, where a contrast between Apsû and du₆.kù follows a parallel contrast between Igigi and Anunnaki. For du₆.kù as a cultic location in Sumerian texts — at Lagaš and Nippur — see Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 50. As well as the é.du₆.kù of the present line there were also in E-sagil an é.du₆.kù.ga of Lugaldukuga (probably Ea again: see II 16 and commentary), and du₆.kù-ki.nam.tar.tar.re.e.dè, the Dais of Destinies (*parak šīmātī*) in Ubšû-ukkinna, which is perhaps, along with the like-named shrines in Nippur and other cities, an earthly representation of the cosmic du₆.kù, home of the gods in Laḥar and Ašnan (on du₆.kù, the Dais of Destinies, see II 17' and commentary).

The *kilzappu* and the *atmānu* kept in these two *šubtu*'s of Ea are evidently cultic fixtures or fittings that could be stowed away. A cultic “footstool” is mentioned above in connection with a *šubtu* of Tašmētum (II 3), but if such items are standard accessories of *šubtu*'s why the special mention here? Given the probable location of these *šubtu*'s in Marduk's cella (see above, on II 1) perhaps the *kilzappu* and the *atmānu* kept in them are to be considered items of cultic equipment pertaining to Marduk's statue and throne. Another attestation of *atmānu* as not a cultic chamber, but rather something movable kept in a temple cella, comes from the Istanbul stele of Nabonidus, who replaced the *atmānu* of Ištar of Uruk after its sacrilegious removal, along with her chariot-team of lions, by the citizens of that town (Messerschmidt, *MVAG* 1/I, p. 75, iii 13-30).

6 One might also read é.gara₁₀.nun.ḥé.du₇; with the name compare a temple of ša-dun-ni^{ki}, é.ga.i/gara₁₀.nun.šár.šár, known from an unpublished duplicate of the syncretistic hymn *KAR* 109 + 343 (courtesy W.G. Lambert). On Telītu, a title of Ištar, see recently the remarks of Lambert, *Zikir šumim*, p. 213f.

7 This seat of Zarpanītum seems likely to have been situated in her cella (E-dara-anna, or, less strictly, Ka-ḫilisu: see the gate list no. 6, BM 35046, 7-8, and commentary). In an

inscription of Aššurbanipal E-ḫal-anki is given an epithet which equates it with Ka-ḫilisu, the “Gate of Luxury” (*bāb kuzbi*; Bauer, *IWA*, p. 49 = pl. 58, rev. 12): *ina é.ḫal.an.ki šu-bat ku-uz-bi* ⁴nin.bára.ge.sì, “in E-ḫal-anki, the abode of luxury of Ninbaraggesi” (for this name of Zarpanītum, dating back to the Old Babylonian period, see *TCL* XV 10, 106-07; *CT* 25 35, obv. 15 // 36, obv. 14; 46 53, ii 4); the context rather suggests that in this inscription E-ḫal-anki is used as a name for the cella as a whole (*pars pro toto*), a circumstance which could only arise if the *šubtu* of this name was situated in E-dara-anna-Ka-ḫilisu. The use of the name with reference to something rather larger than a *šubtu* is also found in the Assyrian Temple List, where E-ḫal-anki follows E-sagil in the list and refers to her chapel as a whole (no. 20, GAB 182, in which the name is translated as [bīt] *pirište šamê u erseṭi*, “House of the secrets of heaven and underworld”). Outside these texts E-ḫal-anki of Zarpanītum is found in the hymn *KAR* 109 + 343, obv. 11, where it follows é.sag.íl and du₆.kù, Marduk's seat in Ubšû-ukkinna (restored after unpublished duplicates, courtesy W.G. Lambert):

[é.ḫal.an.ki bīt kiš-šat uz-ni te-re]-tu-šu ḫa-am-⁵ma¹

(In) E-ḫal-anki, the house of all wisdom, (the goddess) gathers her decrees.

It also appears in the Erra Epic I 128:

a-ge-e bé-lu-ti-ka ¹šá kīma é.te.me.en.an.ki ú-nam-ma-¹ri¹ é.ḫal.an.ki pa-nu-šu kàt-mu

(Why, O Marduk,) is the face of your lordly crown veiled, that should light up E-ḫal-anki as if it were E-temen-anki?

The context of this simile would seem to be a visit by Marduk to Zarpanītum's cella (where he shared her bed). The light reflected by his dazzling headgear should cause the *šubtu* E-ḫal-anki (no doubt itself heavily decorated with bright metals and polished gemstones) to shine, much as the structure of the ziqqurra, E-temen-anki, shines in the sun (by virtue of its blue-glazed brick facing). For a possible (emended) reference to E-ḫal-anki in Nabonidus' Istanbul stele see below, p. 415.

8 One might equally translate “Throne of the Maiden”.

9-10 *kirḫu* is usually an enclosure wall, but if we are still in the vicinity of Zarpanītum's cella (as argued on p. 268) it may perhaps refer to the wall of her chapel courtyard (the Court of (the Chapel of) Bēltiya, which may be mentioned in II 19: see the commentary thereon).

11 This shrine also appears in the Kedor-laomer text BM 34062 (Jeremias, *MVAG* 21, p. 86, 15: a-na iku_x šu-b[at ⁴idi]m is-ni-qa ¹⁶n[akru]; coll.). Its name is perhaps an allusion to the *ikū*-star, a cosmic representation of E-sagil and Babylon (references are given on p.

244), although in astronomical terms this is the seat of Anu (^{mul}iku, bára an.na = i-ku-ú šu-bat ^aa-nim, Astrolabe B, KAV 218, A i 1 and 7).

12-13 A shrine ú.su, also of Gula, appears in the List of Shrines in E-rab-riri (no. 12, K 2107+6086, rev. iii 9'). Our interpretation of ú.zu in the present ceremonial name understands it as an allusion to the patronage of the medical profession by the shrine's occupant, the divine *azugallatu* (for this epithet of Gula see CAD A/2, p. 529). Given the gender of *elēnū* and *šaplū* in these lines we are encouraged to understand ellipsis of *kisallu*. The Upper and Lower Courts of E-sagil, respectively those of the main building (also known as the Court of Bēl) and the Eastern Annexe, are discussed in the commentary on the gate list no. 7, BM 38602 // VAT 13817, i 5'.

14 Alala and Belili occur elsewhere as a pair in *An* = *Anum* I, where they are the eighth of the ancestral couples of Anu (CT 24 20, 11), and in a shorter ancestry of the same god preserved in incantations (KAR 22, obv. 25; Zimmern, ZA 23, p. 374, 80). Note also their probable presence in an OB divination prayer (Dossin, RA 32, p. 183, 27: ^aen-ki ^anin-ki ^aa-la-l[a ^abe-li-l]i?). Outside divine genealogy they appear together in the unpublished hymn to Borsippa (BM 61625 + 76480 +, vi 57).

15 še.er.zi = šá-ru-[ru], MSL XII, p. 107, Lu 111, and the shrine's name is thus appropriate to its occupant. With it compare é.še.er.zi.gūr.ru, "House Clad in Radiance", a name given to the temple of Inanna at Zabalam (Sjöberg, TCS III, p. 35, 315; the name also appears in the OB temple list OECT IV, pl. 53, ii 23, é.še.er.zi.gūru' (now MSL XI, p. 142, vii), and in the Canonical Temple list: Craig, AJSL 13, p. 220, Sm 289, obv. ii 20 (photo: Kramer Anniversary Volume, pl. 11, K 15262 +; coll.), é.še.er.<zi>.[g]ūr.r[u], among other temples of Ištar). For an Akkadian version of the idiom see the E-sagil Commentary, which describes Marduk's temple as *bītu nāšū šarūrū*, "House which bears radiance" (no. 5, l. 15). That temples should be "clad in radiance" is probably an allusion to the shining materials with which temples exteriors, as well as interiors, were decorated: Nebuchadnezzar II reports that he embellished E-sagil with silver, gold, choice precious stones, copper and other expensive furnishings, so "causing its radiance to shine forth like the sun's" (ša-aš-ši-iš ú-ša-pa-a ša-ru-ru-ú-šu, I R 52, no. 3, i 29).

16 For the Chariot House of E-sagil see text no. 14, VAT 9961 + 10335, 7, which places it in the southern part of the main building. A parallel to this *šubtu* is found in the Shrine List of E-šarra, where the Chariot House of Enlil-Aššur is the shrine of his forbear Enmešarra (no. 21, BM 134502, obv. 12'). Enmešarra and Lugaldukuga are indeed equated in a theological text (Thureau-Dangin, RA 16, p. 145, 1), the latter being Enlil's father (*An* = *Anum* I: CT 24 5, 37). In the present line, however, Lugaldukuga is probably Marduk's father, Ea (the equation is made in a commentary on *Iqqur-īpuš*, CT

41 39, rev. 8, and is understood in *Enūma eliš* VII 99-100, where ^adumu.du₆.kū.ga (Marduk) is son of Lugaldukuga; Ea becomes "Lord of Duku(g)" through the identification of Apsū and du₆.kū: see above, on II 5, and further Lambert, RLA VII, p. 133f.).

17-18 The reading of KU in the shrine name é.umuš.a is suggested by variants to *Hh* IV 306, which lists the name of Marduk's processional barge, ^{sis}má.umuš.a: a forerunner from Ugarit reads [^{sis}m]á.^aumuš.ša (Thureau-Dangin, Syria 12, pl. 47, no. 3, 7), while a Kuyunjik fragment has [^{sis}má.umu]š.šá (CT 25 7, K 14176, 7). The shrine E-umuša-Asalluḫi is reminiscent of Marduk's cella in E-sagil, E-umuša, for which see the commentary below on the gate list no. 6, BM 35046, 1.

The two *šubtu*'s of these lines appear from their occupants to be a pair, and this consideration prompts the restoration in line 18. A chapel of Ninurta is known from a gate list of E-sagil as the location of a throne-dais of Asarre (no. 6, BM 35046, 31; this chapel is perhaps identifiable with the room called by Koldewey Cella C, and by Wetzel, Room 12: see the commentary on the gate list), and one wonders whether this circumstance accounts for the names of our *šubtu*'s.

19 The name of this *šubtu* recalls a shrine or temple in the Marduk section of the Canonical Temple List, between é.umuš.a and é.sag.il (Pinches, PSBA 22, p. 362, ii 6: é.a.ra.<zu>.giš.t[uku = é (^aamar.utu)]; an unpublished duplicate, Sm 277, ii 2, reads simply é.giš.tuku = [é...]).

One is tempted to restore the courtyard at the end of this line as *kisal bīt Bēltīya*, since the Court of (the Chapel of) Bēltīya is a known part of E-sagil, and one where there were indeed two throne-daises on which these *šubtu*'s may have rested (see no. 6, BM 35046, 33-35, and commentary).

20 E-ḫal-anki is also a temple name associated with Ea in the Canonical Temple List (II R 61, no. 1, obv. 24: é.ḫal.an.[ki], among other temples or shrines of Ea; but one might equally restore there é.ḫal.an.[kū], citing as evidence MSL XIV, p. 142, 18: ^{hal-an-kū}HAL = *ap-sū-ú-um*).

21-24 The divine owners of these four *šubtu*'s appear in the very same order in text no. 58, the tiny fragment K 18438 (pl. 55).

21 ēš.gar appears as a cultic fixture in a hymn to Nanna, where it is a term describing the god's throne platform in E-kišnugal (du₆.maḫ.zu ki.kū.ga ma.ra.ab.ak ēš.gar' an.ki.a, UET VI 67, 30); and also in Gudea's Statue B, where one is found in the courtyard of E-ninnu (*kisal* ^anin.gir.su lugal.gá.ka ēš.gar.ra.bi, viii 24-25). Qingu was, of course, the

chief, after Ti'āmat, of Marduk's defeated enemies, from whose blood Ea produced mankind (*Enūma eliš* VI 29-34). His cultic presence in E-sagil is paralleled by that of other vanquished gods, namely Bašmu (II 23) and, apparently, Ti'āmat herself (II 31).

22 The name of Dumuzi's *šubtu* in E-sagil is taken from a shrine in é.muš.(kalam.ma), the temple of Bad-tibira shared by him and Inanna (for which see Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 95): in Dumuzi texts du₆.šuba, also written du₆.su₈.ba and du₆.su.bi, often occurs in conjunction with an é.a.ra.li (as in Jacobsen, *JNES* 12, p. 178, Inanna and Bilulu 180-81; *VS* II 1, rev. iii 11; *BE* XXX/1 1, ii 10; *IV R*² 27, no. 1, 3), and this was itself either another shrine in the same temple at Bad-tibira, or simply a by-name for it (Sjöberg, op. cit.), appearing as a shrine or temple of both Dumuzi and his sister Belili in the Canonical Temple List (Dumuzi: Sm 277, rev. iii 13 // K 4224+, 13: both unpub., courtesy W.L. Moran; Belili: II R 61, no. 1, rev. 17 + unpub. join).

šuba, again with the variants su₈.ba and su.bi, is itself an epithet of Dumuzi (Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 30, 216, and p. 96; *BE* XXX/1 6, i 5), that in a Kuyunjik bilingual is translated "shepherd" (*IV R*² 27, no. 1, 1-2: su₈.ba en ^ddumu.zi mu.ud.na gašan.an.na = *re-é-um be-lim* ^ddumu-zi *ha-me-er* ^diš-tar). This is no late interpretation for the equations šuba = ^ddumu-zi, *re-e-u₅-[um]* occur in Proto-*Diri* (Goetze, *JCS* 7, p. 29, v 8-9), and it is apparent that šuba, at least when used as an epithet of the divine shepherd Dumuzi, is considered the same word as su₈.ba, Emesal dialect of sipa(d). We have translated du₆.šuba accordingly (against Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 96, for whom šuba in divine epithets is always "shining"). For a speculative Akkadian interpretation of du₆.šuba see the Nippur Compendium, i 15' (text no. 18), where it is apparently an epithet of Nippur and is translated *āšibat šuluh zīmi*.

23 *ušumgallu* and *bašmu*, two mythical monsters, are much the same thing, and are equated in some lexical texts (*MSL* VIII/2, p. 7, *Hh* XIV 6; XVI, p. 108, *Nabnītu* VII 118; XVII, p. 210, *Antagal* E i 27'. The *bašmu*, a sea serpent, is one of the monsters created by Ti'āmat and defeated with her by Marduk, whose images he set up at the Gate of Apsū (*Enūma eliš* I 141-43; V 73-75). A shorter list of such monsters is found in *Šurpu* VIII 6-7, and similar groups also appear in the inscription of Agum-kakrime, adorning the gates of Marduk and Zarpanītum in E-sagil (V R 33, iv 50-v 13), and in a text of Nebuchadnezzar II which records his depiction on the walls of E-umuša, Marduk's cella in E-sagil, of [b]a-aš-mu la-aḥ-mu mušhuššū^{mes} ugallū urdimmū gu₄.dumu.^dutu.gu₄.dumu.^dutu [k]ulullū^{mes} šabātu^{mes} [a]n-za-a-am ù gir.tab.lú.u₁₈.lu (George, *RA* 82, p. 143f., 38'-42'). This decoration, for which *Enūma eliš* V 73-75 is probably an aetiological explanation, also attracts the comment of Berossus (see F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* 3C1, p. 371f.). In the present line, however, the *bašmu* adorns neither gate nor wall, but a *šubtu* comprising throne-daises.

24 The name of the *šubtu*, a euphemism for the realm of the dead, is again appropriate, for Ningišzida is well known as the chamberlain (*guzalū*) of the netherworld (see below, on IV 13). On ki.gal.(la) as the netherworld see the remarks of Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 54; one may note as a parallel to the present shrine's name that in the temple hymns Ningišzida's cult-centre, the city Gišbanda, is described as gán ki.gal gir nu.e₁₁, "the field(?), the 'Great Place' (from which) no path ascends": *ibid.*, p. 28, 190).

As with the previous line, the occupant of the *šubtu* is ophidian: on the god ^dMUŠ see recently G.J.P. McEwan, *OrNS* 52, p. 215ff. The sign following the name in our line might be taken as a phonetic complement: if so, read rather ^dnirāhu^{bu}. Snakes are associated with the cult of Ningišzida from an early period, according to the evidence of Gudea's votive vase, his seal and other glyptic (the serpents, often horned, of Ningišzida are the subject of a considerable literature, among which note especially Heuzey, *RA* 6, p. 95ff.; Frankfort, *Iraq* 1, p. 9f.; van Buren, *Iraq* 1, p. 70ff.; Seidl, *BagM* 4, p. 191). Confirmation of this god's ophidian nature can be found in his identification in the scholarly literature with the snake constellation, perhaps our Hydra (^{mul.}^dMUŠ = ^dnin-giš-zi-da bēl er-še-tum: *CT* 33 2, rev. 8; note also the pairing of Irḥan/Nirah and Ningišzida in Astrolabe B as one of the twelve stars of the Path of Enlil: *kakkabu ša arkišū izzazzu*^[zu] ^dMUŠ u ^dnin-giš-z[i-da], *KAV* 218, B iii 6-7).

25 In the name of this shrine we prefer to read nigin rather than kilib, noting MS j's nja.šu.a.bi; MS oo has nigin.BA, it is true, but the BA is a miswritten šu and not a resumption of the preceding sign. The latter MS, an exercise tablet, is very prone to errors of this kind, writing in line 23 ŠĀ + BI for ušum; in 24 UŠ for da; in the present line ^da-nim-DI for ^da-nun-na-ki; and in 27 UD for pi: this student scribe was not yet a master, clearly.

The presence on this *šubtu* of gypsum, effectively as a divine symbol, recalls its function in magic and ritual, where it is an apotropaic substance considered by ancient commentators to represent the god Ninurta (see Livingstone, *MMEW*, p. 172 ff.).

26-27 The *šubtu*'s of these lines form a pair, one either side of a gateway whose location is not specified, perhaps because it was obvious from the context of the preceding lines (on *sippu*, "doorsill", see below, the commentary on II 29'-30'). They and the gods to whom they are dedicated are also known from an unpublished ritual of E-sagil in which occurs the following invocation (K 3446+8830, rev. 4-9, and Sm 211, 1-6; courtesy W.G. Lambert):

[in]a 'é.níg.érim'.[hul.e.d]è da-a-a-iš rag-gi le[m]-nu-tum
[š]u-bat ^akur.zi.gim.mù.m[ù šā] šadū^a ki-ma qé-mi i-qam-mu-ù
[šad]i? rag-gi lem-nu-ù[um] ki-ma qé-mi liq-mi

[i-n]a é.gúr.hur.sag ina M[IN? mu-kan-niš šā-d]i-i šu-bat ^akur.gi!(ZĪ).gim.šā.šā^{šā-šā}
[šā šad]ā^a [ki-m]a qanē^{nē-e} ú-ḥaš-ša-šu
[šad]i? la k[an-šu-ù]i-ka li-ḥaš-ši-šu qanī^{nī}.šam

In E-nigerim-ḥulede, '(House) which Threshes the Evil Wicked', the seat of Kurziggimmumu, 'Who Burns the Mountain like Fire', may he burn the mountain(?) of the evil wicked like flour!

In E-gur-ḥursag, ['(House) which Subdues the] Mountain', the seat of Kurgigimšaša, 'Who Snaps the Mountain like a Reed', may he snap [the mountain(?) of those] insubmissive [to you] like a reed!

The names of both shrines and their gods are here given straightforward Akkadian translations (although the derivation of *dā'īšu* probably owes more to literary embellishment than etymological interpretation), these being then combined to produce the final behests. The two gods are known to be weapons of Ninurta, being found together among other such in K 9336+13588 (Cooper, *Angim*, p. 161, 11: [^a]kur.zi.gim.mu₇.mu₇ ^akur.gi.gim.š[ā.šā₅]), and this connection accounts for the references in the ritual, and in the name of é.gúr.hur.sag itself, to the defeat of the Mountain, for this was a traditional mythological enemy of Ninurta (cf. *Anzū* I 10 and III 17, Sjöberg, *OrSuec* 23-24, pp. 162, ii 2; 164, i 15', and further *Angim* 135, where one of his other weapons is described as níḡ kur gúr.gúr = *mu-kan-niš šā-di-i*, "subduer of the Mountain"; in *Lugale* 235 Ninurta himself is u₄ ki.bal.a.šē kur zi.gim mù.mù = u₄-mu šā ina māt nu-kur-ti ša-da-a ki-ma qé-me i-qam-mu-ù). The character of the two gods is probably demonic, for their names belong to a group of stock epithets used of such beings in the exorcistic literature (gi.gim in.šā.šā₅ = *ki-ma qa-nē-e uḥ-ta-aš-ši-iš*, *CT* 17 19, 5-6; *kīma qanē^{meš} ta-ḥa-<ša>-aš*, *KAR* 88, Fragment 5, rev. iii 3; zi.gim mù.mù/mu₇.mu₇.meš = *ki-ma qé-me i-qam-mu-ù*, *CT* 17 36, K 9272, 3 // 42 10, rev. 4-5; 16 14, iv 20-21). But identical and parallel similes are also found in other literature (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 181; an Enlil hymn, *CT* 15 11, 6; a Nabû litany, Lambert, *Albright Festschrift* 1971, p. 345, rev. 2-5, and Meek, *BA* X/1, no. 19 // K 8728 (unpub.), 8-9; IV *R*² 12, rev. 3-4: MB royal; King, *AKA*, p. 261f., 22-23; Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 97, obv. 32-33).

Elsewhere the "Lion Monster" (*uggallu*) of Babylon is personified as the god Muštēšir-ḥabli (text no. 7, i 14').

28a The reading of the musician god ^aNAR is provided by the god lists, where he is glossed du-un-ga (*CT* 25 48, 10: = ^aé-a šā i^unāri; 29 45, 11; *LBAT* 1577, obv. 11': = *ilu šā na-a-rum*; *An* = *Anum* II 288 (*CAD* N/1, p. 377): = dingir.nar.ke₄ = *ilu šā na-a-rī*).

His *šubtu* evidently bore a name pertinent to his function, perhaps [ki.(lú)].nar, "Place of the Musician".

29 This shrine occurs in a ritual tablet of E-sagil for the month Kislimu (BM 32206+, ii 23: G. Çağrgan, *The Babylonian Festivals* (Birmingham Ph.D., 1976, unpublished), p. 107). There was a shrine of the same name in E-anna at Uruk, mentioned in connection with a procession of the torch (Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, p. 120, 1), and another in E-zida at Borsippa (Nassouhi, *AfK* 2, p. 100, i 7: ki.zalag.ga šu-bat ^anūru(izi.gar); Aššurbanipal), where it appears to have been the station of the divine torch used for lighting the temple's brazier (l. 8).

30 Du-ki-sikil may be mentioned in the Istanbul stele of Nabonidus in connection with the plating with silver of doors of E-sagil (Messerschmidt, *MVAG* 1/I, p. 78, viii 35, quoted on p. 414f.), and is a possible restoration in the fragment BM 74167, 4' (no. 32). It is located inside E-sagil on Marduk's New Year procession route, between the "seat of Marduk" (probably his *šubtu* Tī'āmat: see above, on II 1) and the Dais of Destinies (the du₆.kū of II 17'): this is clear from text no. 59, which lists the names of Marduk according to his progress in this procession (quoted above, p. 83⁹, 4; his name while sitting opposite du₆.ki.sikil is, significantly, Enbilulu). A second text, dealing with the same subject in a slightly different manner, gives the *šubtu* another name (*KAR* 142, obv. i 3-4 // *CT* 46 53, ii 14-15):

ki.tuš.ki.sikil (var.: ki.kū.sikil) šu-bat (var.: ūnu!) ^aen-me-[šār-ra] manzāz(gišgal) ^aen-bi-lu-lu uššab^{ab}-ma [^aen-bi-lu-]u?

(Marduk) sits on Kituš-ki-sikil/Ki-ku-sikil, the seat of Enmešarra, the station of Enbilulu, and (his name is) [Enbilulu(?).]

Enmešarra, a forbear of Enlil (*An* I: *CT* 24 4, 26; Death of Gilgameš: Kramer, *BASOR* 94, p. 8, 17-18; see further Civil, *AfO* 25, p. 66f.), became, together with his seven sons, a victim of Marduk (see the myth of Marduk and Enmešarra, Pinches, *PSBA* 30, p. 53ff.), and occupies a *šubtu* in E-sagil much as a trophy of this victory, perhaps. This *šubtu* evidently came to be shared by Marduk (as Enbilulu) on account of the stationing there of his statue in the New year procession. On (En-)Bilulu, originally an independent deity connected with irrigation, but later identified with Adad (*KAR* 142, rev. iii 19) as well as with Marduk (*Enūma eliš* VII 57ff.), see the remarks of Jacobsen, *JNES* 12, p. 167.

31 In view of the variant with ūru, and the gloss ki-ur-u on é.ki.ūr in the Nippur Compendium, ii 28', and in BM 53824, obv. 5 (pl. 9: extract from a text apparently giving names of Ninurta in Nippur according to cultic location), one should perhaps read ki.ūr as ki.uru₁₂. Less conclusively, in view of the speculative nature of the text, one may also

note writings of é.ki.ùr, the temple of Ninlil in Nippur, as é.ki.ù.ru and é.ki.u.ru in the Nippur Temple List, 6'-10' (no. 19). This additional vowel also accounts for the etymological Akkadian rendering of the shrine name as *ašru naklu*, where ki = *ašru* and ùr or ùru is understood as *uru*₁₆(n) (EN; the phonetic writing *u*₁₈.ru also occurs. For their equation with *naklu* see the commentary on the Nippur Temple List, l. 2', where [é].k[i.ù]r = *áš-ru na-ak-[lu]*).

This shrine is also found in the unpublished E-sagil ritual tablet K 3446 + 8830, rev. 14, ki.ùru.kù.ga *áš-ru ellu(kù) nak-lu* (courtesy W.G. Lambert). But the original meaning of the name is probably overlooked. One thinks of ki.ùr = *du-ru-[uš-šu]*, "foundation" (MSL XVII, p. 221, *Antagal G 21*), but note also *Igituh I 367-369* (VAT 10270 v 43-45):

[é.ki].ùr	=	<i>rug-bu</i>
é.k[i].ùru	=	<i>a-su-up-pu</i>
[é.su]ur.r]a	=	<i>šá-hu-ru</i>

ki.ùr and ki.ùru are here evidently rooftop structures, but for *asuppu* in the context of temple buildings see the Middle Babylonian letter from Nippur, Biggs, *JCS* 19, p. 97, 7.

One might consider reading the first divine name as ^dgu₇.bi.KU.KU but, in the sole manuscript where the name is preserved, KU is written with two inside horizontal wedges (MS j); the sign in question is closer to sig. A parallel name may be ^dgu₇.bi.eren (Deimel, *Fara* II 56, i 13), but the precise significance of the present name escapes us. Tāmātu is presumably Ti'āmat, the Sea.

32 é.gir₄.kù is interpreted as a name of Nergal in the bilingual list of personal names V R 44 = Lambert, *JCS* 11, p. 13, iii 55 (^mir.é.gir₄.kù = ^marad.^au.gur; the name can also be written without é: E. von Weiher, *Nergal*, pp. 4, 98²), from which circumstance it appears probable that Nergal was possessed of a shrine or temple of the same name as Nuska's *šubtu* of the present line. The name probably harks back to an original function as temple bakery, gir₄ being the term for just such in the Collection of Sumerian Temple Hymns (Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 17, 17: in E-engura at Eridu), and in Nūr-Adad's Ur inscription (*UET* VIII 67, iii 8: in E-kišnugal at Ur).

33 The waters of the Tigris and Euphrates have a cultic significance in E-sagil, for in the New Year rituals the *šešgallu*-priest of E-umuša washes himself in them ([^mē^{mes}] *nāri* ⁱaⁱdiqlat u ⁱaⁱpuratti ⁱirammuk(tu₅), Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, p. 153, 286), and water from the same wells is used to purify the temple (^mē^{mes} *būrti*(pú) ⁱaⁱdiq-lat u *būrti*(pú) ⁱaⁱpuratti *bīta i-sal-laḥ*, *ibid.*, 341-42). Ritual use of water of the Tigris and Euphrates in the cult is already found in Gudea, Cyl. B, xvii 7-11 (see also Enmerkar and the Land of Aratta, ll. 310-11; *YOS* XI 22, 19: *ikrib*; 48, 2-3; Goetze, *JCS* 9, pp. 11, D 15; 16⁵⁸: incantations). The New year ritual suggests that in E-sagil such water was drawn from a pair of special wells, and since these would be the obvious location for the *šubtu* of the Tigris and

Euphrates it is probable that we should restore *bīt* [*būrti*] at the end of this line (a restoration with which the shrine name itself seems to be in agreement, and which is supported by the appearance of a well in the following line). According to the metrological text on E-sagil in the New York Metropolitan Museum (86-11-102, on which see above, p. 10), the well-house of E-sagil measured 6 $\frac{1}{3}$ by 5 $\frac{2}{3}$ cubits (about 3 by 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ metres) and was served by two gates of 2 cubits width, one leading to a courtyard, the other to Ka-ḫegal, the west main gate of the temple, behind Marduk's cella.

34-35 Prior to the well-house the New York metrological text deals with a pair of chapels, which belong to the gods Sîn and Nergal; in the latter is a *šubtu* whose dimensions are listed. One wonders whether these chapels (*bītu*) are not in fact the two shrines of Sîn and an unknown god given here, especially in view of their association in both texts with a well.

36 The shrine is found again as a room within E-sagil in a Kedor-laomer text, BM 34062 (Jeremias, *MVAG* 21, p. 86, 20-21: coll.): *i-ru-um-ma ana é.ad.gi₄.gi₄ is-suḫ ka-tim-tum a-na* ^den.nun.dagal.la ⁱaⁱnakru *is-ni-qa lem-ni-iš*, "The enemy entered E-adgigi and ripped out the door, he approached Ennundagalla with evil intent". The divine name of the present line (it appears again in II 27') is apparently a conflation of the two "sages of Marduk" in *An* = *Anum* (CT 24 28, iii 63-64):

^d ganun.ḫé.du ₇	=	ŠU	=	2 [gu ₄ .d]úb
^d en.nun.dagal.la	=	ŠU	=	^d a[mar.utu].ke ₄

The latter's function is further defined in a Nabû litany, where he is described as *ad.gi₄.gi₄*, "counsellor" (Lambert, *Albright Festschrift* 1971, p. 346, 26), a status to which the present shrine name is an obvious reference.

37 The shrine's name is again appropriate to its divine residents. Nādin-mê-qātī ("He who Proffers the Water of the Hands") and Mukīl-mê-balāṭī ("He who Presents the Water of Life") are two officers (udug) of E-sagil in *An* = *Anum* (CT 24 16, iii 15-16 // 28, iii 70-71), who serve Marduk's needs at his morning meal (in the unpublished ritual, BM 32206+, ii 8-10, written ^dna-din-a-šumⁱⁿ and ^dmu-kil-a^{mes}-din; on the source see p. 277). The former is also known from Šurpu VIII 9, and from the New York metrological tablet of E-sagil (iv 16, where his partner is probably to be restored alongside him).

38 The presence of one *šubtu* within another illustrates the range of meaning covered by the term, a problem that is discussed on p. 9f.

39 The shrine name is one associated with Adad, for é.u₄.gal.gal is his temple in Karkara (IM^{k1}: the temple is attested in the Collection of Sumerian Temple Hymns,

though not under this name in the extant text (Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 36f., 328-51) — but note the pun involved in the opening line of the hymn, where the temple is é.úg.gal.gim, in the Ur III source, é.ú₆.gal.gim; for é.ú₄.gal.gal of Adad in the Old Babylonian period, see Renger, *Heidelberger Studien*, p. 142). The temple name gave rise to a name of Adad, ^aú₄.gal.gal (= ^aadad šá [IM^k], *KAR* 142, rev. iii 21); elsewhere he is ú₄.gal.la ú₅.a, “the rider on the storm” (Bernhardt and Kramer, *WZJ* 9, p. 237, Enki and the World Order 311; *CT* 15 15, 8: hymn to Iškur). But this is not conclusive evidence for the restoration of Adad as the occupant of the *šubtu* in E-sagil, for there was a shrine é.ú₄.gal of Enlil in E-rab-riri (see text no. 12, l. 3’), and ú₄.gal is an epithet used also of other gods (see the references collected by Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 100).

40-41 Ka-ude-babbar is the main gate of the south front of the main building of E-sagil (see on this p. 87; for its lobby (*ašrukkatu*) and the connotations of the term as the room just inside a large gateway, see the commentary below on the metrological tablet VAT 9961 + 10335 (no. 14), 5-6, where the width of the lobby of Ka-ude-babbar along its south-north axis is given as 8 cubits). úmun.sag is a name appropriate to a shrine of the Mother Goddess, for úmun and *mummu* (^ú-mu-^{un}-úmun = *mu-um-mu*, *MSL* III, p. 136, *S*^b II 88) are to do with the fashioning of life: *mummu* is an epithet of creator deities (^aé-a *mu-um-mu ba-an ka-la*, *VS* I 37, iii 4-5: Merodachbaladan; ^a*mu-um-mu ba-an šamê* *u eršetim*^{im}, *Enūmu eliš* VII 86, as a name of Marduk; *mu-um-mu ti-amat mu-al-li-da-at gim-ri-šú-un*, *ibid.* I 4), but is also that part of a temple where “gods are brought to life” (úmun.zi ki.dingir.ù.tu, Enki and the World Order 194: see Falkenstein, *ZA* 56, p. 72; cf. also *LKA* 76, 7-8: é.kur úmun dí.m.dím.ma dingir.lugal.bi = é.kur *mu-um-mi ba-nu-ú ili ú šarri*, “E-kur, *mummu* which creates god and king”; Sons of Nippur). For this, the workshop where divine images are fashioned and restored, see Lambert, *AfO* 18, p. 399; Heidel, *JNES* 7, p. 98ff.; van Dijk, *SGL* II, p. 115ff.; von Weiher, *BagM* 15, p. 202, 8.

42-45 èš.maḥ is a temple name associated with Ea (see *Tintir* IV 35) and èš.bàn.da is thus fitting for his daughter, Nanše. These two are also found paired with the *šubtu*’s that follow them here in an unpublished ritual of E-sagil, K 3446 + 8830, obv. 19-rev. 3 (courtesy W.G. Lambert; prayer for the king?):

[a-n]a ká.gal ká.im.limmu.ba ká.gu.la ina e-re-[bī]-ka
[èš.ma]ḥ èš.bàn.da u šu.luḥ.bi.kù.ga šá *ašrukkati*(ašlug) ki.tuš.ḥ[un].gá
[šú-bat tap-šu-ú]ḥ-ti di.ku₅.ka.aš.bar.si.sá!(SI)
[. . . ina èš.bàn.da šuba]t(ki.tuš) ^ananše a-šar mer-de-e-ti ilī(dingir.dingir) iš-šim-ma
[. . .] ta-na-da-a-ti li-ge-su-ka

When you enter Ka-gal, Ka-im-limmuba and Ka-gula [(and stand before(?)) Eš-maḥ, Eš-banda and Šuluḥbi-kuga of the lobby (of Ka-maḥ), Kituš-ḥunga, [Abode of] Rest, and Diku-kašbar-sisa, [...in Eš-banda, the] seat of Nanše, where the offerings of the gods are decreed, may [(the gods)] allot you a praiseworthy [(name)]!

The three gates mentioned in line 19 are perhaps the doorways to the three groups of *šubtu*’s found in the following lines (i.e. the three in the lobby, Kituš-ḥunga, “Abode of Rest”, and Diku-kašbar-sisa). The general location of all these shrines must be Ka-maḥ, for this is where Eš-maḥ and Eš-banda are located in the present text (note further Ea in ká.maḥ? in von Weiher, *BagM* 15, p. 202, 22). Ka-maḥ appears to be the main entrance into the Eastern Annexe of E-sagil (see p. 87), which takes the procession of Marduk out into the temple precinct and to the processional way beyond Ka-sikilla. In this connection it is interesting to note the second and third of our four *šubtu*’s as points on such a procession in the list of Marduk’s names that takes its arrangement from such matters (*CT* 46 53, ii 19-20):

[ina š]u.luḥ.bi.kù.ga [^a . . .]
[ina èš].bàn.da [^a . . .]

(The preceding lines of this list, which are included in the Archive of Mystic Heptads, *KAR* 142, obv. i 1-9, deal with the procession from E-sagil to the Akītu-Temple, but these two lines are apparently the start of something new.) The theological image of Nanše’s shrine as the place “where the offerings of the gods are decreed” is nicely paralleled by *Tintir*’s cultic description of it as a place where sacrificial sheep are dealt with in some way.

With šu.luḥ.bi.kù.ga compare the temple of Kiš, é.šū.luḥ.ḥa.kù, translated *bītu ša šuluḥḥūšu ellū* in no. 22, VAT 13817, ii 14’.

46 A *šubtu* of the same name in E-rab-riri, the temple of Madānu, belongs to Nabû (no. 12, K 2107 + 6086, rev. iii 2’).

49 The shrine shares its name with the temple of Bēlet-Akkade (Ištar of Akkade) in the quarter of Ka-dingirra: see *Tintir* IV 16 and commentary.

50 A shrine of the same name is listed further on (line 33’), where it is the “station” (*manzāzu*) of Madānu. The “Son of the Prince” is a particular epithet of Sîn (references for ^adumu.nun.na as a name of the moon god in Old Babylonian and later god lists, and for *dumu* nun.na as his epithet, are collected by Sjöberg, *Nanna-Suen*, p. 142), giving rise to a temple é.dumu.nun.na (of Sîn at Uruk: Clay, *BRM* IV 6, 33) and a gate ká.gal.dumu.nun.na (of Sîn at Nippur: *MSL* XIII, p. 228, *Kagal* 7). Sîn is thus a strong candidate for restoration in the present line.

2’ E-zida in E-sagil is well known as the cella of Nabû, both in the New Year rituals (Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, pp. 140, 346; 141, 370: *pa-pa-ḥi* ^anà) and in inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II, who refurbished it along with the cellae of Marduk (E-umuša) and Zarpanitum (Ka-ḥilisu). According to these E-zida is the cella used by Nabû in his annual visit from Borsippa for the New Year festival (Wadi Brisa B ii 1-7; cf. A iii 47-53) and is

situated "on the courtyard" (*ša ki-sa-al-lum/-lam*: *ibid.*, B ii 2; *CT* 37 7, 33; though whether this is the Court of Bēl in the main building, the Lower Court in the Eastern Annexe, or one of the smaller courtyards is unclear); but most interestingly it is also called "seat of Lugaldimmerankia" (*šu-ba-at* ⁴lugal.dim.me.er.an.ki.a, I R 65, i 34; V R 34, i 50; *CT* 37 7, 33), which allows one to propose for the present line a provisional restoration *é.zi.da* = *š[u-bat* ⁴lugal.dim.me.er.an.ki.a . . .]. Here, as in Nebuchadnezzar's inscription, Lugaldimmerankia, "King of the Gods", would be a name of Nabû, borrowed from his father Marduk just as it is in late hymns (Lambert, *Matouš Festschrift* II, p. 84, 2; Strong, *PSBA* 20, p. 155, 4).

3'' This is perhaps another shrine of Nabû, for temple names incorporating *šid.dù* are associated with this god (for *é.šid.dù.ki.šár.ra*, the temple of Nabû in the quarter Tuba, see *Tintir* IV 43; for *é.šid.dù.an.na.ki*, his cella in E-zida at Borsippa, see the explanatory fragment no. 28, BM 76887, 5', and commentary).

5'' Or perhaps *é.hûl.[hûl]*, bearing in mind the famous cult-centre of Sîn at Harran, on which see recently Menzel, *ATI*, p. 88.

7''-8'' The restorations seem fairly certain, for two reasons. First, *é.gú.si.sá* is a *šubtu* most fitting to the god Muštēšir-ḫabli, for *si.sá* = *ešēru* and *gú* can be compared to *nam.gú(ak.a)* = *ḫabālu, ḫablu* (lexical references are collected in *CAD* H, pp. 3f., 16): the shrine's name has the appearance of 'back-translation' from the divine name. In the previous line *di.ku*, not only fits the trace, but it may be noted that Madānu and Muštēšir-ḫabli are also found as a pair in II 33'-34'. For the latter god in E-sagil see the commentary thereon; for Madānu, that on IV 4.

9'' The reading of the name of the shrine is established by glosses: in the Canonical Temple List *é.ur₅.[šā.ba]* is a temple of Lisi (Moran, *Kramer Anniversary Volume*, p. 337, 22, and p. 339); and in a lament *ur₅.šā.ba* is glossed *ur-šā-ba* (Macmillan, *BA* V, p. 619, 29 // Langdon, *BL*, pl. 54, 14; cf. Moran, loc. cit., p. 338³³). The best-known temple of this name is to be located in Borsippa, being the cult-centre there of Nanāy and important enough to give its name to a quarter of the city (*eršet^{ti}* *é.ur₅.šā.ba* [*šā qē-re-e*] *bār-sipa^{ki}*, *VS* V 96, 1-2: house deed from the reign of Darius; cf. Ebeling, *RIA* II, p. 304, for further references to the temple, to which add BM 41239 (no. 57, pl. 54), obv. 3). Another contract from Darius' reign, however, must refer to a shrine of the goddess in Babylon (*BE* VIII/1 108, 9: *ina tin.tir^{ki} pa-ni* ⁴*na-na-a* *é.ur₅.šā.ba*), and our restoration of Nanāy in the present line seems thus assured.

10'' The shrine shares its name with a sanctuary of Borsippa often coupled in hymns, laments and litanies with E-zida (many references are collected by Ebeling, *RIA* II, p.

360); to Nebuchadnezzar this was a name for Nabû's cella in E-zida, which he re-roofed (V R 34, ii 4; Wadi Brisa A vi 21-22, written *é.maḫ.til.la*; *PBS* XV 79, i 45-46; *CT* 37 8, i 44; Ball, *PSBA* 10, p. 368f., i 42). A further reference to the Borsippa E-maḫ-tila is the explanatory fragment no. 28, BM 76887, 4' (partly restored). The use of this name for a shrine of Marduk reflects the close connection between the god of Babylon and E-zida of Borsippa, which in its earliest history belonged not to Nabû but to the obscure god Tutu (as in CH iiiia 10-15) — a god later merged with Marduk (becoming a name of Marduk in *Enūma eliš* VII 9ff.), who became accordingly "king of E-zida, lord of E-maḫ-tila" (in the hymn IV R² 29, no. 1, obv. 29-30; cf. Reiner, *JNES* 15, p. 144, 10-12: *lipšur* litany; and parallels).

11'' The glosses of *igi.du* = *ašarēdu* are many (see *CAD* A/2, p. 416, for the lexical evidence): among them *ge-eš-tu* and *i-gi-iš-tu* (already in Proto-*Diri*) obviously derive from an original phrase *igi.š(è) du*, "going at the front", and allow the transliteration adopted here. The god Lillu is a son of Bēlet-ilī (e.g. in *An* = *Anum*, *CT* 24 26, ii 107: ⁴*lil dumu dingir.maḫ.ke₄*). *ēš.šā.abzu*, "House in the Midst of Apsû", can be associated with the lobbies *é.kā.šā.abzu* and *du₆.šā.abzu*, both known parts of E-sagil (on which see the gate list no. 7, BM 38602 // VAT 13817, ii 17'-18'. "Midst of Apsû" has cosmological implications, for which see below, in IV 3).

12'' The reading of the shrine name is uncertain. *Diri* V 299-300 gives a pronunciation, but the beginning is broken away (*PBS* V 106, iv 22-23):

[x]-ra-a É. ⁴ NISSABA	=	<i>būt</i> ⁴ <i>nissaba</i>
MIN É.GĒŠTU. ⁴ NISSABA	=	MIN

In the Sumerian period a shrine of this name is attested at Uruk (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 22). In the cultic calendar *SBH* VIII, iv 13, read not this shrine (as did Unger, *Babylon*, p. 266, iii 13) but *é.gēštu^{min}.ma[h]* (cf. G. Çağırzan's edition, *The Babylonian Festivals*, Birmingham Ph.D., 1976, unpublished, p. 182ff.; coll. Lambert).

13'' With the gloss on ⁴TAG × TÚG compare *MSL* XIV, pp. 414, A V/1 266; 529, Reciprocal *Ea* 237, where it is glossed *ut-tu*. Uttu, daughter of Enki and Ninkurra (Enki and Ninḫursag 120-27; Borger, *BiOr* 30, p. 168, K 1401b, 3-4: incantation), is goddess of weaving (cf. Bernhardt and Kramer, *WZJ* 9, p. 238, Enki and the World Order 380; Geller, *Iraq* 42, p. 30, 138'-42'). At times she is imagined, appropriately enough, in spider's form (so *CAD* E, p. 396, noting the variant *et-tu-tú* for her name in an unpublished hemerology), or as the web itself (in the compendium Livingstone, *MMEW*, p. 178, 38, where she is the daughter of Anu). The *ēš.gār* of her shrine's name probably alludes to the raw material of the weaver and its processing (as found in Ur III and OB: in the former period *á.giš.gar.ra*, a synonym of *ēš.gār* = *iškaru*, is very often the working

material of temple weavers: see the references in *CAD* I, p. 245f.). One imagines that originally é.éš.gār would have denoted a temple workshop.

14" The shrine name could also be interpreted as "Place of the Seat" (únu = *šubtu*). A *šubtu* of the same name is found in the Uruk Shrine List (no. 25, obv. 4'), where it is the seat of Ištar in E-gipar-iminbi. But in the present line at least, the reference is probably to cultic meals, for the *šubtu* that follows offers a parallel of sorts. Both shrines are perhaps to be sought in the temple kitchens.

15" gír.lá here denotes the divine butcher of E-sagil, one suspects, who should be the god in residence. The butcher of E-sagil is not known, unfortunately, but a famous divine butcher is Ninšar, the gír.lá of E-kur (*An* = *Anum* I: *CT* 24 10, 16; Reisner, *SBH* IV, 43-44; *UET* I 58, 1-2: Šulgi; and an incantation, Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 691, K 5132, catch line), but also of Ningirsu in E-ninnu (Sollberger, *Corpus*, Ukg. 11, 21-23). Her duties include slaughtering sacrificial animals (as in an UD.GAL.NUN text, Lambert, *BSOAS* 39, p. 431⁷ = *OrAnt* 20, p. 85) and preparing their meat for the table (thus her name ^aúnu.dù.dù, "She who Prepares the Food Offering", *CT* 24 10, 19).

3' The restoration relies on the existence of an Ištar temple called é.nu₁₁.gal.an.na (in Lagaš according to the Canonical Temple List: II *R* 61, no. 2, 37 // Craig, *AJSL* 13, p. 220, Sm 289, obv. ii 8). Lack of space in the manuscript in question (h) demands that é is omitted, but this is a frequent feature of this particular source. For (giš).nu₁₁, "light", in temple names see below, on IV 24.

4' This shrine shares its name with two temples, which both appear in *Diri* I 233-34 (quoted in *CAD* I, p. 57):

^{ak-kil}akkil(GAD + KÍD + SI) = bīt ^anin-šubur
bīt ^ama-nun-gal

The former is the sanctuary of Ninšubur-Papsukkal at Kiš, on which see text no. 23, VAT 10111, 17', and commentary, or the temple of this deity at Akkil (to which one of the Collection of Sumerian Temple Hymns is addressed: Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 30, no. 18). As a temple of Manungal the ominous name "House of Lament" is appropriate, for she was a goddess of the netherworld, and daughter of Ereškigal (Sjöberg, *Afo* 24, p. 32, 67; Manungal and her court appear in *An* = *Anum* among other chthonic deities: *CT* 25 4, 4ff.).

5' Shrines to malevolent demons are a somewhat surprising feature of Babylonian religious life. As well as this *šubtu* of the *Asakku* in E-sagil, seven other shrines were

dedicated to him in Babylon, as listed in the Archive of Mystic Heptads (*KAR* 142, obv. ii 1-10), all in interesting cultic locations:

[1^{en}] ina tar-ši é.tù[r.kalam.ma]
[1^{en}] ina bāb é.ḫur.sag.til.la
1^{en} ina bāb ^abēlet(MUŠ)-a-kà-dè^{ki}
1^{en} ina bāb bīt ^alugal-bān-da
1^{en} ina bāb bīt ^apisan_x(MES)^{sag-unug}^{ki}
1^{en} ina tar-ši é!(EN).nam.ḫé
1^{en} ina bāb bīt ^abēlet(gašan)-ni-nú-a

7 parakkū(bára)^{mes} manzāzū(ki!)(KUR).gub)^{mes}
ša 7 a-sak-ki mār ^aa-nim
ki-šit-ti ^anin-urta

1 facing E-tur-[kalamma;]
1 in the gate of E-ḫursag-tilla;
1 in the gate of Bēlet-Akkade;
1 in the gate of the temple of Lugalbanda;
1 in the gate of the temple of Pisangunuk;
1 facing E-namḫe;
1 in the gate of the temple of Bēlet-Ninua:

7 throne-daises, the stations(?) of the 7 *Asakku*-Demons, sons of Anu, conquered by Ninurta.

The several manifestations (seven, eight or nine) of the *Asakku* are well known in lists of theological esoterica. One of these lists bears a rubric quite in conflict with the above information, which states that the demon's "abode is outside the city" (Nippur Compendium, no. 18, §13a, 48). Other demonic figures occupied shrines in Babylon, including Kūbu, Ilu-lemnu and Rābiš-āli (see *Tintir* V 87-88); the second of these, like the *Asakku*, is a decidedly malevolent character.

6' The *šubtu* of the divine *En* in E-šarra at Aššur is of the same name (no. 21, obv. 22'). For gi₆.pār (in Ur often gi₆.par₄) as the residence of the *En*-priest (or priestess), known at Uruk chiefly from religious and epic literature, at Ur mainly from royal inscriptions, see *CAD* G, p. 83f.; Jacobsen, *ZA* 52, p. 107f.³² It doubled as the venue for the ceremony of 'Sacred Marriage' (see Jacobsen, loc. cit.; R. Harris, *RIA* III, p. 377ff.; P.N. Weadock, *Iraq* 37, p. 101ff.). The divine *En* is thus Dumuzi, at least in Uruk, as is made clear in *TCL* XV 70, 30-31:

giš_{ig} na⁴za.gin.na gi₆.par₄.ra gub.ba en gaba na.mu.ri
 giš_{ig}.sal ašlug é.an.na.ka gub.ba 4dumu.zi gaba na.mu.ri

Standing at the Lapis Lazuli Door in the Gipar, the *En* met her (Inanna):
 standing at the Narrow Door in the lobby of E-anna, Dumuzi met her.

A shrine é.gi₆.pār.kù is also found in E-sagil: II 15'.

7' With this and the preceding line compare a section of the Canonical Temple List (Pinches, *PSBA* 22, p. 370, ii 12-15 // Sm 522, i 5-8; cf. Moran, *Kramer Anniversary Volume*, p. 337, 23-26):

é.lú.[maḥ]	=	[bīt] lú.maḥ
é.išib.[ba]	=	[bīt M]IN
é.gi ₆ .[pār]	=	[bīt e]n
é.gi ₆ .[pār.(kù)]	=	[bīt] a-te-e

(The list continues with temples of 4tu and 4lāl.a.šā.ga; with the sequence compare the Keš Temple Hymn, where en, a.tu, tu and lāl appear as cultic personnel in successive lines: Gragg, *TCS* III, p. 174, 108-11; cf. the remarks of Moran, loc. cit., p. 337f.) With é.išib.ba as an abode of the lú.maḥ, compare the pairing of *išippu* and *lumaḥḥu* in Gilgameš VII iv 47, and in the inscription of Lugalzaggesi (*BE* I 87, i 6-7).

8' This *šubtu* reappears in lines 33'-34' as the site of a pair of shrines belonging to Madānu and Muštēšir-ḥabli.

12' In the list of shrines in E-rab-riri a *šubtu* of this name belongs to Lugalirra and Meslamtaea (no. 12, K 2107+6086, rev. iii 15'). However, the temple name is best known as used of Nuska's temple at Nippur (see below, the commentary on no. 19, the Nippur Temple List, 17'-18').

14' The translation of the shrine's name rests on the lexical entry ki.šú = *pār-šu* (*MSL* XIII, p. 178, *Izi* C iii 29, followed by *ki-lu*). Cf. the Uruk Shrine List (no. 25), obv. 11', for ki.šú as a cultic location.

15' A Gipar-ku is known as part of E-anna, Ištar's temple in Uruk (*PBS* X/2 4, rev. 11: é.an.na eš gi₆.par₄.kù.ga), while gi₆.par₄.kù.(ga) is the name of a sanctuary of Ningal at Ur rebuilt by Ur-Nammu and Amar-Suen (*UET* I 35 and 67). For the cultic function of the *giparu* see above, on II 6'.

16'-17' The cultic function and theological significance of these two sacred locations are explained in an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II, on the occasion of his embellishment of

du₆.kù, cast in silver by an earlier king (probably Esarhaddon or Aššurbanipal). The text runs (I R 54, ii 54-iii 3):

du₆.kù ki.nam.tar.tar.e.dē ša ub.šu.ukkin.na parak(bāra) šī-ma-a-ti ša i-na zag-mu-ku re-eš ša-at-ti u₄ 8^{kam} u₄ 11^{kam} 4lugal-dim-me-er-an-ki-a bēl ilī(dingir) i-ra-am-mu-ú qe-re-eb-šu ilū(dingir.dingir) šu-ut šamē eršeti pa-al-ḥi-iš ú-ta-aq!-qú-šu ka-am-su iz-za-zu maḥ-ru-uš-šu šī-ma-at u₄-um da-rí-ú-tim šī-ma-at ba-la-ṭi-ia i-ši-im-mu i-na qe-er-bi parakku šu-ú parak šar-ru-ti parak 4en-lil-ú-ti ša igi-gál ilī(dingir.dingir) rubē(nun) 4marduk

Du-ku Ki-namtartarede, the throne-dais of destinies in Ubšu-ukkinna, in which during the New Year Festival at the beginning of the year, on the 8th and 11th days, Lugaldimmerankia, the ruler of the gods, resides, and in which the gods of heaven and underworld kneel to pay reverent heed to him, and stand before him to decree as the destiny of my life a destiny of everlasting days — that throne-dais, the throne-dais of kingship, the throne-dais of the Enlil-ship of the prince Marduk, wisest of the gods (I plated with gold...)

This lengthy exposition makes it clear that du₆.kù is the raised platform (and the *šubtu* on it) on which Marduk sits as the king of the gods, enthroned in majesty and invested with the rank of Enlil, immediately before and after his procession to the Akītu-Temple (the outward journey begins — and is probably completed — on the 8th day of Nisannu, and the return to E-sagil takes place on the 11th: Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, p. 148). This procession, and the cultic events of the Akītu-Temple, are a ritual expression of Marduk's challenge and defeat of Ti'āmat and his glorious return to take the sovereignty of the gods in their assembly. His triumphant enthronement (which in *Enūma eliš* VI 70 takes place on the "Exalted Dais which (the gods) had made as his seat", *parammāḥi*(bāra.maḥ) šā ib-nu-u šu-bat-su) is plainly the occasion for the gods of the assembly to pay homage. The business of the assembly after Marduk's enthronement is the decreeing of destinies: in the myth the gods decree absolute sovereignty for Marduk; in cultic practice they decree the destiny of mortal kingship, the essence of which, as Nebuchadnezzar observes wishfully, is a long (and peaceful) reign. In this way du₆.kù comes by its common by-name of *parak šīmāti*, "Dais of Destinies".

The cultic role of du₆.kù as the throne where Marduk is hailed as king of the gods, Lugaldimmerankia, is also known from other texts. A list of names of Marduk arranged according to his progress in the Akītu-Festival is found in the Archive of Mystic Heptads; the relevant line reads (*KAR* 142, obv. i 5 // *CT* 46 53, ii 16) *ina parak 4šīmāte*(nam.tar.meš)^{te} 4lugal-dim-me-e[r]-[an]-ki-a, "at the Dais of Destinies he is Lugaldimmerankia" (cf. also the parallel list, BM 39843 and duplicate, line 5, quoted above, p. 83⁹). That Marduk is so named in the divine assembly, where destinies are decreed, is an allusion made in a prayer from the New Year rituals themselves, in which he is

addressed as ^a<lugal>-dim-me-er-an-ki-a mu-šim šimāti(nam)^{mes}, “Lugaldimmerankia who decrees destinies” (Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, p. 153, iii 301). The evidence makes the restoration of this name in our line 17’ almost unavoidable.

The function of Ubšu-ukkinna as the site of the Dais of Destinies and the venue for the assembly of the gods is well documented. The mythological ‘prototype’ of the gods’ assembly in Ubšu-ukkinna is recounted in *Enūma eliš* VI 70-VII 144. Note especially this description of the proceedings (VII 162 and 165):

ina ub-šu-ukkin-na-ki uš-ta-di-nu šu-nu mīl-kāt-su-un
ū-ši-bu-ma ina puhri(ukkin)-šū-nu i-nam-bu-u ši-ma-a-te

In Ubšu-ukkina they exchanged counsels with one another...
they sat in their assembly to pronounce destinies.

A similar scene is conjured in a curse of Esarhaddon, in which the king warns future rulers of Babylon to beware lest Marduk damn them, a threat which will be implemented “in Ubšu-ukkinna, the courtyard of the assembly of the gods, the seat of deliberation” (*ina ub-šu-ukkin-na-ki ki-sal puhur ilī^{mes} šu-bat ši-tul-ti*: Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 28, 39-41). As in Nebuchadnezzar’s inscription, Ubšu-ukkinna is the place where the destinies of mortal kings are determined, and this is also so in an unpublished ritual of E-sagil, K 3446+8830, which gives the text of a prayer demanding, apparently, that a fine destiny be fixed for the king by the gods in Ubšu-ukkinna (obv. 15-18; courtesy W.G. Lambert):

[i-na u]b-šu-ukkin-na-ki ki-sal puhur ilī^{mes} a-šar de-e-ni [māti ib-b]ir-ru
[i-na d]u₆.kū ki.nam.tar.tar.e.dē parak šimāti(nam)^{mes} ^ašid-dū-ki-šār-ra ina ri[š-tú?
(ina) a-šā]-bi-šū
[^aen.z]a ^amaḥ.za ^aki.za.za ^aam.na ^auta.u₁₈.lu ^aen.zag ^a[(x)]x.tu
[i-na u]b.šu.ukkin.na re-ši-ka lil-lu-ú li-šā-ti-ru lišarbu?(gal)^{mes} ma-al-k[u-u]t-ka

When in Ubšu-ukkinna, the court of the assembly of the gods, where the judgements of the [land are] decided, Šiddukišarra (i.e. Nabû) sits in [joy(?) on] Du-ku Ki-namtartarede, the Dais of Destinies, (then) may Enza, Maḥza, Kizaza, Amna, Utaulu, Enzag and...promote you in Ubšu-ukkinna, and increase and magnify your sovereignty!

(For ^aen.za, ^amaḥ.za and ^aki.za.za as Anu, Enlil and Ea, chief of the destiny-decreeing gods, and their four colleagues, who are Šamaš, Ninurta, Nabû and one other, see below, on II 23’-24’. Nabû, as Šiddukišarra, “Director of the Universe”, here presides over the assembly from Marduk’s throne, having joined his father as Lugaldimmerankia, “King of the Gods” (for this as a title of Nabû see above, on II 2’’; Nabû also has his own Dais of Destinies in E-zida at Borsippa, which he occupies on the 5th and 11th days of Nisannu, before and after his journey to Babylon for the New year Festival: I R 67, i 33-38, restored by Güterbock, *ZA* 40, p. 289ff.).)

The explanation of Ubšu-ukkinna in these texts as *kisal puhur ilī* suggests that, whatever the original meaning of ub.šu (cf. ub = *tubqu*, “recess”?), it is understood in this name as “courtyard”, and we have taken it thus in our translation. We are very probably to imagine the Ubšu-ukkinna of Babylon to be a courtyard of indeterminate size, but large enough to house, along with du₆.kū, another seven shrines of some importance, these being the *šubtu*’s listed after du₆.kū in II 18’-24’ (seven seats for the seven destiny-decreeing gods: see on this the commentary below). This brings us to the question of the location of Ubšu-ukkinna and its Dais of Destinies. That they appear in *Tintir* II is a strong argument for their location in E-sagil or its near vicinity, but not yet conclusive (see on this problem p. 10f.). The principal evidence again comes from an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II, who reports that his father repaved Marduk’s processional way “from Du-ku Ki-namtartarede, the Dais of Destinies, to Ay-ibūr-šabû, the Street of Babylon, opposite Ka-sikilla” (I R 55, v 12-17, quoted below in the commentary on V 64). Ka-sikilla appears very probably to be the main entrance into the precinct of E-sagil (for documentation see the commentary on the E-sagil Tablet, no. 13, l. 15). Ay-ibūr-šabû takes Marduk’s New Year procession north from Ka-sikilla to the Istar Gate, whence it travels by river-barge to the Akītu-Temple. The processional way that Nabopolassar repaved is thus between E-sagil itself and the gate of its precinct. That the Dais of Destinies is inside the precinct is also shown by the lists of the names of Marduk to which reference was made earlier (p. 287). In *KAR* 142, obv. i 1-9 // *CT* 46 53, ii 12-18, the sequence of Marduk’s procession to the Akītu-Temple runs: cella (*papāḫu*, i.e. E-umuša) — “between the drapes” (*birīt šiddī*, perhaps signifying the otherwise unattested *papāḫ gadalalē*, text no. 7, i 4’) — ki.tuš.ki.sikil/ki.kū.sikil (on this see p. 277) — Dais of Destinies — street — barge — Akītu Temple. In the parallel text (see p. 83^a) the sequence is similar: *šubtu* of Marduk — du₆.ki.sikil — Dais of Destinies — barge. Plainly the Dais of Destinies and Ubšu-ukkinna lie somewhere between Marduk’s cella in the main building of E-sagil and the “street”, which is, of course, Ay-ibūr-šabû. Their location inside the precinct of E-sagil is confirmed by the fact that the shrine of Šamaš in Ubšu-ukkinna, Kašbar-kalamma (II 21’), is known elsewhere as E-kašbar-kalamma “of E-sagil” (see the commentary below). More precise evidence comes from the E-sagil Tablet (no. 13), in which part of Ubšu-ukkinna (its *azamû*, an architectural term) protrudes into the Grand Court (Kisalmah): this latter lay in the precinct of E-sagil, apparently just south of the temple itself (see the E-sagil Tablet, l. 3 and commentary). The likelihood is that Ubšu-ukkinna is to be located in the Eastern Annexe of E-sagil, its *azamû* being one of the corners of this part of the temple, perhaps, for the Eastern Annexe extends further south into the surrounding precinct than the main building does. It may be, indeed, that the Ubšu-ukkinna is the ceremonial name of the main courtyard of the Eastern Annexe, which otherwise appears to go by the mundane name of the Lower Court (on which see the commentary on text no. 7, i 5’) but such an identification is hardly certain as the evidence now stands.

The full name of Marduk's throne in Ubšu-ukkinna also appears in a bilingual hymn to Šamaš from *Bīt rimki* (Borger, *JCS* 21, p. 3, 3):

du₆.kù ki.nam.tar.tar.re.e.dè um.ta.è.na.zu.šè
iš-tu du₆.kù (var.: šá-di-ī) a-šar ši-ma-a-tum iš-šim-ma ina a-še-k[a]

When you come out from Du-ku (var.: the mountain), where destinies are decreed...

This "Pure Mound" is evidently somewhere in the eastern mountains, from behind which the sun rises each day, and thus not a cultic location. It must instead be an allusion to a cosmological du₆.kù, which is otherwise principally known from the Sumerian dispute of Laḥar and Ašnan, in which it is ḫur.sag an.ki.bi.da, "the mountain of (i.e. between?) heaven and underworld" (on current opinion as to the interpretation of this see Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 51²), and the place where the gods are born and live (see further the commentary on V 89-90). As the home of the gods this cosmological du₆.kù might well be the site of divine assembly, and thus the cosmic prototype for the Dais of Destinies. If not, one must explain the epithet Ki-namtartarrede in the *Bīt rimki* hymn as acquired simply by association (or confusion).

While the theological traditions of Babylon would no doubt admit of only one earthly assembly of the gods and Dais of Destinies, in E-sagil, of course, the long and diverse history of Mesopotamian speculation in such matters allowed, in cultic and religious practice, a plurality of them. As one would expect, Du-ku and Ubšu-ukkinna are well attested at Nippur, no doubt as the site of a divine assembly presided over by Enlil, predecessor of Marduk as king of the gods (for du₆.kù in Nippur see the references collected by Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 50; this city's Ubšu-ukkinna is found in *Angim* 88-89 and in contracts from the Old Babylonian period (*OECT* VIII 9, 2 and 16; 10, 2), and is situated in Enlil's temple, according to the incantation IV R² 56, ii 17-18: *ub-šu-ukkin-na-ki šu-bat ši-tul-ti il^{mes} rabūti^{mes} šá qé-reb é.kur*. The ten gods resident in this Ubšu-ukkinna are listed by the Nippur Compendium, no. 18, iv 8-13). The Dais of Destinies and Ubšu-ukkinna are also found together at Uruk in a ritual (Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, p. 120, 5-7, where *parak šimāti^{mes}* is a cultic location in *ub-šu-ukkin-na-ki*; note further in a temple inventory from Uruk, *é.kisalli šá parak šimāti^{me}*: *YOS* VI 62, 17). In the time of Gudea there was an *ub.šu.ukkin.na* in E-ninnu at Girsu (Cylinder A, viii 14; cf. Falkenstein, *IGL*, p. 141), while in the Collection of Sumerian Temple Hymns the same temple bears the epithet "pure mound (where) destinies are decreed" (du₆.kù.ta nam.tar.re.da, Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 31, 245). We have noted already the existence of a Dais of Destinies at Borsippa (p. 288). The Archive of Mystic Heptads knows of it also, as well as six others in Nippur, Babylon, Dūru, Uruk, Akkade and Ḫursagkalamma (*KAR* 142, obv. ii 11-15, but note that the list may be contrived, given the concern of the text with the number seven). For a Dais of Destinies at Aššur see no. 20: GAB 194, and also George, *BSOAS* 52, p. 119. At Kiš there is an é.du₆.kù.ga in Zababa's temple, E-mete-ursag (no. 22: VAT 13817, ii 9'), though this may not necessarily represent another

du₆.kù of destinies, for the name is not confined to such: note the association of du₆.kù and the Apsû of Ea, which has given rise to an é.du₆.kù and an é.du₆.kù.ga of this god in E-sagil (II 5 and 16; for this du₆.kù and Ea-Lugaldukuga see the commentary ad loc.).

18' This *šubtu* shares its name with temples of Bēlet-Ninua in Babylon (*Tintir* IV 32) and Aššur (no. 20: GAB 171). The latter text translates the temple name as *bītu ša ušurāt šamē u eršeti ina libbišu uddā*. A less free translation appears in an explanatory temple list of Babylon, BM 34850 (no. 3), rev. 12': *bīt ušurāt šamē [u eršetī]*.

19' *dūr.maḥ* in this shrine name may perhaps be a reference to the cosmic rope into which Marduk wove Ti'āmat's tail (p. 262), for while this is *dur.maḥ* and *dur-ma-ḥi* in *Enūma eliš* (V 59 and VII 95), the commentary on the names of Marduk allows also the writing *dūr.maḥ* (Bottéro, *Finkelstein Memorial Volume*, p. 9, 95): note the explanations *dūr* = *mar-ka-su*, "bond", and *dūr.maḥ* = *dur-ma-ḥu*, illustrating a variant orthographical tradition.

20' In the light of the commentary on the preceding line one might see in this shrine's name an allusion to the cosmic cable linking heaven and underworld (on which see above, on I 35).

21' According to the offering calendar of Babylon, *BRM* IV 25, 9, é.ka.aš.bar.kalam.ma šá é.sag.ī[ī] is the scene for a ceremony involving a brazier, which takes place on the 19th day of Araḫsamnu. The shrine's name alludes, of course, to Šamaš's role as judge.

22' Note in E-rab-riri, the temple of Madānu, é.sag.kal is the *šubtu* of Nergal (no. 12, 5'). Here the shrine's name alludes to Ninurta's status of "leader" (sag.kal = *ašarēdu*), an epithet often given him (e.g. in *Lugale* 2; Reisner, *SBH* 18, obv. 36-37; King, *AKA*, p. 256, i 4: Aššurnāširpal II; I R 29, i 7: Šamši-Adad V).

23'-24' We should probably expect these *šubtu*'s also to be in Ubšu-ukkinna: not only are they the last *šubtu*'s of the list, the Tablet turning its attention after line 24' to *manzāzu*'s, but according to the ritual prayer quoted above, p. 288, seven gods sat in Ubšu-ukkinna at Babylon — apart from the occupant of Du-ku — to decree destinies. These are Enza, Maḥza, Kizaza, Amna, Utaulu, Enzag and a deity whose name is broken. The first three are better known as the triad Anu, Enlil and Ea (*MSL* XVII, p. 91, *Erimḫuš* c 22'-24'; also, for the last, an excerpted line of the Nippur Compendium (no. 18), iv e); Amna is Šamaš (see the gloss am-na on ⁴UTU and ⁴20 in lexical texts: *MSL* XIV, p. 284, A II/4 167; p. 335, A III/3 119; and on ⁴UTU in the god list *CT* 25 25, 5), Utaulu is Ninurta (*SLT* 123, rev. ii 13 // 124, ii 4; *CT* 25 12, 6), and Enzag is Nabû (*CT* 25 35, obv. 20 // 36, obv. 19; Sp II 500 (copy of Strassmaier in Neugebauer, *Exact*

Sciences, pl. 14), obv.(l) 10). Now in the *šubtu* list the first five shrines after Du-ku, the Dais of Destinies, belong to Anu, Enlil, Ea, Šamaš and Ninurta, the sixth to a god the traces of whose name are slight, but compatible with Nabû. To pursue the equation, the god whose name is damaged in the ritual, ^d[(x)] x.tu, must correspond to the resident of Tul-idim-anki. One might be inclined to read this name as ^d[ni]n.tu, for the Mother Goddess is known as a decreer of destinies. But a god of rain and irrigation (such as Adad) would be a more suitable candidate for the ownership of the shrine "Well of the Springs of Heaven and Underworld" (translation relying on idim = *nagbu*, evidence for which is collected in CAD N/1, p. 108f.), and one might then refer to ^dnin.tu.ud as a title of Adad (CT 25 16, 12).

25' One is obliged to read k[i.gub] rather than k[i.tuš] not only because of the variant g[šgal] but also for the reason that a change of terminology is obviously required, and *šubtu*, as the word signified by MIN in the foregoing section (demonstrated by the variant *šu-bat* of MS hh), is ruled out of contention in the matter. On *manzāzu*, a place where divine images are stood, see the commentary on V 86-88.

26' At Nippur é.ka.aš.bar.(ra) is the sanctuary of Gula as the wife of Ninurta, and thus part of E-šumeša, his temple (Ebeling, *ArOr* 21, p. 371, 19*: Gattung I incantation; Bernhardt and Kramer, *OrNS* 44, p. 98, 16: metrological text). In the Gula Hymn of Bullussa-rabi, the shrine name is interpreted as *bīt purussê a-šar te-re-e-tū*, "house of decisions, place of decrees" (Lambert, *OrNS* 36, p. 124, 128).

27' For the resident deity see above, on II 36.

28' ^dNÍNDA × GU₄ is the husband of Kusu in *An* = *Anum* I, where he is equated with Adad (CT 24 10, 14). They also occur as a pair in *Šurpu* VIII 25, in the hymn *UET* VI 101, and in the Old Babylonian god list *TCL* XV 10, 324. Developing Bergmann's initial observations on the 'phonetic' Sumerian of *PBS* X/2 13 (*ZA* 56, p. 14ff.), Krecher proposes that ku!(MA)-sù in-da-ag-ra in that text (line 3) is a rendering of the divine pair ^dkù.sù ^dNÍNDA × GU₄ (*ZA* 58, p. 319). The reading of the divine name is, of course, implicit in its orthography, for NÍNDA = inda and GU₄ = gar(a)₄; further 'phonetic' evidence comes from an offering list from the Ur III dynasty, in which ^dkù.sù is paired with ^den.da.gár(a) (*TCL* V 6053, ii 11-12, from Umma).

29'-30' The gods stationed at this pair of *manzāzu*'s are known from the god lists as the gate-keepers of E-sagil (CT 24 16, 17-18 // 28, 72-73: *An* = *Anum* II; cf. Sp II 500, rev.(l) 1-2: copy of Strassmaier in Neugebauer, *Exact Sciences*, pl. 14):

^d aba.ba/ba ₆	=	ŠU	=	2.(ām) i.du ₈
an.ta.durun.na	=	ŠU	=	é.sag.il.(la).ke ₄

In the present text they apparently guard the entrance to the chapel in which stood the *šubtu* of Indagar: but unfortunately the god to whom this chapel is dedicated is lost from the MSS. *sippu*'s are fitting stations for gatekeepers, for they are found either side of a doorway, and help to hold the door and its frame in the wall (Salonen, *Türen*, p. 62ff.). On them statues of fierce animals could be set (ibid., p. 65) and it may be that Ababa and Antadurunnu were portrayed thus.

31'-32' With the shrine of Madānu compare a phrase preserved in *Ai* VI iii 40-41 (*MSL* I, p. 84): *ká ur.sag.e.ne.ke₄ ní.g.érim nu.dib* = *bāb qar-ra-di ša rag-gu la i-ba-'u*, "Gate of Warriors, through which the wicked cannot pass". Once again the shrines' names fit the characters of their occupants as arbiters of justice and punishment. For this theme in city epithets see the commentary on I 16-18. The Grand Court (Kisalmah) lies in the precinct of E-sagil, probably to the south of the temple itself (see the commentary below on no. 13, the E-sagil Tablet, lines 1-4).

33' Another shrine of this name, a *šubtu* perhaps of Šin, is found in line 50. A-suda, the location of this and the following shrine, is itself a *šubtu* of E-sagil, appearing in line 8'.

34' Muštēšir-ḥabli is also paired with Madānu in lines 7''-8'' of this Tablet of *Tintir*, and is connected with the "gate of the entry of Madānu" in the unpublished Kislimu rituals of Babylon (BM 32206+, ii 40: G. Çağrgan, *The Babylonian Festivals*, Birmingham Ph.D., 1976, p. 109). He also appears in the gate list no. 7, BM 38602 // VAT 13817, i 14', in connection with Ka-kar-zaginnā, the gate of Ea's temple in the precinct of E-sagil, and he is there accorded the epithet *uggallu*, "Lion Monster" of Babylon (cf. the commentary ad loc.). The character of Muštēšir-ḥabli as a "righter of wrongs" and his presence in E-sagil are accounted for by the consideration that he is one of Marduk's divine weapons. Thus, in the explanatory list V R 46, no. 1, 32, *^dmuš-te-šir-ḥab-lim u ^dgiš.tukul. ^dšà.zu* are equated with *^dšar.ur₄ u ^dšar.gaz*, the weapons of Ninurta. In the commentary on Marduk's Address to the Demons Muštēšir-ḥabli is further explained as his partner in the former text, *^dgiš.tukul ^dšà.zu* (Lambert, *AfO* 19, p. 115, B 16 comm. = pl. 26, obv. 11).

35' With the end of the line, which appears to begin an explanation of the temple name E-sagil, compare the E-sagil Commentary (no. 5), ll. 25-26.

36' For gates called *bābu rabû* in E-sagil see the gate list no. 7, BM 38602 // VAT 13817, i 5' and commentary. Ka-sikilla (which we read so rather than *ká.sili[m.ma]* by virtue of a comparison of the broken sign and DI in the preceding lines of MS ii) is probably the main entrance to the precinct of E-sagil: see the E-sagil Tablet (no. 13), l. 15 and commentary. Ka-silimma, as the gate of Marduk's cella, is in any case unsuited to a description "outer gate".

37' Ka-Utu-e, "Gate of the Sunrise", is the east gate of the main building of E-sagil: see p. 87 and the commentary on the gate list no. 6, BM 35046, 2-5. The gate of its lobby is presumably the excavators' Gate b. The divergent MS ii describes a different gate, leading north rather than east, and may refer to the main gate of the main building's north front, Ka-Lamma-(a)rabi, which appears after Ka-Utu-e in other lists. lá as a logogram for *kamû*, "outer", in place of the commoner *tilla*₄ or bar, is exceptional, and is borrowed from the homophone *kamû*, "captive".

39' The Upper Court of E-sagil seems to be that also named the Court of Bēl, the central courtyard of the main building, for which see the gate list no. 7, BM 38602 // VAT 13817, i 5', the metrological text no. 14, VAT 9961 + 10335, l. 8, and the relevant commentary.

TINTIR IV

1 E-sagil, in ancient times the most famous of all temples in Babylonia, even today hardly needs introduction as the temple of Marduk, city god of Babylon, being so attested in countless cuneiform inscriptions of many genres. But for the record one should note its entry in the Marduk section of the Canonical Temple List (Pinches, *PSBA* 22, p. 362, ii 7 // Sm 277 (unpub.) ii 3: é.sag.íl = [*bīt* ⁴*marduk*], following é.umuš.a, his cella within it); its inclusion in the fragmentary temple list K 4407, 3 (II R 61, no. 5, 45: [é.sag.íl] = *bīt* ⁴*marduk* [*ša bābīl*^{k1}]); and a third lexical listing in the Assyrian Temple List, where it is explained as *bītu ša rēšāšu šaqâ* and *bīt Bēl Bābīl*, "the temple of Bēl of Babylon" (no. 20, GAB 181; the inclusion of this temple in the Assyrian Temple List we take not as evidence that there was such a temple in Aššur, but as witness to the special position accorded to the temple of Babylon by the Sargonid kings of Assyria). The translation offered in the Assyrian list is evidently traditional in ancient scholarly circles, for it also appears in two other explanatory temple lists, the fragment Rm 788 (no. 2, obv. 1) and the E-sagil Commentary. This latter, while an exercise in speculative etymologizing of remarkable ingenuity, nevertheless opens with two straightforward interpretations, these being the above-mentioned *bītu ša rēšāšu šaqâ*, "House whose top (lit. head) is high", and *bītu našâ rēši*, "House with top raised (high)" (no. 5, 1-2). The image of the city or temple "raising its head" or having a "raised head" is a common one in Sumerian and Babylonian literature, as a far from exhaustive documentation will show. Gudea opens his narrative hymn to E-ninnu with the metaphorical picture of his city lifting its head at the divinely appointed time (Cyl. A i 1-2):

u₄ a[n.k]i.a nam.tar.[tar.re.d]a
lag[*aš*^{k1}].⁷e¹ me.gal.la [sag] an.šē mi.ni.íb.íl

When in heaven and underworld (its) destinies were decreed,
Lagaš raised its head to heaven in (accordance with) the great *me*.

Similar images are found in the shorter temple hymns, of E-melam-ḥuš of Nuska in Nippur (Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 19, 51: nam.nun.na sag.íl, "head raised in princeliness"); of the temple of Zababa at Kiš (ibid., p. 43, 448: the identical phrase); of the subject of the Keš Temple Hymn (Gragg, ibid., p. 167, 7: *kēš*^{k1} sag.íl mu.na.ni.in.gál, "Keš raised its head for (Enlil)"); and of Nippur (*UET* VI 118, ii 9-10: sag.íl zà.dib.ba an.né ús.sa me.en, "with head raised surpassingly (high), you are pushing up to the heavens!"). In Akkadian one finds, in the Old Babylonian hymn to Papulegarra, the metaphor used of Keš (Pinches, *JRAS* Cent. Suppl. (1924), p. 73 = pl. 9, 27); and in the Hymn to Arbil, similar imagery (*LKA* 32, obv. 16; both passages quoted fully in the commentary on IV 23). A parallel in Sumerian to sag.íl is gú.zi, and this, too, is a city and temple epithet, as in Enki and the World Order (Bernhardt and Kramer, *WZJ* 9, p. 236, 216: *ēš.úrím*^{k1} gú an.šē *hē.zi*, "Temple Ur, may your head be raised to the heavens!"). The synonymity of these phrases is noted in *Nabnītu* XVI 151-53 (*MSL* XVI, p. 146):

gú.ús	=	<i>na-šu-ú ša re-e-ši</i> , "to raise, of the head"
gú.zi	=	MIN <i>ša</i> MIN
'sag'.íl	=	MIN <i>ša</i> MIN

This lexical equation was known to the erudite scholars of the late period who, when pressed to find an esoteric name for é.sag.íl, came up with *ēš.gú.zi* (as in the list of 'bilingual' personal names, V R 44 = Lambert, *JCS* 11, p. 13, iii 44: *mēš.gú.zi-gi.in-a* = *mē.sag.gíl-ki-in-ap-li*, a scholar who reappears in a medical colophon from Nimrud, written *mēš.gú.zi-gin-a*: see ibid., p. 13, App. 5, 11; in the bilingual hymn IV R² 18, no. 1, 2-3, where considerations of space force the Sumerian line to read [*ēš.gú.zi*] against the Akkadian line's [*é.sag.íl*]: quoted above, p. 248; in the E-sagil Commentary, where this alternative name of the temple is treated to etymological exposition in the text's final lines (no. 5, 31-34); and in an inscription of Adad-apla-iddina, where Marduk is *lugal tin.tir*^{k1} [*umun?*] *ēš.gú.zi.da*, B. Khalil, *Sumer* 37, p. 114, 2-3).

The principal meaning of the image of a city or temple "raising its head" (which has recently caused concern in some quarters: see the article on the name of E-sagil by H. Trenkwalder, *Sumer* 35, p. 233-36) is of the physical height of its buildings, which threaten, as we have seen in some of the above-quoted passages, to touch the sky. This is close to the well-known literary metaphor of the temple — or other building — with its foundations rooted in the netherworld and its top rivalling the heavens (on which see the commentary on IV 23). But "having one's head raised" has also often a nuance of selection or promotion (this idiom in Akkadian, *rēša našû*, is documented in *CAD* N/2, p. 108), and there may thus be an allusion to theological and cosmological exaltation in the epithet sag.íl.

The reading of the temple's name has never been seriously disputed since the notes of Pinches in *PSBA* 22, p. 362. In addition to the orthographies known to him — é.sag.il(a), é.sag.gil (common in late texts, especially), é.sag.gil and the Aramaic gloss *yysngl* (*CT* 4 25, c = 49 6, rev.) — one may point, of course, to the abundant evidence for the pronunciation of the name offered by the E-sagil Commentary itself, where the phonetics of the name are the key to its etymological exposition.

Given the exalted position of E-sagil in the religious life of Babylonia, it is no surprise to learn that in *Tintir* E-sagil needed no explanation as the “temple of Marduk”. In place of such an obvious equation the compiler of the text chooses to explain the temple — as also the next two — in cosmological terms. E-sagil is the “Replica of Apsû”, by which is meant the earthly counterpart of the cosmic abode of Ea, this being a watery level of the universe under the earth (the only modern exposition of Babylonian cosmology, with its multi-tiered universe, is that of Lambert in Blacker and Loewe, *Ancient Cosmologies*, p. 42ff., followed by Livingstone, *MMEW*, p. 79ff.). A mythological explanation of the cosmological position of Babylon and E-sagil is given by Marduk in the Creation Epic (*Enūma eliš* V 119-22):

*e-le-na apsû(abzu) šu-bat haš-ma-ni
mi-iḫ-rit é.šár.ra šá ab-nu-ú a-na-ku el-ku-un
šap-liš áš-ra-ta ú-dan-ni-na qaq-qar-šá
lu-pu-uš-ma bi-ta lu-ú šu-bat la-le-e-a*

Above Apsû, the emerald(?) domain,
as a replica of E-šarra which I have built on your account:
below the firmament whose base I have reinforced,
I would construct a house to be the dwelling of my pleasure.

E-sagil and Babylon are thus to be at the centre of the universe, above Apsû, Ea's domain, but below the heavens, whose waters are now suspended above the cosmos by its “base”, formed from half the body of Ti'āmat (*Enūma eliš* IV 137-40). Further, Marduk's home is to be a counterpart of E-šarra, the celestial abode of Enlil, itself built for him by Marduk after the blue-print of Apsû (IV 143-46). The construction of the temple that is to be Marduk's cosmic abode is carried out by the Anunnaki to the required specifications (VI 62):

šá é.sag.il mi-iḫ-rit apsû(abzu) ul-lu-u re-ši-šú

Of E-sagil, the Replica of Apsû, they raised its head.

The words are carefully chosen to bring out the meaning of sag.il in the temple name. E-sagil is now the “Replica of Apsû” as well as the “Replica of E-šarra”, and the picture given is thus one of three cosmic abodes, identical in construction (Marduk measured Apsû before he built E-šarra, keeping to its exact dimensions: IV 141-44), but stacked one

above the other: E-šarra of Enlil, E-sagil of Marduk, and Apsû of Ea. E-sagil as the counterpart of the cosmic abodes of Ea and Enlil is further expounded by Esarhaddon (Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 21, 47-51):

*é.sag.gil ekal il^{me} ma-aṭ-lat apsû(abzu) tam-šil é.šár.ra mi-iḫ-rit šu-bat é-a tam-šil
mul^{ik}ī*

E-sagil, the palace of the gods, mirror image of Apsû, counterpart of E-šarra, replica of the abode of Ea, counterpart of the *Ikū*-star.

Turning to *Tintir*, we note that the compiler has given the title “Replica of Apsû” to E-sagil, but has reserved “Replica of E-šarra” for the ziqqurra, E-temen-anki. This is probably to be explained by the consideration that *Tintir* is a list, and is thus inclined to an orderliness that may at times introduce artificial distinctions. One should therefore guard against supposing that these lines offer a refinement of the cosmology as expressed in the Creation Epic and Esarhaddon's inscription. From a cosmological point of view E-sagil and E-temen-anki are both the abode of Marduk, and thus hardly distinguishable. As such they can both be the “Replica of E-šarra” and the “Replica of Apsû”. Further cosmological statements regarding the two buildings appear in inscriptions of Esarhaddon's successors: for Aššurbanipal E-sagil is the “replica of Apsû, (Marduk's) lordly palace” (gaba.ri ap-si-i ekal be-lu₄-ti-ka: *VAB* VII, p. 300 = Craig, *ABRT* I 76, 10) and “replica of Apsû, the palace of Marduk, the king of the gods” (gaba.ri ap-se-e eka[l ša]r₄ il^{me}]: Weidner, *Afo* 13, p. 205 = pl. 11, 14-15). Nabopolassar describes E-temen-anki as the “temple (which is) the replica of E-šarra” (*būta* gaba.ri é.šár.ra: Weissbach, *WVDOG* 59, p. 42, iii 28). Both kings may simply be quoting from *Tintir*. Outside the royal inscriptions *mehret apši* and *mehret é.šár.<ra?>* can be found in connection with Babylon and E-sagil in the metrological commentary no. 16, BM 35385, i 7'-10'.

Historically the first mention of E-sagil by name is in the eleventh year-name of Sabium, Hammurapi's great-grandfather (Ungnad, *RIA* II, p. 176, 60), who rebuilt it. But a temple of Marduk in BAR.KI.BAR appears in a fragmentary inscription of an Early Dynastic *ensi* (*YOS* IX 2), and if the toponym represents Babylon, which seems probable (see on this above, p. 253, where the relevant lines are quoted), then the temple of Marduk will be E-sagil, for he had no other in the city. After Sabium, the temple of Marduk received the attentions of successive refurbishers and rebuilders, most famously Esarhaddon and Aššurbanipal (for a concise history of the temple see still Unger, *Babylon*, p. 166ff.). In historical sources E-sagil is last found in the Seleucid period, appearing in the latest known royal inscription, that of Antiochus I Soter, who began work on the temple in year 43 of the Seleucid Era (269 B.C.; *V R* 66, i 14). The clearing of the debris which must have preceded the restoration work may be mentioned in a Seleucid chronicle (Grayson, *ABC*, p. 120, Chronicle 11, obv. 2; if it is wished to tie these two operations closely in time then this chronicle, which mentions Antiochus, “the crown

prince" (*mār šarri*), deals not with the reign of Seleucus I but with that of Antiochus I, since by 269 B.C. the latter had been on the throne already thirteen years). Another Seleucid chronicle to mention E-sagil may date to the reign of Seleucus II or III (*ABC*, p. 123, Chronicle 13, obv. 11, rev. 4, and p. 27f.). The continuing existence of the temple, perhaps in a state of some disrepair, is attested well into the Arsacid period by commercial documents. Those from the archive of the banker Raḫimēsu, dating from the very end of the second century, vouch for Marduk's temple as still in cultic use, though in need of maintenance (see for example *CT* 49 150 // *BRM* I 99; *CT* 49 154; G.J.P. McEwan, *Iraq* 43, p. 138f., AB 246).

The partial excavation of E-sagil by Koldewey's expedition uncovered the temple as it appeared after the final major rebuilding, that of Esarhaddon and Aššurbanipal (the results are written up by Wetzel, *WVDOG* 59). Reference to the ground-plan reconstructed by the excavators is continuously made in Chapter 3 of this book, where metrological texts dealing with E-sagil are edited. Some aspects of the temple's lay-out also come into consideration in the discussion of the gate lists edited in Chapter 2.

2 E-temen-anki is the first in the list of ziqurrats on the geographical tablet II R 50 (read in col. iv(!) 1-2):

[u ₆].nir	=	ziq-qur-ra-tum
[é.temen.an].ki	=	MIN šu-an-na ^{k1}

The name of Babylon's ziqurrat (E-temen-anki is the only one known in the city) incorporates a stock phrase from the Sumerian literary repertoire, that is found as both a divine and a temple epithet. Enlil is temen an.ki.bi.da in an incipit listed in Old Babylonian catalogues (*TCL* XV 28, 59; 14, edge; cf. Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 50¹), while the command of Anu is so described in the later Exaltation of Ištar (B. Hruška, *ArOr* 37, p. 483, III 9-10):

a.a dim.me.er.e.ne.ke₄ ^{en}inim.zu an.ki.a te.me.en.bi
a-bi il^{mes} a-mat-ka te-me-en šamê^e u eršetim^{tim}

Father of the gods, your word is the foundation platform of heaven and underworld!

Applied to temple buildings the epithet describes Keš in a year-name of Rīm-Sîn of Larsa (Ungnad, *RIA* II, p. 164, 283: é kēš^{k1} temen an.ki.bi.da), but more significantly it is an epithet or by-name of the ziqurrat of Eridu in the Collection of Sumerian Temple Hymns (Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 17, 1-2):

é.u₆.nir an.ki.da mú.a
temen an.ki únu.gal eridu^{k1}

E-unir, grown (tall) in heaven and underworld,
foundation-platform of heaven and underworld, great shrine, Eridu!

The parallelism of an.ki.da mú.a, a common temple epithet which alludes to the notion of a building reaching up to the heavens and down into the depths of the earth (see the commentary on IV 23), and temen an.ki defines the significance of the "foundation-platform of heaven and underworld" as a structure founded in both levels of the universe at once — one whose hugeness, in other words, transcends the gap between them. A ziqurrat is an obvious candidate for such an epithet. The literal translation of E-temen-anki into Akkadian, *bītu temen šamê u eršetī*, is found in the explanatory temple lists (no. 2, Rm 788, obv. 2; no. 3, BM 34850, obv. 3'), but the latter text offers also a number of more speculative interpretations.

Like E-sagil, E-temen-anki had no need of practical explanation in *Tintir*, and its importance has gained for it instead the cosmological epithet "Replica of E-šarra". On the significance of this epithet, which is also used of the ziqurrat by Nabopolassar, but in the Creation Epic refers more generally to E-sagil-E-temen-anki as the cosmic abode of Marduk, see the commentary on the previous line.

As has been remarked before, the first mention of the ziqurrat of Babylon in a historical inscription is strangely late. It comes from the Bavian inscription of Sennacherib, who even then declines to give it the ceremonial name E-temen-anki, saying in the account of his sack of Babylon in 689 B.C.: "I tore down the city wall and rampart, the temples of the gods, the ziqurrat of brick and earth, the whole lot, and cast them into the Araḫtu River" (*dūra u šal-ḫu-u bitāt^{mes} il^{mes} ziq-qur-rat libitti u eper^{u4} ma-la ba-šu-ú as-suḫ-ma a-na ^{id}a-ra-aḫ-ti ad-di: III R 14 = Luckenbill, *OIP* 2, p. 84, 51-52). Rebuilding began under Esarhaddon, who names the ziqurrat — for the first time in a royal inscription — as E-temen-anki (written, as in *Tintir*, é.te.me.en.an.ki: Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 24, 28b; but also in its short form, é.temen.an.ki: p. 30, K 3). Work continued under Aššurbanipal, and extensive renovation was also undertaken by Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar II (the relevant inscriptions have been collected by Weissbach, *WVDOG* 59, p. 38ff.). In a tablet of Nabonidus, but in broken context, appears é.temen.an.ki (*CT* 51 75, obv. 28; coll.). Evidence for the existence of E-temen-anki before the Sargonid era comes from works of literature. A textual investigation into the early history of the ziqurrat has been conducted by von Soden, *UF* 3, p. 253ff., who is of the opinion that E-temen-anki did not exist before the Elamite sack of Babylon at the close of the Kassite period, and selects Nebuchadnezzar I as its most likely founder. As von Soden notes, the most easily dated of the relevant literary texts is the Erra Epic, which mentions E-temen-anki by name in I 128 (passage quoted above, p. 271), and whose background is the time of the Aramean disturbances (eleventh to tenth centuries, though von Soden, in the same article, p. 256, argues for a much more exact, and later, date for the epic's composition). As we have argued in the introduction, *Tintir* itself may belong to the twelfth century, and from probably the same period comes the Creation Epic. In the latter a ziqurrat is mentioned in the context of the building of E-sagil and Babylon (*Enūma eliš* VI 63):*

ib-nu-ú-ma ziq-qur-rat apsū(abzu) e-li-te

(The Anunnaki) built the upper ziqurrat of Apsū.

Since this line follows immediately after their construction of E-sagil (VI 62, quoted above, p. 296), it is difficult to imagine this ziqqurrat as being anything other than the temple tower of Babylon, despite the obscure relation of it to Ea's cosmic abode (for a possible explanation of the "upper ziqqurrat of Apsû" see the commentary on the next line). Here then is further evidence for E-temen-anki, though not by name, in the late second millennium. The appearance of E-temen-anki in *Tintir* and the Creation Epic does not conflict with von Soden's suggestion that Nebuchadnezzar I founded it, as long as one accepts the arguments for a like date for both texts (cf. above, p. 62⁵); but, on the other hand, neither is Nebuchadnezzar I thus confirmed as founder. The case for the non-existence of E-temen-anki in the Kassite and earlier periods is an argument ex silentio, and one that is hardly proven while there remains such a dearth of, especially, Middle Babylonian royal inscriptions. In this regard one may note that difficulties still surround the date of the excavated remains of the ziqqurrat: according to G. Bergamini, *Mesopotamia* 12, p. 139ff., the levels examined by the German expedition are too low to be Neo-Babylonian, and may even belong to the Old Babylonian period.

The ziqqurrat of Babylon is the subject of much of the metrological text which goes today by the misleading name of the E-sagil Tablet (no. 13). In that text E-temen-anki is a staged tower of probably eight storeys, the seventh of which comprises the "ziqqurrat temple" (*bīt ziq(qur)rat*), whose interior dimensions are given in detail. The gates of the ziqqurrat temple are discussed in Chapter 2 in the section on gate lists.

3 This temple, as the sanctuary of Ea in the E-sagil temple complex (see on this below), probably acquired its name from a sacred quay of Ea in Eridu, known from an incantation incipit as *kar.za.gin.na kar.kù.ga en.ki.ga.ke₄* (van Dijk, *Festschrift Böhl*, p. 108 = *YOS XI* 42, 11-12: OB ritual; *KAR* 50 = Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc.*, p. 24, rev. 11; note further the 'phonetic' writing *ka-ar-za-gi-na* in *VS II* 75, obv. 8 and rev. 1, on which see Bergmann, *ZA* 57, p. 30). The explanatory temple lists interpret the name of this temple in a straightforward manner as (*bītu*) *kāru ellu*, "House, bright quay" (no. 2, Rm 788, obv. 3; no. 3, BM 34850, obv. 7'), understanding *za.gin*, "lapis lazuli", as an indication of its colour, "bright (blue)" (*za.gin* = *ellu* is well attested in lexical and bilingual texts, and is an equation that may allude to the characteristically Mesopotamian use of brilliant blue lapis-lazuli-glazed bricks, described by Nebuchadnezzar as *agurru uqnī elletu*, I R 51, no. 1, i 25; 54, iii 16). The description of the temple as a "quay" has a twofold allusion. First, the temple was, as noted below, situated on the river bank, and access from the river to the temple complex of E-sagil was evidently to be had through the temple's gardens. Secondly, as *Tintir* notes, E-kar-zaginna is the Gate of Apsû, the watery domain of Ea below the earth, and thus it can be imagined as a cosmic quay. The cosmic parallels in the Creation Epic between the abodes of Enlil, Marduk and Ea have already been noted in the commentary on line 1 of this Tablet, and it comes as no surprise that there should be a cosmic gate linking the realms of Marduk and Ea (for a

parallel, note in the Hymn to Arbil that city, a great cult-centre of Ištar-Inanna, the Queen of Heaven, described as "Gate of Heaven," *abul šamê*: *LKA* 32, obv. 18). The Gate of Apsû is also found in the hymn IV R² 18, no. 1, which describes E-sagil as built at that very spot (lines 3-4: the passage is quoted above, p. 248). Here also, in the Creation Epic, Marduk sets up images of his defeated enemies as a reminder to the future of his victory (*Enūma eliš* V 75-76):

*ib-ni-ma šal-mi-[šu-nu bāb] ap-si-i ú-šá-aš-[bit]
[ah]-ra-taš la im-ma-šá-a šī-i lu it-tu*

He made images [of them] and installed them at the [Gate] of Apsû,
to be a sign that would not be forgotten by posterity.

This, too, refers to Marduk's temple in Babylon (see above, on II 23), but note that the Gate of Apsû occurs as simply a cosmic locality, without allusion to Babylon and E-sagil, in Astrolabe B (*KAV* 218, A ii 27 and 35: <ká> .abzu.ta è = *ba-ab ap-si-i ip-pat-te*, "the Gate of Apsû will be opened", the implication being, perhaps, that the cosmic waters under the earth will well up to replenish rivers, springs and wells).

Along with the cosmological picture of E-sagil as the "Replica of Apsû", fashioned by Marduk after the model of Ea's prototype, there also seems to have been current a tradition in which E-sagil was identified rather more closely with Apsû. This is apparent in the lament K 5160, in which Marduk's temple is not above Apsû, as in the cosmology of the Creation Epic, but inside it (Meek, *BA X/1*, p. 75, no. 4, 11-12):

*[a]lim.ma hi.li diri abzu.šà.ga é.sag.íl.la gub.ba
kab-tu šà ina é.sag.íl qē-reb ap-si-i el-li ku-uz-ba ma-lu-u*

Noble one, who in E-sagil, in (pure) Apsû, is filled with attractiveness!

The notion of E-sagil "in the midst of Apsû" is also found in the creation myth *CT* 13 36, 1-2 (quoted above, p. 252), and is implicit in the ceremonial names of two gate-rooms, or lobbies, of the temple (*é.ká.šà.abzu* and *du.šà.abzu*: no. 7, BM 38602 // *VAT* 13817, i 17'-18') and of a cult-room or chapel in which is a *šubtu* of Lillu (*éš.šà.abzu*: *Tintir* II 11'). This tradition perhaps arose from the mythological syncretism of Eridu and Babylon and their temples, E-abzu and E-sagil, that seems to have taken place in the Kassite period (see above, on I 21). If E-sagil can thus be Apsû, or part of Apsû, this may explain the obscure description of Marduk's ziqqurrat in Babylon as the "upper ziqqurrat of Apsû" (*Enūma eliš* V 63: see p. 299). No doubt Ea's cosmic abode was conceived in the image of a great Babylonian temple, complete with temple tower. With regard to his cult-centre on earth, this tower would be a "lower" ziqqurrat, for cosmic Apsû lay beneath the earth. The temple tower of Ea's earthly abode is E-unir in Eridu, but upon the assimilation of Eridu to Babylon as the 'first city' its cosmological position would be taken over by the ziqqurrat of Babylon, which could thus be the "upper

ziqurrat of Apsû" (indeed the name of the tower of Babylon may be owed to such an identification, for it has been seen that E-unir had the epithet temen an.ki in Sumerian times: p. 298). However this may be, the close association of E-sagil and Apsû may also account for E-kar-zaginna as the Gate of Apsû (one wonders, indeed, whether the Kar-zaginna of Ea in Eridu was an entrance to his temple E-abzu, and whether then the idea of it as the Gate of Apsû originated not in Babylon but in Eridu).

The chief claim to fame of E-kar-zaginna is its place in the *mīs pī* and *pīt pī* rituals as the location where divine images were fashioned or restored, and then ritually brought to life. This is a role for Ea's temple found in the first historical inscription to mention it, Nabû-apla-iddina's stone tablet (*BBS* 36 = *V R* 60-61). The relevant passage, dealing with the construction of a new cult-statue of Šamaš for his temple in Sippar, is worth quoting in full (iv 12-28):

*ana epēšes šal-mi šu-a-tum ú-zu-un-šu ib-ši-ma ina né-me-qí šá é-a ina ši-pir nin-ildu
kù-sig₁₇-bàn-da nin-kur-ra nin-zadim ina hurāši ru-uš-ši-i^{na} uqñi eb-bi ša-lam
šamaš bēli rabī ki-ni-š ú-kan-ni ina te-lil-ti šá é-a u asal-lu-ḥi ma-ḥar šamaš ina
é.kar.za.gin.na šá kišād¹ pu-rat-ti pī-šu im-si-ma ir-ma-a šu-bat-su*

(Nabû-apla-iddina) determined to fashion that statue: through the skill of Ea and the craft of Ninildu, Kusig-banda, Ninkurra and Ninzadim, he made with steadfast care the statue of the great lord Šamaš from red gold and pure lapis lazuli. Through the purification ritual of Ea and Asalluḥi, before Šamaš in E-kar-zaginna, on the bank of the Euphrates, he washed its mouth and installed it on its seat.

The choice of Ea's temple as the site of these rituals is clearly owed to his skill in matters of creation, and to the proficiency of the gods of his circle in fashioning raw materials into the finished article. Further evidence for these ceremonies in E-kar-zaginna comes from inscriptions of Esarhaddon (*Borger, Esarh.*, p. 89, 21-24; cf. p. 91, § 60, 10ff.):

*ina qé-reb ká.dingir.ra^{ki} āl < tak > -bit-ti-šu-[un] ḥa-diš ú-še-rib-šu-nu-ti i-na šip-pat
kis¹ kirī palgi mu-šar-e šá é.kar.za.gin.na āš-ri el-li ina ši-pir apkalli mīs pī pīt pī rim-ki
te-lil-te ma-ḥar kakka[bē^{meš} šá-ma-mi é-a] šá-maš asal-lu-ḥi bēlet-ilī(dingir.maḥ)
kù-sù nin-girim [nin-kur-ra nin-ā-gal kù-sig₁₇-bàn-da nin-ildu nin-zadim] e-ru-bu*

I brought back (the exiled gods) into Babylon, the city of their veneration, and they entered through the orchards, groves, canals and gardens of E-kar-zaginna, the Pure Place, with the craft of the Sage (Ea), mouth-washing and mouth-opening ceremonies, bathing and cleansing, into the presence of the Stars of Heaven, Ea, Šamaš, Asalluḥi, Bēlet-ilī, Kusu, Ningirimma, Ninkurra, Ninagal, Kusigbanda, Ninildu and Ninzadim.

(The explanation of the temple name as *ašru ellu* is etymologically derived: see no. 3, *BM* 34850, obv. 9' and commentary.) In the gods listed here the passage surely gives us the

divine residents of E-kar-zaginna, who include, of course, the divine craftsmen whose skill is needed to refashion divine statues in the correct manner. The emphasis on gardens and orchards, which recurs in Aššurbanipal's description of a similar scene (*VAB* VII, p. 268, iii 19: *ina šip-pat mu-šā-re-e ku-uz-bi šá kar.za.gin.na āš-ri el-li*), is of especial interest for it ties in with the gate-list *BM* 35046, where are treated gates of E-kar-zaginna leading to a "Garden of Apsû" (no. 6, 25-28): one of these, Ka-kiri-Abzu, is explained as "the gate at which the mouths of the gods are opened", an obvious reference to the *pīt pī* ritual, and an indication that the mention of gardens in Esarhaddon's and Aššurbanipal's inscription is not circumstantial. Evidently the Garden of Apsû played an important part in these ceremonies.

The final occurrence of E-kar-zaginna in a royal inscription is from the reign of Nabonidus, who consecrated a throne to Ea in the temple (Messerschmidt, *MVAG* 1/I, p. 78, viii 16ff.). Elsewhere, a letter to Esarhaddon or Aššurbanipal concerning the reconstruction of E-sagil speaks of a *bīt é-a* (*ABL* 471, obv. 10) along with the temple of Bēlet-Bābili (if correctly restored: [é.tūr].kalam.ma) and the "precinct of E-sagil" (l. 11: *si-ḥi-ir-ti é.sag.il*). E-kar-zaginna, while evidently a building separate from the main temple of E-sagil, was nevertheless considered to be part of E-sagil, as is clear in an inscription of Aššurbanipal, where it is described as the "temple of Ea in E-sagil" (*VAB* VII, p. 246, 65-67: *é.kar.za.gin.na [bīt] é-a šá qé-reb é.sag.il eš-šiš 'ú'-še-pī[š]*). But this is no doubt the use of E-sagil in its widest sense, denoting not only the temple of Marduk but also the several other temples in the precinct of that temple (on the temple complex that made up the religious centre of Babylon, see above, p. 91; on the question of *siḥirtu*, "precinct", see the commentary on the E-sagil Tablet, no. 13, l. 12). Misunderstanding of this broader usage of the name E-sagil led early commentators to understand Aššurbanipal's description of E-kar-zaginna too narrowly, notably Koldewey, who thought E-kar-zaginna a chapel of the Marduk temple, and identified it with his Cella C (see the commentary on no. 6, *BM* 35046, 31); he was followed in this by Unger, *Babylon*, p. 174. The principal evidence against such an identification is Nabû-apla-iddina's statement that E-kar-zaginna lay on the river bank, of course. Equally decisive is the unpublished Kislimu ritual tablet of Babylon, *BM* 32206 + 32237 + 34723, which gives details of a procession entering the chapel of Ea in E-kar-zaginna (mistakenly written *é.KUR.za.gin*: iii 16), and then making its way into E-sagil proper, entering at the south gate, Ka-ude-babbar, and continuing via the Court of Bēl (the main courtyard) to the cellae of Bēl and Bēlīya: plainly E-kar-zaginna is not part of the main building of E-sagil, or, for that matter, its eastern annexe. No doubt one should seek Ea's temple, and the Garden of Apsû, somewhere between E-sagil and the river bank.

A final mention of the temple comes from a document of the Persian period, which knows of *é.kar.za.gin.na bīt é-a* as a source of prebendal income (*CT* 51 56, 3).

4 This E-rab-riri is no doubt the one also listed in no. 39 (*K* 8382, obv. ii, b 1), with

other temples of Babylon. Madānu's association with the temple name is further shown by its use for his cella in E-mete-ursag at Kiš (no. 22, VAT 13817, ii 10'). The name of the temple incorporates a well-attested Sumerian phrase, (giš).rab (šu) ri.ri, on which see Falkenstein, *ZA* 49, p. 106, 23, and references, p. 127f. (note also Römer, *SKI*, p. 164f., and Civil, *JAOS* 88, p. 4, 14). (giš).rab = *rappu* (or *rabbu*) appears to have been some sort of wooden shackle with which, for example, prisoners could be restrained; ri.ri (= *lātu*) thus means to "check", "hold down", or similar. For a discussion of *rappu lā'itu*, "shackle which holds in check", see Landsberger, *Date Palm*, p. 27⁸⁰. The equation of the idioms rab ri.ri and *rappu lā'itu* is known to one of the extant explanatory temple lists of Babylon, no. 3, which adds to this literal translation other more speculative ones (BM 34850, obv. 10'-12'). But the compilers of no. 2 (Rm 788, obv. 4, explaining the temple as *bītu lāqit rabbi*) and the Kiš list, no. 22 (ii 10': *bītu ša rabba imessu...*) construe rab as the object of ri.ri.

The temple of Madānu at Babylon is the overnight resting place of Mār-bīti and Ninurta on their way from Borsippa to Kiš on the 28th day of Šabātu, according to the processional calendar no. 57 (BM 41239, pl. 54; despite obv. 5, the action of obv. 6-9 seems to refer to sanctuaries in Babylon, not in Borsippa! That the gods are going to Kiš is clear from obv. 1 and 10; the presence of Mār-bīti, and of é.ur₅.ša.ba in obv. 3, suggests Borsippa as the starting place of the procession). The temple plays a role in the New Year Festival at Babylon as the place where are stored the two images scheduled to be decapitated and burnt on the 6th day of Nisannu (Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, p. 133, 210ff.). Offerings are made to Madānu on the 10th Kislimu, according to the offering calendar of Babylon, *BRM* IV 25, 31 // *SBH* VII, obv. 14. In that text Madānu is paired with Gula; this is significant, for Gula's temple, Egal-maḥ, is listed next in *Tintir* IV. Further, of the two gates listed for Madānu's temple in text no. 7 (BM 38602 // VAT 13817, i 15'-16') one is explained as the Gate of Gula, implying that she had a special relationship with E-rab-riri. The pairing of Egal-maḥ and E-rab-riri, and their respective divine owners, reflects the situation at Isin, the Sumerian cult-centre of Gula. There Egal-maḥ and E-rab-riri are often paired in cultic laments (see Ebeling, *RIA* II, p. 458), and belong the former to Gula as Ninisinna, and the latter to her spouse Ninurta, known locally as Pabilsag, in his name of Dikumah (as in *PBS* X/4 13 = *CT* 44 17, rev. 21; *SBH* 18, obv. 22-23). One is encouraged to consider that Gula's husband at Babylon is Madānu, especially since the Archive of Mystic Heptads lists him as one of the seven manifestations of Ninurta (*KAR* 142, i 24). In this respect it is also significant that among the shrines of Madānu's temple listed in no. 12 (K 2107 + 6086, iii) are those of Gula, her spouse Pabilsag, her vizier Urmašum and her children, Damu and Gunura.

A further E-rab-riri is that of Ennugi, as found in the Canonical Temple List (Pinches, *PSBA* 22, p. 362, i 9, followed by another temple of his, é.rab.ša₅.ša₅). This E-rab-riri is probably to be sought in Nippur, for Ennugi was chamberlain (*guzalū*) of Enlil in his court at E-kur (Lambert, *Atraḥasīs*, p. 147). Ennugi's rank makes him the counterpart in

Nippur of Madānu in Babylon, for the latter is well known as the chamberlain of Marduk's court (*An* II 242-43, quoted in *CAD* M/1, p. 11):

^d ma-da-nu	=	gu.za.lá ^d amar.utu.ke ₄
^d .MINdi.ku ₅	=	ŠU

(Cf. further *Šurpu* II 157, where Madānu is gu.za.lá é.sag.il; also VIII = *UET* VI 408, 4, where the chamberlains of the two courts appear together: ^den-nu-gi gu.za.lá ^dmadānu.) If we consider that Ninurta (and so Pabilsag) also held the office of *guzalū* (Gilgameš XI 17; *Atraḥasīs* I 9, 127, 138), a further link is established between the various divine occupants of the temples named E-rab-riri.

The appearance of gates of Madānu's temple in the gate lists nos. 6 and 7 (BM 35046, 17-18; BM 38602 // VAT 13817, i 15'-16') makes it probable that E-rab-riri of Babylon should be sought in the immediate vicinity of E-sagil, probably within the precinct of the great temple, as also, in all probability, should Egal-maḥ. Indeed, Madānu is mentioned in the company of the great divinities of Babylon's religious centre — Bēl, Bēltiya, Ea and Bēlet-Bābili — in inscriptions of Esarhaddon (Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 88, 12) and Aššurbanipal (Thompson, *AAA* 20, p. 82 and pl. 92, 43; cf. *VAB* VIII, p. 146f., 19-20).

5 The name of this temple is shared with other temples of Gula: her cult-centre in Isin (Ebeling, *RIA* II, p. 277), and a sanctuary in Aššur (listed in the Assyrian Temple List: no. 20, GAB 173). In the late Gilgameš Epic Egal-maḥ is a temple of Ninsun at Uruk (III 15 and 20); the choice of name was no doubt justified by a syncretism such as is found in the Weidner god list, where Lugalbanda and Ninsun are equated with Ninurta and Gula (*A/K* 2, p. 14, 17-18).

Outside *Tintir* there does not appear to be any certain reference to a temple of this name in Babylon. According to *Tintir* IV there exist two sanctuaries of Gula in the city: the present one, listed under the quarter Eridu and perhaps part of the great temple complex of E-sagil (see above), and E-sa-bad, across the river in Tuba, a quarter of west Babylon (IV 42). In the time of Nebuchadnezzar II, however, the temple of Gula in east Babylon is called E-ḫursag-sikilla, "House, Pure Mountain" (as in *CT* 37 13, 42: é.ḫur.sag.sikil.la bīt ^dnin-kar-ra-ak-a . . . bal-ri šīt ^dšamši). In another inscription of this king both temples of Gula are named (I R 55, iv 38-41):

a-na ^dgu-la e-ṭi-ra-at ga-mi-la-at na-pi-iš-ti-ia é.sa.bad é.ḫur.sag.sikil.la bītātī(é.é)-ša
i-na ká.dingir.ra^{k1}

For Gula, who saves and spares my life, (I rebuilt) E-sa-bad and E-ḫursag-sikilla, her temples in Babylon.

The obvious explanation of the lack of reference to Egal-maḥ outside the present text, and of the appearance of another temple of Gula in east Babylon in Nebuchadnezzar II's time, is that E-ḫursag-sikilla is Egal-maḥ by another name. But the situation if further

complicated in very late times by the appearance of a third temple of Gula, E-ḫursag-kuga, both in an administrative document (no. 38, BM 77433, obv. 11) and, alongside E-ḫursag-sikilla and E-sa-bad, in documents from the first century (*BRM* I 99, 28 // *CT* 49 150, 25). E-ḫursag-kuga is probably to be seen as a temple built after *Tintir* was compiled (cf. p. 131). The two first-century texts cited above report that E-ḫursag-sikilla was at the time surrounded by a garden of juniper bushes (26-27 // 23-24: ^{si}ḫiri ^{si}mburāši la-me-e bīt {É} ^agu-la é.ḫur.sag.sikil.la), whose purpose, no doubt, was to supply incense to the cult.

The first mention of any temple of Gula in Babylon comes from a year-name of Sumuabum (his fourth: mu é ^anin.si.in.na (i.e. Ninisinna) ba.dù, Ungnad, *RIA* II, p. 165, 4). This temple is more likely to be Egal-maḫ, close to the heart of east Babylon, than E-sa-bad, which is located in a part of Babylon perhaps not much settled in the earliest years of the First Dynasty (cf. p. 16ff.).

6 This and Amurru's other temple in Babylon are found in the Canonical Temple List (*II R* 61, no. 1, rev. 25-26 + no. 2, i 9 + unpub. join; cf. Hallo, *JNES* 18, p. 56):

é.me.sikil	=	bīt ^a amurru(AN.mar.dú)
é.nam.tag.ga.duḫ.ù	=	bīt MIN

Elsewhere the temple wins a mention by Esarhaddon, who restored its owner's cult-statue (Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 84, 40: ^aamurru(AN.mar.dú) mu-ul-lil šamê^e u eršetim^{tim} mu-ub-bi-ib é.sag.gil a-šib é.nam.tag.ga.duḫ.a ud-diš, "I renovated Amurru, who purifies heaven and underworld and cleanses E-sagil, who dwells in E-namtagga-duḫa"). As befits a god intimately connected with the court of E-sagil, Amurru's temple apparently belonged to the complex of sacred buildings surrounding Marduk's temple, for its gate, ká.nam.tag.ga.duḫ.a, appears in *Ludlul* IV among gates of other such sanctuaries (see p. 90). In that text the sufferer's "sin is dispersed" when passing through this gate (*BWL*, p. 60, 85: ina ká.nam.tag.ga.duḫ.a i'-il-ti ip-pa-ṭir), a straightforward allusion to the meaning of the ceremonial name of Amurru's temple and its gate. This meaning is clear from the bilingual penitential psalm *KAR* 161, obv.(!) 1-12, where the phrase nam.tag.ga.a.ni duḫ.ḫa occurs repeatedly, and is translated *a-ra-an-šu pu-uṭ-ra*, "absolve him of guilt!" The ceremonial name E-namtagga-duḫa is thus appropriate to Amurru's role as divine exorcist (for which see the passage of Esarhaddon quoted above; *Šurpu* VIII 41-42; *Maqlû* VI 4; and K 8005+, 33, quoted in *CAD* B, p. 79, s.v. *banduddû*, // K 6692, Borger, *BiOr* 28, p. 66; Langdon, *RA* 16, p. 89, no. 45, 6-7).

7 A more convenient reading, é.máḫ.ti.la, is opposed by MS v's é.ḫal.ti.l[u?]. ^{si}al is a farming as well as a building implement (see *CAD* A/1, p. 356f., s.v. *allu* A), and its use in preparing ground for ploughing and sowing might allow it to be a potential "giver of life". But in Jacobsen's understanding of the "Myth of the Pickax", the ^{si}al is instrumental in producing the first human life (*JNES* 5, p. 136f.), and thus the temple name may make a mythological allusion.

"Life-giving" is a natural function of Adad as a divine irrigator and provider of rainfall. Unlike his other temple in Babylon, the famous E-namḫe, E-al-tila is not attested outside *Tintir*.

8 E-tur-kalamma appears in the list of temples on no. 39, where it is bīt ^abe-let-ba-<ab>-i-li (K 8382, obv. ii, b 2), and in the Canonical Temple List among temples of Ištar (*II R* 61, no. 2, ii 17).

The earliest mention of this temple is in Apil-Sîn's thirteenth year-name (mu é.tùr.kalam.ma ^ainanna ká.dingir.ra^{ki} ba.dù, Ungnad, *RIA* II, p. 177; cf. also his eleventh, which refers to similar building work: mu ki.tuš ^ainanna ká.dingir.ra^{ki} ba.dù). The temple was built again by Apil-Sîn's grandson, Hammurapi, for Anu, Inanna and Nanāy, as commemorated in his 34th year-name (mu ḫa-am-mu-ra-pi lugale an ^ainanna ù ^ana-na-a.e.ne.bi.ta ... é.tùr.kalam.ma mu.un.gibil.a.bi, Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History*, p. 33): the temple seems here to be the cult-centre of the gods of Uruk (note in this regard the pairing of Inanna and Nanāy at Babylon by Sumulael, year-name 26). The dedication of an alabaster statue in E-tur-kalamma is reported by Samsu-iluna (*VS* XVI 156, 9 and 15). The importance of the temple as a centre for the worship of Inanna-Ištar in the Old Babylonian period is further attested by its appearance as one of the temples claimed by the goddess in the hymn *PBS* V 157 (i 3: quoted above, p. 238). One may also note Ištar as [wa-ši-ba]-at é.tùr.kalam.ma in another Old Babylonian hymn, *PBS* I/1 2, 76a. Ištar of E-tur-kalamma came to be the Ištar of the city, for while there are several other temples dedicated to aspects of Ištar in Babylon (a temple of Ištar of Akkade, two of Bēlet-Eanna, others of Ištar-of-the-Star and the goddesses of Nineveh and Larsa) in E-tur-kalamma she has the title Bēlet-Bābili, "Lady of Babylon" (on Bēlet-Bābili in general see von Soden, *ZA* 52, p. 233; the name is often written ^aMÜŠ-Bābili, but the reading *bēlet* in this and other parallel names is assured by phonetic writings, and by writings with gašan: examples can be found in the apparatus to the present text. In such names ^aMÜŠ ought probably to be read ^anín).

E-tur-kalamma was rebuilt during the reign of Aššurbanipal (*VAB* VII, p. 228, 13; note also a letter of Urad-aḫḫēšu, in charge of rebuilding at Babylon, *ABL* 119, rev. 11-12; and further *ABL* 471, obv. 10, restored: see above, p. 303). The temple gains passing mention in the Nabonidus Chronicle (Grayson, *ABC*, p. 109, iii 6), and is last heard of in the early years of the first century (*BRM* I 99, 26 // *CT* 49 150, 23; G.J.P. McEwan, *Iraq* 43, p. 138, obv. 7).

A contract dated in the reign of Cambyses (Strassmaier, *Camb.* 431, 5f.) deals with a house on a "wide street, facing the south gate of E-tur-kalamma". This may be the street known as *sūq* é.tùr.kalam.ma which plays a role in the rituals that accompany the Divine Love Lyrics (Lambert, *Love Lyrics*, pp. 104, ii 11, 22; 106, iv 3). The Upper and Lower Courts of E-tur-kalamma are also mentioned in these rituals, while the latter is known from a list of throne-daises too (no. 9, BM 34878 // 77236, 14'). According to BM 41239, obv. 7 (no. 57, pl. 54), Sîn and Ningal spend a night in a chapel of Sîn in E-tur-kalamma,

during the course of a procession to Kiš. Four gates of the temple are apparently listed in one of the gate lists of E-sagil (no. 6, BM 35046, 19-22), from which one may suppose that E-tur-kalamma was considered part of the temple of Marduk in its broadest sense. "Facing" the temple is one of the seven shrines of the *Asakku*-Demon (KAR 142, obv. ii 1: quoted p. 285).

9 This temple of Šin also goes by the name of é.ní.te.en.du₁₀, as given in MS m. Under that name, "House of Pleasant Rest", the sanctuary is found in the Old Babylonian period in year-names of Ammiditana (Ungnad, *RIA* II, p. 189, 241) and Ammišaduqa (ibid., p. 190f., 265). The sanctuary of Šin at Babylon attested earlier by Sumuabum's fifth year-name (ibid., p. 175, 5) might thus be E-niten-du, but of the two temples of Šin in Babylon E-gišnu-gal, better known than E-niten-du in the early period, is probably to be considered the favourite candidate (on E-gišnu-gal see IV 24 and commentary). é.ní.te.en.du₁₀ appears in litanies and laments among other Šin temples (some references are collected by Ebeling, *RIA* II, p. 374), but one can never be certain that the temple referred to is the sanctuary in Babylon: it may be that é.ní.te.en.du₁₀ is a temple name associated with Šin also in Ur, and perhaps elsewhere. Note, on the other hand, that in the continuation of Reisner, *SBH* 24, obv. (p. 151), 1-3, é.[kiš].nu.gál and é.[ní].te.en.du₁₀ are followed by é.[d]im.an.na, Šin's sanctuary in Borsippa (so I R 55, iv 61-65), which suggests that in this litany, at least, E-gišnu-gal and E-niten-du are the temples in Babylon.

That E-niten-du is associated in the list with E-tur-kalamma may be no accident: Šin is, of course, the father of Ištar, and one notes that one of the gates of Ištar's temple is ká.dumu.nun.na (no. 6, BM 35046, 19). dumu.nun.na is a well-attested name of Šin (see the commentary on *Tintir* II 50) and it may be that, if the two temples are adjacent, this gate connects them.

For ní te.en, "to cool off", "refresh oneself", see Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 132.

10 The temple name is also found in the shrine list of E-rab-riri, no. 12 (K 2107 + 6086 iii 6'), where it is used of the *šubtu* of Ninšubur in Madānu's temple. The translation of the name relies on the equation sag.dil = *pi-riš-tum* (*MSL* XVII, p. 194, *Antagal* B 229). The name thus reflects the character of the temple's divine resident, for Papsukkal (often syncretized with Ninšubur) is the vizier of Anu (*CT* 24 20, 21; 40, 51). The sceptre is the vizier's staff of office (note *Šurpu* IV 97, *⁴pap-sukkal bēl* ^{⁴⁵}*ḫaṭṭi*; further *KAH* II 89, 11, referring to Enlil's vizier, Nuska; and *KAR* 135, iv 8-9: royal viziers); and it is a function of this official to keep secrets: cf. the description of Nuska as the "minister of the office of Enlil-ship, who keeps (his) secrets" (Craig, *ABRT* I 35, 8 // 36, obv. 4: *mut-tab-bil pa-ra-aš ⁴en-lil-ú-ti na-šir pi-rī[š-ti]*).

The gate of E-sagdil-anna-gidru-tuku appears in the gate list no. 6 (BM 35046, 30), where it is explained as the "gate of the king's warehouse" (*bāb šutummu šarri*).

11 With the temple name and its interpretation (note the variants with nu₁₁/nu.gál) compare the temple of Šin, é.giš.nu₁₁.gál or é.kiš.nu.gál (IV 24 and commentary). Elsewhere the temple occurs, to my knowledge, only in a unpublished literary text (BM 66956 + 76498, 6, courtesy W.G. Lambert):

[ina é.zi].da.nu.gál a-šar la si-ma-a-tum ik-ta-mu rē'ā ⁴dumu-zi

In E-zida-nugal, the unworthy place, he captured the shepherd Dumuzi.

(*ašar lā simātum* is probably extracted from the ceremonial name in some way, although there is no evidence for zi.da gál = *simtu*.) The "captivity of Dumuzi" is an event conspicuous in the Babylonian calendar, to which, of course, the month name Dumuzi (Tammuz) refers: the menology Astrolabe B explains thus (*KAV* 218, A i 44 and 50, concerning ¹¹šū):

<iti> sipa ⁴dumu.zi ba.dab.dab.ba
araḫ rē'ū ⁴dumu-zi ik-ka-mu-ú

(Dumuzi is) the month in which the shepherd Dumuzi was captured.

This month is also explained as the month of Dumuzi's captivity in the cultic calendar *SBH* VIII, iii 13 (*araḫ ki-mi-tu₄ ⁴dumu-zi*), and in the section on month names of the Nippur Compendium (no. 18, iii 23').

12 The temple is also known from a Nabû hymn (Lambert, *Matouš Festschrift* II, p. 111, BM 68403, 19: é.giš.lá.an.ki *bīt* ⁴nā šā níg.k[a₉]) and from votive tablets from the excavations of the temple of Nabû of the *ḫarû* (Cavigneaux, *Textes scolaires* I, pp. 42, 79.B.1/21, 6: [é.giš].lá.an.ki; 50, 79.B.1/59, 10-11: é.giš.lá.ki *bīt bē[lu?]-ú-tu-šú*; 59, 79.B.1/102, 6: é.giš.lá.ak.a; perhaps also pp. 41, 79.B.1/11, 9; 56, 79.B.1/87, 10). Our translation of the temple name relies on the lexical entry giš.giš.lá = *sa-na-qu šā iš-ka-ri*, "to check, of work assignments" (*MSL* XVII, p. 194, *Antagal* B 233). The name is appropriate to Nabû "of Accounting" as the divine auditor (for Nabû as *sāniq*, "checker", and his parallel epithet *pāqidu* see below, on IV 43). Alternatively one might translate "House of the Yoke of Heaven and Underworld" (lá = *šamādu*, *šimittu*), with reference to the cosmic bonds.

The reading of níg.ŠID is provided by the lexical entry ^{ka-a}ka₉ šā níg.ka₉ = *ni-ka-as[u]* (*MSL* XIV, p. 451, *Ea* VII iii 6'; cf. XIII, p. 25, Proto-*Izi* I 252). Nabû, as divine scribe, is also patron of accounting; cf. the god list BM 47406 (*CT* 24 50), obv. 7: ⁴na-bi-um = ⁴marduk šā níg.ka₉. The temple of Nabû of Accounting at Babylon appears under its everyday name in the LB administrative list, no. 38 (BM 77433, 20).

13 The temple's name is appropriate to its owner, for in incantations Ningišzida is the chamberlain of the netherworld (gu.za.lá kur.ra.(ke₄): *OECT* V, p. 28, 30; *CT* 16 13, 44-

45; gu.za.lá *eršetim*^{tim} *rapāštim*^{tim}: IV R² 21*, no. 1, ii 15; LKA 89, iii 12 // KAR 227, iii 18; 90, iii 25; cf. Dossin, RA 32 p. 183, 28).

A variant of the temple name appears to be é.gu.za.alim.maḥ, “House, Throne of the Noble and Exalted One”, which appears as a temple of Babylon in an unpublished literary text (BM 66956+76498, 3), along with Dumuzi’s temple (see above, on IV 11), Bēlet-Bābili, the Market Gate and Ganšir (the gate of the netherworld, evidently understood in this text to be in Babylon). The temple of Ningišzida also appears in the Late Babylonian administrative document, no. 38 (BM 77433, 21, following that of Nabû).

14 According to the variants for this line E-sagga-šarra also went by the name of E-mesi(ga)-kalamma-šarra, “House which Multiplies the Given Me’s of the Land” (MSS nll: see the apparatus). The only surviving mention in the historical sources of a temple in Babylon of the war goddess Anūnītum, daughter of Sīn, is in a year-name of Šar-kali-šarri (Thureau-Dangin, SAK, p. 225, II c), where she shares a temple in the city with another war deity, the Akkadian god Il-aba. However, her cult is also known at Babylon in the Seleucid period, for she appears in the Late Babylonian offering list as a recipient of offerings on the 13th day of Kislimu (BRM IV 25, 37 // SBH VII, obv. 18).

The significance of *libba Eridu* at the end of this line is that all the temples listed up to this point are located in the city’s central quarter (for the quarter Eridu see Tintir V 92 and commentary); here, and throughout Tablet IV, *libba*, with variants *libbi* and, once, *ša libbi*, is used as if it were a preposition, a development that has a parallel in the similar, but more common, use of *qerba/qerbu/qereb*, “within”.

15 The reading of the sign group GIŠ.NÍG.PA is owed to Hh VI 221 (MSL VI, p. 72): ^{s1s}níg.pa^{ni-in-gi-da-ar}.ḥar.mušen.na = *ḥat-ti ḥu-ḥa-ru*, “the ‘rod’ of a bird trap”. ^{s1s}níg.gidar is also translated by *ḥaṭṭu* in a bilingual hymn to Anu (TCL VI 53, obv. 7-8), but elsewhere it is interpreted as *ḥuṭaru* (Landsberger and Gurney, AfO 18, p. 333, Practical Vocabulary of Aššur 519: ^{s1s}níg.gidar^{meš} = *ḥu-ṭ[a-r]a-a-te*).

The temple is known to the Canonical Temple List (Sm 277, ii 13; unpub., courtesy Moran), and a sanctuary of the same name and divine owner appears in the Assyrian Temple List (no. 20, GAB 158), where it is explained as *bīt ḥaṭṭa išartu ana māti inamdinu*, “House which bestows a just sceptre on the land”. Further interpretations of the ceremonial name are found in the colophons of votive tablets from the fill of the newly excavated temples D I and D II, according to which E-niggidar-kalamma-summa is “the temple which bestows a sceptre on the land” (é.níg.gidar.kalam.sum.mu *bīt na-din ḥaṭṭi*(gidru) *a-na ma-a-ti*: Cavigneaux, Textes scolaires I, p. 57, 79.B.1/90, 3-4), and, more elaborately, “the temple which, according to its name, bestows the sceptre and throne [of the land(?)] for kingship” (é.^{s1s}níg.gidar.kalam.ma.sum.m[a] *‘bītu šā ki-ma’ šu-me-šu-ma [na-d]in* ^{s1s}níg.gidar u ^{s1s}kussī [(māti) a-n]a šarru-ú-tu: ibid., p. 155, 79.B.1/58, 5-7).

Constant allusion to the meaning of the temple’s name is made in the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II and Nabonidus, for whom the god of E-niggidar-kalamma-summa is “Nabû, who lengthens my reign, (who) caused my hands to grasp the just sceptre, the true staff that increases the land” (Messerschmidt, MVAG 1/I, p. 78, vii 24-29: ^ana mu-šā-ri-ik pa-le-e-a ^{s1s}ḥaṭṭa(níg.gidar) i-šar-ti uš-pa-ru ki-i-ni mu-rap-pi-šā-at māti ú-šat-mi-ḥu qātu^{min}-ú-a; cf. similar passages in Nbk: Wadi Brisa A ix 7-9; Ball, PSBA 11, p. 160f., i 15-17; I R 55, iv 18-20). This cumulative evidence suggests that Nabû’s temple played a special role in the theology of kingship, being the place where the legitimacy of the reign was ratified by the bestowal of the royal insignia. It was probably in search of divine approval for the change of dynasty that Cambyses entered E-niggidar-kalamma-summa soon after Cyrus marched into Babylon, and this visit may mark his ritual installation as *mār šarri*, the future wielder of the “just sceptre of the land” (Grayson, ABC, p. 111, Nabonidus Chronicle, iii 25; cf. Cavigneaux, Sumer 37, p. 121; Oppenheim, Cambridge History of Iran II, p. 554ff.). Such a role for Nabû, the son of the city god, at Babylon, finds a distant parallel in the Curse of Akkade, where it seems that in Nippur it is Enlil’s son, Ninurta, who keeps the regalia of mortal kingship in E-šumeša (II. 66-69; cf. below, p. 450). Note that in the time of Nabû-apla-iddina, however, it is Marduk himself who “delivers into the (king’s) hands the true sceptre and the shepherding of the people”, ^{s1s}ḥaṭṭa i-šar-ta re-’ut niš^{meš} e-pe-ši ú-māl-lu-ú qa-tuš-šú: BBS^t 36 = V R 60, iii 8-10). The association of Nabû and sceptres may also be owed to his original function as Marduk’s vizier, given this official’s status as *bēl ḥaṭṭi* (see above, on IV 10).

The temple is attested in the reign of Simbar-šihū, or some other king of the same era, by the Religious Chronicle, which records the killing of a panther behind é.^{s1s}gidar.kalam.ma[sum.ma] (Grayson, ABC, p. 135, ii 10). It was rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar II, for whom it is é.^{s1s}níg.gidar.kalam.ma.sum(mu/ma), the temple of ^ana/na-bi-um ša ḥa-re-e (*ḥa-ri-ri* in one cylinder, published by Ball, PSBA 10, p. 368f., i 45, an obvious mistake), situated *ina* ká.dingir.ra^{k1} (I R 55, iv 22) or *qé-reb ba-bi-lu^{k1}* (Wadi Brisa A ix 11). This might refer to the whole city or just to the quarter ká.dingir.ra^{k1}, in which, as the present text shows (IV 18), Nabû’s temple is located. At all events, Nebuchadnezzar elsewhere lists E-niggidar-kalamma-summa with other temples of east Babylon (*bal-ri šūt šamši*: CT 37 13, 42).

Nebuchadnezzar II’s temple has now been excavated just south of Qasr, to the west of Ay-ibūr-šabû, Marduk’s processional way, along with a small sanctuary that can be explained as E-ḥili-kalamma of Ašratum (see IV 17 and commentary). The identification of the larger of the two buildings (D I) as the temple of Nabû ša ḥarê is made not so much by Nebuchadnezzar II’s foundation cylinder, which is broken, but by the evidence of the many votive tablets and their colophons, which refer repeatedly to E-niggidar-kalamma-summa — like the two quoted earlier — and, less often, to E-gišla-anki, the temple of Nabû of Accounting in the central quarter of Eridu (on the identification see Cavigneaux, Sumer 37, p. 118ff.; and the writer, Sumer 44, p. 12 ff. The writing of the

temple's name in these colophons is often defective: all orthographies are listed by Cavigneaux, loc. cit., p. 125¹¹. For the foundation cylinder see *ibid.*, p. 118f., and, for a summary of the excavations, Daniel Ishaq, *Sumer* 41, p. 30ff.).

Offerings to ⁴nà *ḥa-re-e* were made on the 17th day of Kislimu, according to the Babylonian offering calendar (*BRM* IV 25, 43). His temple is also known from the administrative document no. 38 (BM 77433, 7). The *ḥarû* or *bît ḥarê* of Nabû was apparently in Borsippa (Unger, *RIA* I, p. 424f., and *CAD* H, p. 118), but he is not the only deity associated with such a building: see the Nippur Compendium (no. 18), v 5 and commentary.

16 This temple was excavated by the German expedition in the mound Merkes (for the archaeology see O. Reuther, *WVDOG* 47, p. 123ff.) and identified by means of a cylinder of Nabonidus found in the north wall (text by Ehelolf, *ibid.*, p. 136f., photographs on pl. 42; a duplicate is published by S. Smith, *RA* 22, p. 58ff.). Nabonidus rebuilt the temple for Bēlet-Akkade, whom he describes as “lady of battle, warmonger who dwells in E-mašdari in Babylon (lines 12-15: *be-let ta-ḥa-za ša-ki-na-at ṣu-la-a-ti a-ši-ba-at é.máš.da.ri ša qé-re-eb ká.dingir.ra^{ki}*; note that the geographical name is ambiguous: one cannot rule out the possibility that Nabonidus refers not to the city as a whole but to the quarter *ká.dingir.ra^{ki}*). The goddess of E-mašdari is Ištar of E-ulmaš in Akkade (see Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 146), who is noted for a warlike character. Offerings were made to Bēlet-Akkade in E-mašdari on the 15th day of Kislimu (*BRM* IV 25, 40). The gate of her temple is the location of a shrine of the *Asakku*-Demon (*KAR* 142, obv. ii 3: quoted p. 285). A *šubtu* of the same name occurs as a shrine in E-sagil (*Tintir* II 49).

In translating the temple name we have followed the equation *máš.da.ri* = *irbu*, found in lexical texts (*MSL* VIII, p. 13, *Hh* XIII 71: *udu [máš].da.ri* = *immer ir-bi*; XIII, p. 143, Izi Bogh. A 317: *máš.da.a.ri* = *ir-bu*) and a bilingual ritual (Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, p. 70, 19-20: *máš.da.ra kadra* = *ina ir-bi u kád-re-e*). The *irbu* offering, made upon entry into a temple, may comprise sheep and goats. On an etymology of *máš.da.ri* as “the coming with kids”, see Falkenstein, *MANE* I/1, p. 13.

17 The goddess and her temple are found in the calendar *BRM* IV 25, which records offerings for her on the 14th day of Kislimu (line 38: *ina ¹¹¹gan u₄ 14^{kam} šá ⁴aš-ra-tum é.ḥi.li.kalam.ma*). The “temple of Ašratum” is also known from no. 38, a Late Babylonian tablet which apparently deals with income received from offerings made at various temples of Babylon and the adjacent area (BM 77433, 23). A text which connects the goddess with the main temples of Babylon and Borsippa is the cultic commentary BM 34035, 9 (*⁴aš-rat šá é.zi.da ... ⁴aš-rat šá é.sag.íl*: Livingstone, *MMEW*, p. 61). Her place in Marduk's court is owed to the position of her spouse Amurru, the “cleanser” of E-sagil (see above, on IV 6). The temple name E-ḥili-kalamma is suited to a sanctuary of Ašratum, for the goddess is “lady of luxuriance and delightfulness” in an OB dedication

(*LIH* I 66, 4: *nin ḥi.li ma.az.bi*). It is itself translated as *bît kuzbu [māti]* in the list no. 4 (BM 34927, 17).

E-ḥili-kalamma is most probably to be identified with the small sanctuary (D II) excavated by the Iraqi team adjacent to the larger temple of Nabû *ša ḥarê* (D I), and dating to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (for the excavation of D I and II see Daniel Ishaq, *Sumer* 41, p. 30ff.; cf. also Cavigneaux, *Sumer* 37, p. 118ff.). As argued elsewhere (*Sumer* 44, p. 15f.), the grounds for such an identification are that, if one accepts that D I and D II represent independent structures, a total of four temples have now been uncovered in a part of Babylon — Ka-dingirra — that according to *Tintir* IV housed just that number and no more. Since the identification of two of the four, E-maḥ and E-mašdari, is assured by virtue of their foundation inscriptions, and the equation of D I and E-niggidar-kalamma-summa is fairly certain (see above), it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that D II will be E-ḥili-kalamma. Such an identification is supported circumstantially by the consideration that a sanctuary of the size and lay-out of D II (small, and furnished with a single cella) is best suited to a minor goddess such as Ašratum.

18 This temple of the Mother Goddess shares its name with that of Ninḥursag-Dingir-maḥ in Adab (Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 120). The temple name E-maḥ reflects, of course, the Mother Goddess as Dingirmaḥ, “the Exalted Goddess”. For *é.maḥ* as a general temple epithet see Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 111. Text no. 4 translates it as *bîtu rabî* (BM 34927, 18).

The temple was rebuilt by Aššurbanipal whose foundation cylinder describes it as *é.maḥ bît ⁴nin.maḥ šá qé-reb ká.dingir.ra^{ki}* (Delitzsch in *WVDOG* 15, p. 67, 13); once again *ká.dingir.ra^{ki}* is ambiguous, referring either to the city or to the quarter. Another rebuilding was undertaken by Nebuchadnezzar II, who knows the temple as *é.maḥ bît ⁴nin.maḥ/⁴nin.ḥur.sag.(gá) lib-ba ká.dingir.ra^{ki} . . . i-na ká.dingir.ra^{ki}/ba-bi-lam^{ki}/ba-bi-i-lu^{ki}/tin.tir^{ki}* (*V R* 34, ii 6-10; *VS* I 43, i 6-12; 51, 3-5; Ball, *PSBA* 10, p. 368f., i 44-51; *I R* 55, iv 14-22; *PBS* XV 79, ii 32-38; cf. *CT* 37 13, ii 41-42, etc.). Here the first *ká.dingir.ra^{ki}* must be the quarter, as in the present line (on the quarter, which we read Ka-dingirra, see *Tintir* V 94 and commentary). The temple of Bēlet-ilī is also known from the administrative document no. 38 (BM 77433, 8). The reading *é.maḥ* in col. viii of Nabonidus' Istanbul stele is a mistake for *kisal.maḥ*, the Grand Court of E-sagil (passage quoted below, p. 414f.).

For the excavation and archaeology of E-maḥ, which lies off Ay-ibūr-šabû just inside the Ištar Gate, on the edge of what is now the mound of Qasr, see Koldewey, *WVDOG* 15, p. 4ff.

19 The temple is also identified as Ninurta's in the offering calendar *BRM* IV 25, 21 (offerings for the 7th day of Kislimu); in the hymn *CT* 42 24 (pl. 37), obv. 16, where Ninurta is addressed as *[umun é.ḥ]ur.sag.ti.la*; in a ritual tablet, BM 34768 (*CT* 51 99, 6-7); in the dais list no. 9 (BM 34878 // 77236, 5f.), which names cultic throne-daises in the

temple; and in the administrative tablet no. 38 (BM 77433, 18). Elsewhere the temple appears in the rituals of the New Year Festival of Babylon, in which it is Nabû's first port of call in Babylon after his journey from Borsippa (on the 6th of Nisannu: Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, p. 133, 213), in the rituals of the Divine Love Lyrics (Lambert, *Love Lyrics*, p. 104, iii 4), and in the Archive of Mystic Heptads, where the temple gate is the location for a dais of the *Asakku*-Demon (*KAR* 142, obv. ii 2: quoted above, p. 285).

According to the present text E-hursag-tilla is one of two temples in the quarter Šuanna, inside the Uraš Gate. A temple of Ninurta has indeed been excavated in this area, the mound Išan al Aswad (see Koldewey, *WVDOG* 15, p. 25ff.). According to its four foundation cylinders the sanctuary was rebuilt by Nabopolassar, who names it é.PA.GÍN.ti.la bītu ša ^anin-urta ša qé-reb šu-an-na^{k1} (Weissbach, *MDOG* 10, p. 13, 22). Nabopolassar's ceremonial name for the temple, which has caused difficulties in interpretation in the past, is in fact no more than a scholarly writing for the well-attested E-hursag-tilla: witness the lexical tablet VAT 10270, iv 58-59 (quoted by *AHW*, p. 1124; *Igituh* I):

hur.sag	=	šadû
PA.GÍN	=	MIN

(cf. also ^{se}-engin = ša-du-ú, VAT 9541, iii 4: *AHW*, p. 1124; and the Akkadian word *g/kinnû*, "mountain"). PA.GÍN is commonly attested in Early Dynastic texts, particularly those that use UD.GAL.NUN orthography, and the evidence indicates that it is an orthographic variant of 'normal' hur.sag (see now Civil, *OrAnt* 22, p. 1f., who notes OB glosses [h]u-ur-sa-ág/-sag-(gal) on (GAL).PA.GÍN(DÛN) in *Lu* and *Diri*, and makes the identification of ^anin.PA.GÍN(DÛN) and Ninhursag; also Cavigneaux, *NABU* 1987, 26).

Nabopolassar's use of PA.GÍN for hur.sag is symptomatic of the contrived (and often misconceived) archaizing that is a hallmark of the royal inscriptions of the Chaldaean dynasty, and is no doubt owed to diligent consultation of the lexica (such as *Igituh*). This consideration incidentally vouches for the tenacity of a lexical tradition which passed down UD.GAL.NUN orthography to posterity some two millennia after that mode of writing fell into disuse.

The temple name E-hursag-tilla is suited to Ninurta as a conqueror of the mythological Mountain: see the commentary above, on II 27. The writing é.hur.sag.ti.la, which occurs in several of the passages cited earlier and in variants of this line, can be translated "House, Mountain which Gives Life", an allusion to the notion of the city and temple as a fount of life and fertility. The translation of the temple name in no. 4 (BM 34927, 19, unfortunately half missing) appears to be speculative rather than literal: see further the commentary thereon.

20 Aside from the Akkadianized version é.sassûru (MS n), a further variant writing of the temple name is é.šà.tùr.(ra), known to be Išhara's temple in the quarter Šuanna from

commercial documents (Strassmaier, *Nbk* 247, 6-7: ^aiš-ḫa-ra a-ši-bat é.šà.tùr.ra ša qé-reb šu-an-na^{k1}; Peiser, *BV* 107, 10-11: é.šà.tùr bīt ^ai[š-ḫ]a-r[a] ša qé-reb šu-an-na; coll., Darius). The temple of Išhara in Babylon is otherwise only known from the administrative tablet no. 38 (BM 77433, 19). A street of Išhara, perhaps in Babylon, is mentioned in the letter *ABL* 877, rev. 9-10.

šassûru, "womb", is used as an epithet of the Mother Goddess with the nuance of "mother who gives birth" in the Cuthean Legend of Narām-Sîn (*STT* 30, i 35 // *CT* 13 39, i 8 // 41, obv. 14) and in Atrahasis I 189-90 and 194. It becomes a name of hers in *MSL* IV, p. 6, Emesal Voc. I 34-35:

[^a š]e.en.tu	=	^a nin.tu	=	^a be-let-[i]l ^{mes}
^a MIN	=	^a MIN	=	šà-as-su-rum

Note further the god list *CT* 25 30, 12, where ^ašà-šà-su-rum^{mes} is explained as *be-let-il^{mes}* and ^aiš-tar. The syncretism of the Mother Goddess and Ištar, goddess of sexual love, in this text may help to explain the dual character of Išhara. On the one hand she is found as a mother goddess (as in Ebeling, *AGH*, p. 58, 26: ^aiš-ḫa-ra ummu réme-ni-tum ša niš^{mes}, "Išhara, compassionate mother of the people"), on the other she is the ardent lover (invoked as such, in the company of Nanāy and Ištar whose expertise in this field is better known, in a potency incantation: Biggs, *TCS* II, p. 44, 11-13, and parallel text there quoted), and the "lady of love" (*be-[le]t ra-me*: *LKA* 102, 12: incantation). According to Atrahasis I 301-04 Išhara is an aspect of Ištar invoked during the nine days of the wedding ceremony. Her presence at weddings is also found in Old Babylonian Gilgameš; there the wedding bed is metaphorically prepared for her (P Tablet, v 28-29: a-na ^aiš-ḫ[a]-ra ma-a-a-lum na-dī-i-ma), and evidently she is the divine patron of the nuptial celebrations about to take place on it. If all goes well, the nuptial bed will then become a bed of childbirth, and Išhara will have played both her roles. One notes, in this regard, that E-šasurra is explained in no. 4 as bīt nabnīti, "House of birth" (BM 34927, 20). On Išhara further see Lambert, *RIA* V, p. 176f.

According to the present text E-šasurra is one of only two temples in the quarter Šuanna, the other being the temple of Ninurta listed in the preceding line. As noted above, Ninurta's temple was excavated by the German expedition in the mound Išan al Aswad. Between this temple and Amran ibn Ali, the mound over E-sagil, a second temple was excavated, which in the absence of any foundation inscription the excavators were unable to identify, but gave the name of Temple Z (for the archaeology see Koldewey, *WVDOG* 15, p. 18ff.). It can now be seen that Temple Z, lying as it does directly between E-sagil and the Uraš Gate, and between E-hursag-tilla and the river, is situated at the heart of the quarter Šuanna (for the extent of which see V 93 and commentary). Accordingly, this temple may now be identified as the present line's E-šasurra of Išhara (so already in *Sumer* 35, p. 229, where the ceremonial name is misread). In this regard it is interesting to note that Unger, while correctly assuming from Temple Z's solitary cella

that it belonged to a goddess but erroneously opting for Gula on rather circumstantial grounds (*Babylon*, p. 141ff.), nevertheless suggested in a footnote (*ibid.*, p. 143¹) that Temple Z might instead belong to Išhara, knowing that her temple lay in this area from the Late Babylonian commercial documents already available.

21 This sanctuary, one of three throne-daises (*parakku*) included among the cult-centres of *Tintir* IV, is not found elsewhere, but it shares its name with a temple of Enlil known from the Canonical Temple List and written, as our MS q, [é].uru.na.nam (Pinches, *PSBA* 22, p. 365, 24). Enlil's temple was no doubt in Nippur, taking its name from uru.na.nam, "The Very City", an epithet of Nippur (see on this the Nippur Compendium, no. 18, ii 10', where it is explained as *āl dīni* and *ālu kīni*, and the commentary on that line and i 1-10' of the same text). The ancient commentators of the explanatory temple lists declined to translate the name literally; just as the compiler of the Nippur Compendium did, they opted for speculative interpretations (*bītu ša manzāzūšu* [*naklū?*]: no. 4, BM 34927, 21; *bītu nāširu šīmat nišī*: no. 3, BM 34850, rev. 2'; on these see the commentary, ad loc.). It seems likely that the probable origin of Nippur's name in the Sumerian phrase uru.na.nam was forgotten in the late period. The difficulties surrounding the interpretation of the temple name may account for the odd orthography, é.úr(u)g).nam, in our MS v.

22 Following Sjöberg, *Nanna-Suen*, p. 96⁴, where he quotes the 'phonetic' writings ki.tu.ša.ni and ki.tu.š.ša.ni for *ki.tu.š.a.ni (*VS* X 131, 2-3), we read ki.KU in temple names as ki.tu.š (note further the writing ku.tu.uš for *ki.tu.š = *šu-ub-ti* in *MDP* 57, p. 13, 13). For the reading gir₁₇.zal see the 'phonetic' writings gi.ir.za.al/la (collected by Sjöberg, *ZA* 55, p. 2, who reads giri_x.zal), and especially Yaḥdun-Lim's monumental Mari inscription published by Dossin, *Syria* 32, p. 15, where *é.gir₁₇.zal.an.ki, the temple of Šamaš in that town, is written *e-gi!-ir-za-la-an-ki*, and translated *bīt ta-ši-la-at ša-mé-e ù er-še-tim*, "House of joy of heaven and underworld" (iv 11-13). Note also the late gloss on the divine name ⁴kiri(KA)^{ki-ri}.zal (*CT* 24 7, 27 // 35, 6). The temple name is interpreted by both ancient commentators as *bītu šubat tašīlti* (no. 3, BM 34850, rev. 3'; no. 4, BM 34927, 22), a straightforward translation of the Sumerian. The composer of the syncretistic hymn *KAR* 109 addresses his goddess in E-kituš-girzal in a manner which reflects the name of the temple, his customary *modus operandi* (obv. 21, following other temples of Babylon):

ina é.ki.tu.š.gir₁₇.zal šu-bat né-eḫ-ti a-ši-bat ta-šil-ti

In E-kituš-girzal, the abode of peace, she dwells in joy.

Elsewhere the temple is mentioned in a Neo-Babylonian commercial document as "the temple of Bēlet-Eanna on the canal bank, in Newtown, which is in Babylon" (Strass-

maier, *Nbk* 247, 12-13 // 416, 4-5: quoted below, p. 376; there the temple is the residence of Papsukkal). In a contract of exchange the temple's "ditch" (the canal?) is the boundary of a lot in Newtown (Ellis, *JCS* 36, p. 61, 7: *su-ri bīt ⁴bēlet-é-an-na*; SŠi). In *Tintir* V 95-96 the temple of Bēlet-Eanna "on the canal bank" marks the boundary of the quarters Newtown and Kullab; since Tablet IV places E-kituš-girzal in Newtown (l. 23), we can suppose that the temple lay on the bank of the canal nearer the Ištar Gate. The description of the temple as "on the canal bank", which serves to distinguish E-kituš-girzal from Bēlet-Eanna's other temple in Babylon (E-kituš-garza "in the recess of the city wall": IV 41), is also used in the offering list *BRM* IV 25, 22 (offerings made to *⁴bēlet-é-an-na kišād palgi* on the 7th of Kislimu). This canal may be an eastern section of Lībil-ḫengalla, which must have cut through Newtown after passing under Ay-ibūr-šabū (see further V 61 and commentary). A final mention of Bēlet-Eanna's temple is found in the Late Babylonian administrative tablet, no. 38 (BM 77433, 9).

A temple of the same name appears in the Canonical Temple List as the sanctuary of Ištar at Elip (ki.bal.maš.dā^{ki}: Moran, *Kramer Anniversary Volume*, p. 336¹²). Evidently the temple name is one associated with this goddess, the Bēlet-Eanna, "Lady of Eanna", of the present line being, of course, Ištar-Inanna of Uruk. The meaning of E-kituš-girzal accords with the notion of the city and temple as places of joy and jubilation (*rīštu*: see the commentary above, on I 9). References to gir₁₇.zal in temple and city epithets are collected by Sjöberg, *ZA* 55, p. 4f., and *TCS* III, p. 137. Note further the use of gir₁₃(ŠID).zal as the attribute of a temple in the Early Dynastic Keš Temple Hymn (Biggs, *ZA* 61, pp. 198, iv 4-7 // 203, 118-19). In bilingual texts note in a *šulla* of Marduk (J.S. Cooper, *Iraq* 32, p. 62, 33a):

[. . .]x ki.tu.š ša gir₁₇.<zal>.la.zu na.an.šub

[. . .]š[u-bat ta-šil-ti-ka la ta-nam-di

Do not cast down [(Temple name)], your abode of joy!

And also, in a hymn to ⁴lamma.ša₆.ga (Sjöberg, *JCS* 26, p. 162, 5):

[é i.lu g]ir₁₇.zal sù = *bi-it ni-gu-tim ša ta-ši-il-tam ma-lu-ú*

House of joyousness, filled with joy!

(The restoration relies on *MSL* XIII, p. 161, *Izi* V 35: i.lu = *ni-gu-tu*.)

In Babylonian literature compare, in addition to passages quoted in an earlier paragraph, the Hymn to Arbīl: *āl ta₅-ši-la-a-ti ^uarba-īl* (*LKA* 32, obv. 9); a *šulla* of Ninurta: *ina é.kur bīt ta-ši-la-a-ti ša-qa-a re-ša-a-ka* (Ebeling, *AGH*, p. 24, 16); a prayer to Marduk: [*n*]a-ša-a re-ša-a-ka *ina bīt ta-ši-la-a-ti-k[a-ma?]* (Lambert, *AfO* 19, p. 62, 40); in the Šamaš Hymn: [*ina é.babbar.ra bīt*] *nam-ru šu-bat ta-ši-la-ti-ka* (*BWL*, p. 138, 193). In royal inscriptions Narām-Sîn builds a temple for Erra that will be a "house of heartfelt

joy" (Lambert, *BiOr* 30, p. 361, 26: *bi-ta-am ša ta-ši-la-tu li-ib-bi*), while for Nebuchadnezzar II E-sagil is an "abode of joy" (*PBS XV* 79, i 31: *šu-bat ta-ši-la-a-tum*).

23 This temple of Ištar, here in her astral aspect as the 'star' Venus, shares its name with the ziqqurrat of her great cult-centre, Akkade (II R 50, iv(!) 9):

é.an.da.sá.a = MIN (ziqurrat) a-kà-dē^{k1}

A temple of this name, either the temple tower of Akkade or the sanctuary of the present line, appears among others of Ištar in the Canonical Temple List (Sm 277, iii 2, unpub., courtesy Moran). Compare, for the name applied to a building other than a temple, bād.an.da.sá.a, "Wall which Rivals Heaven", as Samsuiluna called the city wall of Sippar (year-name 16: Ungnad, *RIA* II, p. 183, 161). The translations of the temple name offered by the explanatory lists (no. 3, BM 34850, rev. 4': *bītu ša šamē šannu*; no. 4, BM 34927, 23: *bītu ša itti [šamē šitnunu?]*) demonstrate that the ancient commentators were familiar with the meaning of the Sumerian. The idea of something being so huge that it rivals the heavens — and extends deep into the underworld — is a hyperbole common in Sumerian and Babylonian literature (see *BWL*, p. 327). Temples, and other monumental buildings, are naturally prone to such imagery. Thus in the first of the Early Dynastic *zami*-hymns Nippur is described as the "city grown (tall) in the heavens, embracing the heavens" (Lambert, *BSOAS* 39, p. 430¹, 1-2: *uru an.da mú an.da gú.lá*). Gudea uses similar language of E-ninnu of Ningirsu, which is the "bond of the land, grown (tall) in heaven and underworld" (Cyl. B i 1-2: quoted above, p. 266; cf. A xxiv 9, B xxiv 14); the latter phrase recurs in a letter of Išbi-Erra to Ibī-Sīn, with reference to Ur (*OECT* V 28-9, 6: *úrim^{k1} uru.kù.zu an.ki.da mú.a*). In the Collection of Sumerian Temple Hymns the ziqqurrat of Eridu is similarly described (Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 17, 1: *é.u₆.nir an.ki.da mú.a*), E-anna of Inanna in Uruk is said to be "ascending into the midst of heaven" (*ibid.*, p. 29, 200: *an.šà.ta e₁₁.dē*), while E-melam-ḥuš of Nuska at Nippur "embraces the heavens" (p. 19, 52, read *mùš an.da gú.lá'a*), a phrase also used of Keš in the Keš Temple Hymn (Gragg, *ibid.*, p. 167, 15: *an.da gú.lá.a*, see further Lambert, *Zikir šumim*, p. 215). In the same hymn the Keš temple is said to "reach up to heaven" (p. 169, 31-34, *an.né ús.sa*), and this is said also of Nippur in the Hymn to Nippur (*UET* VI 118, ii 10: quoted above, p. 295).

A full expression of the notion of a building "growing", to use a Sumerian term (*mú*), into both levels of the cosmos is found in a bilingual litany of Enlil, where it describes that tallest of all Babylonian constructions, a ziqqurrat (IV R² 27, no. 2, 15-18):

kur.gal é.en.lil.lá ní.ḥur.sag gú.bi an.da ab.sá.a abzu kù.ga.bé múš.bi uš-uš-e uš₈.uš₈.e
šà-du-ú rabû^a MIN ní.ḥur.sag šà re-šà-a-šú šà-ma-mi šà-an-na ap-su-u el-lim šur-
šu-du uš-šú-šu

Great mountain, Enlil (of) Ni-ḥursag, whose top rivals the heavens, whose base is firmly fixed in pure Apsû.

(For the name of the ziqqurrat see II R 50, iv(!) 5, where é.ni.ḥur.sag is a temple tower of Nippur; cf. also the Canonical Temple List, where an é.ni.te.ḥur.sag occurs among temples of Enlil: Pinches, *PSBA* 22, p. 365, 25.)

Equally explicit is the Old Babylonian Hymn to Papulegarra in its description of Keš (Pinches, *JRAS* Cent. Suppl. (1924), p. 73 and pl. 9, 27-30):

ke-e-eš bi-tum lu na-ši re-e-šu
ša-ap-la-nu šu-ur-šu-šu er-še-ta-am lu ta-am-ḥu
e-le-nu-um zi-iq-qú-šu li-iš-nu-nu ša-ma-i
ša-ap-la-nu-um šu-ur-šu-šu er-še-tam lu ta-am-ḥu

As for the temple Keš, may its top be lifted up,
may its roots below grasp the underworld;
may its crenellations above rival the heavens,
may its roots below grasp the underworld!

The same idea is also to be found in the Hymn to Arbil (*LKA* 32, obv. 15-16):

išdā^{mes}-šu ku-un-na ki-i šà 'eršetim^{tim}
šà ur^aarba-íl šà-qa-a rēšetu^{mes}-šú : iš-ta-na-na šamē^[e]

Its foundations are as firm as those of the underworld;
of Arbil, its top is so high that it rivals the heavens!

Similar language is again used of a ziqqurrat by Nabopolassar, who reports that Marduk commissioned him to "fix the foundations (of E-temen-anki) on the breast of the netherworld, to make its top rival the heavens" (*BE* I 84, i 34-37: *išid-sà i-na i-ra-at ki-gal-e a-na šu-úr-šu-dam re-e-ši-ša ša-ma-mi a-na ši-it-nu-ni*); cf. further Nebuchadnezzar's report of his work on Babylon's ziqqurrat: "I set to it to raise (high) the top of E-temen-anki, for it to rival the heavens" (Weissbach, *WVDOG* 59, p. 46, no. 3, 22-26: *é.temen.an.ki a-na ú-ul-li-im re-e-ši-ša ša-ma-mi a-na ši-it-nu-nim qá-tam aš-ku-un-ma*). For references to the metaphor of the temple whose "head (top) is raised up", which here and elsewhere is parallel to the image of the temple "rivalling heaven", see above, p. 294f.

A temple of ^a15-mul, perhaps that of Babylon, appears in a Sippar school tablet, BM 75144 (no. 30, 7': see below, the commentary on V 59). For Newtown, the quarter of Babylon between the Ištar Gate and E-kituš-girzal, see *Tintir* V 95 and commentary.

24 The temple has the same name as the great cult-centre of Sīn at Ur (on which see Ebeling, *RIA* II, p. 322, s.v. Ekišširgal), and a lesser-known sanctuary of this god in or near Nippur (see no. 18, Nippur Compendium, ii 11'-13', where the name is also written é.kēš.^anun.gal and é.ká.ēš.nun.gal, for etymological purposes). For the reading of the name see also Sjöberg, *Nanna-Suen*, p. 125; *TCS* III, p. 75f. (and the literature there cited); and note further the lexical evidence quoted in *CAD* G, p. 106, most important of which is the following entry in *Kagal* Boghazköy (*MSL* XIII, p. 152, 13):

é.[kiš.nu.gál] = [e-gi-iš]-nu-un-kal = bi-it ^ananna

According to list of names republished as Westenholz, *Jena* 173, 6, ŠIR (read nu₁₁ in the temple name) is to be as explained as UD.GAL.NUN orthography for conventional nu (see on this list the article of Lambert, *OrAnt* 20, p. 81ff.). Accordingly, the two normal writings of the name of Šin's temples, é.giš.nu₁₁.gal and é.kiš.nu.gál, are perhaps to be seen as stemming from the different orthographic traditions of the Early Dynastic period (cf. Lambert, loc. cit., p. 83). Mixed writings, as here, are not uncommon in the late period.

The earliest reference to a cult of Šin in Babylon is the fifth year-name of Sumuabum, which records his (re)building of the "exalted temple of Nanna" (mu é maḥ "nanna ba.dù, Ungnad, *RIA* II, p. 165, 5), an event of some importance, for it is the base of the year-names of the next three years of his reign. Of course, it remains a possibility that the temple mentioned there is not E-gišnu-gal but Šin's other temple in Babylon, E-nitenna, which is also attested in the Old Babylonian period (see above, on IV 9). The present temple first appears under its ceremonial name in Hammurapi's third year-name, which records the king's dedication of a throne to Nanna of Babylon ("nanna ká.dingir.ra^{k1}, for which variants have "nanna é.kiš.nun.gal and é "nanna: Ungnad, *RIA* II, p. 178, 105). Samsuiluna's fifth year-name also mentions the temple (written é.kiš.nu₁₁.gál, ibid., p. 182, 150), while an unplaced year-name of Abi-ešuh records its rebuilding (year 'h', given in full by *CT* 47 69, 32-34: mu a-bi-e-šu-uh lugal.e é.kiš.nu.gál é ša.ge pād.da "nanna.kam ká.dingir.ra^{k1}.a mu.un.dù.a).

The temple is next heard of in the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II, who restored it (Ball, *PSBA* 10, p. 368f., i 46: é.kiš.nu.gál bīt "sīn; *I R* 55, iv 27-28: é.giš.nu₁₁.gal bīt-su i-na ba-bi-il^{k1}; *PBS* XV 79, ii 34: é.giš.nu₁₁.gal bīt "sīn), reporting on one occasion that it is located in east Babylon (*CT* 37 13, ii 42: é.giš.nu₁₁.gal bīt "sīn bal-ri šīt "šamšī); this accords, of course, with its position, as *Tintir* IV tells us (l. 27), in the quarter Kullab, which lies on the north-east flanks of the mound Merkes. A late chronicle twice mentions Šin's temple, written é.giš.nu₁₁.gal-u, in connection with the doings of a prince Antiochus (Grayson, *ABC*, p. 120, obv. 7 and 9). The temple is also mentioned in a contract from Babylon, time of Nabonidus (Peiser, *BV* 91, 4: "sīn é.giš.nu.gal, coll.). A gate of a temple of Šin figures in the ritual tablet of the Divine Love Lyrics (Lambert, *Love Lyrics*, p. 106, iv 19: bāb bīt "sīn), but this could refer to E-nitenna, as could mention of a cult of Šin at Babylon in the offering list *BRM* IV 25, 21.

As we have translated it, the temple name is appropriate to Šin as a luminary deity: (giš).nu₁₁ = nūru commonly in lexical and bilingual texts (references collected in *CAD* N/2, p. 347f.). The name is further explained in the explanatory temple list no. 3 as bīt nūr šamē rabūti and, more speculatively, as bīt nāšir kiššat nišī; both interpretations are used in the syncretistic hymn *KAR* 109 (obv. 8, referring to the temple of Ur, quoted in the commentary on no. 3, BM 34850, rev. 5'-6', below). Other speculative interpretations are given by the Nippur Compendium (no. 18), which explains the Sumerian as bītū ša kakkūšu la immahḥarū, bīt markas Igīgī and bītū ša ana Apsī petū bābšu (ii 11'-13'; for the etymology see the commentary).

25 The name of this sanctuary is restored from the explanatory temple list no. 3, where more of the ceremonial name is preserved and the reading is assured by the Akkadian translation, bītū ša naphar paršī hammu (BM 34850, rev. 7'). With the temple name, which is not attested elsewhere, compare é.á.ág.gá.kilib.ur₄.ur₄, a temple of Bēlet-ekalli built by Rīm-Šin of Larsa (Ebeling, *RIA* II, p. 258; Steible, *Rīm-Šin*, p. 70²²⁷), and é.me.kilib.šu.du₇, a temple of Ninimma in the Canonical Temple List (Pinches, *PSBA* 22, p. 362, i 7; at Nippur, *LKA* 76, 3-4: Sons of Nippur). However, E-mekilib-urur is probably to be taken simply as a variant name deriving from E-me-urur, the temple of Nanāy in Larsa and Babylon (see IV 30). That there were in Babylon both an E-mekilib-urur of Šarrat-Larsa ("Queen of Larsa": the reading šarrat is demanded by a phonetic variant, MS n) and an E-me-urur of Nanāy would suggest that, while their temples both look back to the original temple in Larsa, the two goddesses have become distinct. For Nanāy in Babylon see the commentary on her temple. Šarrat-Larsa is only attested at Babylon here and in text no. 38, L. 12. Like Nanāy she is probably an Ištar figure, and this would fit the temple name, for Inanna-Ištar is very well known as a "controller of me's". See in particular a hymn of the Old Babylonian period in which the great goddess is addressed as "Innin, greatest of the Anunnaki, who gathers (to herself) all the me's" (Falkenstein, *ZA* 52, p. 59, 1: [i]n.nin₉ zā.dib "a.nun.ke₄.ne me.kilib.ba ur₄.u[r₄]). Her mastery over the me's is mythologically explained, of course, in the Myth of Inanna and Enki (now edited by G. Farber-Flügge, *Der Mythos 'Inanna und Enki'*; with the present line compare I v 7: kù "inanna. <ke₄> me mu.un.ur₄.ur₄ má.an.na bí.in.u₅, "Pure Inanna gathered the me's (to herself) and went on board the Boat of Heaven"). In the bilingual in.nin ša.gur₄.ra from Harmal the phrase recurs again for Inanna-Ištar (*TIM* IX 20, 7-9):

[e.ri.i]š nam.maḥ me an.ki ur.ru.ur an.gal sà.á?.nam

[be-]e-et na-ar-bi ša pa-ar-ši ša-me-e ù er-še-tim ḥa-am-ma-at it-ti a-nim ra-bi-im šita-na-at

Lady of majesty, who gathers (to herself) the ordinances of heaven and underworld, who rivals great Anu!

The equation of me ur₄.ur₄ and paršī hamāmu is also known from *Tintir* I 32 and the explanations of the ceremonial names E-me-urur and E-mekilib-urur in the explanatory temple list no. 3 (BM 34850, rev. 7' and 10'), and from an OB inscription from Mari (Charpin, *MARI* 3, p. 46, 16-18: é.me.[ur₄.ur₄] bītū mu-ḥa-mi-im pa-ar-ši). In Babylonian literature Ištar is also well attested as a "gatherer of me's" (see the Merodachbaladan cylinder, Gadd, *Iraq* 15, p. 133, 2: "bēlet-é-an-na a-šib-ti! uruk^{k1} šā kul-lat [pā]r-ši ḥa-am-mat; in the Uruk inscription of Esarhaddon, Borger, *Esarh.* p. 75, 2, she is ḥa-me-mat pa-ra-aš "a-nū-ú-tú; in an incantation, King, *STC* II 75, 7, ḥa-mi-mat gi-mir par-ši).

But Ištar is not alone in this august position. The texts also speak of other gods as "gatherers of me's", notably Ninurta ("nin-urta ḥa-mi-im paršī^{meš} širūtī^{meš}: *CT* 25 11, 20-21, explaining his name "me.maḥ) and Nabû (in incantations, *KAR* 25, ii 31: ḥa-mi-im

kul-lat parši^{mes}; CT 17 41, K 2873, rev. 2: *ša nap-ḥar par-ši ḥa-am-mu*). This exalted function is reflected in the ceremonial names of temples of both gods, just as it appears to be in the names E-me-urur and E-mekilib-urur for temples of aspects of Inanna-Ištar. Thus é.me.ur₄.an.na, "House of the Gathered Me's of Heaven", is a sanctuary of Ninurta, perhaps a shrine in E-šumeša, his temple at Nippur (CT 42 24 (pl. 37), obv. 12; Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 20, 61, and p. 62). The hymn to E-šumeša in the Collection of Sumerian Temple Hymns is indeed full of references to *me*'s (ibid., no. 5), and the name is even explained in the Assyrian Temple List as *bīt gimir parši ḥammu* (no. 20, GAB 152). With respect to Nabû one notes the name of the ziqqurrat of E-zida, his cult-centre in Borsippa: é.ur₄.me.imin.an.ki, "House which Gathers the Seven Me's of Heaven and Underworld" (Unger, *RIA* I, p. 422f.). Compare also a sanctuary of his at Aššur, é.ur₄.ur₄, which, whatever its original significance, the Assyrian Temple List interprets as *bīt ḥammūti* (no. 20, GAB 162); this denotes the private chamber of the master of a household, it is true, but an allusion to "gathering of *me*'s" is also suspected.

For me ur₄.ur₄ as an epithet of other gods see G. Farber-Flügge, *Der Mythos 'Inanna und Enki'*, p. 140f.; of cities, the commentary above, on I 32.

26 The beginning of the temple's name is preserved only in MS i, not the most accurate of sources: *ur* is perhaps to be understood as 'phonetic' for ur₅, since the explanatory list no. 3 translates E-ur-gubba as *bītu mukīn tērēti* (BM 34850, rev. 8'; for ur₅ = *tērtu* see the commentary ad loc.). This is the kind of divine epithet commonly found used of temples and cities, and "House which Makes Firm the Oracles" is accordingly an acceptable ceremonial name (for cities with similar epithets see above, on I 32; control over divine decrees — including "oracles" — is implicit in such temple names as é.me.ur₄.ur₄, on which see above).

The reading of the divine name is based on the pronunciation offered by the god list *KAV* 46, i 13: pi-sa-an-gu-nu-kum = ^a[MES.SAG.UN]UG.KI (coll.: see Geller, *UHF*, p. 89). The case for reading MES as pisan_x in this name can be further argued from writings with pisan(MES × A) in other god lists (unpub. sources of *An* = *Anum* V, courtesy Lambert, and cf. below). In the third millennium the name Pisangunuk is commonly written ^aMES^{saga}.unug^{ki} (Biggs, *JNES* 28, p. 29, iv 8'; *OIP* 99, p. 48, 79; Deimel, *Fara* II 1, obv. vii 15; 36, ii 9?; *BE* I 87, i 30: Lugalzaggesi). From the Old Babylonian period comes the orthography ^aMES^{sag}[^{sa}.unug^{ki}] (Geller, *UHF*, p. 22 = pl. 1, 45). One may also note the defective ^apisan.ŠEŠ.unug^{ki} in a Middle Assyrian god list, which explains him as "herald of Kullab" (CT 24 35, 30: nimgir(İL) kul.aba₄.kⁱ.ke₄]; cf. now von Weiher, *SpTU* III 109, 15-16!). This title is also given Pisangunuk in the bilingual *Utukkū lemnūtu* (CT 16 3, 88-90) and a litany (*SBH* IV, 137-38): ^aMES^{sag}.unug^{ki}.(ga) nimgir(DUN₄) kul.aba₄.kⁱ.(ke₄) = ^aMIN na-gi-ri kul-la-bi. But according to the list of Divine Mayors he holds this office too, also in Kullab (CT 25 14, 23; no. 18, Nippur Compendium, ii 24'). As a god with origins local to Uruk Pisangunuk appears often in the rituals of the Uruk

cult-centre (Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, pp. 66, obv. 20; 67, rev 17; 69, rev. 3), and it is no surprise that in Babylon his temple is to be found paired with that of Lugalbanda and located in the city quarter Kullab (cf. below on V 96).

With regard to the temple itself, E-ur-gubba is one of two sanctuaries of Pisangunuk in Babylon, the other being E-esir-kalamma in the western part of the city (IV 39). In the gate of one of them is located a throne-dais of the *Asakku*-Demon (*KAR* 142, obv. ii 5: p. 285), while the *bīt* ^aMES^{sag}.unug^{ki} of the Late Babylonian administrative list no. 38 (BM 77433, 14) could equally well refer to either temple.

27 An é.sag of Lugalbanda is also known from the Canonical Temple List, following é.KI.KAL, his sanctuary in Kullab (II R 61, no. 1, rev. 22-24 + no. 2, i 6-8 + unpub. join). One of the throne-daises of the *Asakku*-Demon is to be found at the gate of the temple of Lugalbanda (*KAR* 142, obv. ii 4: quoted p. 285), and the temple is also known from the LB administrative tablet, no. 38 (BM 77433, 10). Offerings to ^alugal-bàn-da kul-aba₄^{ki} were made in Babylon on the 8th day of Kislimu, according to the late offering calendars, *BRM* IV 25, 25 // *SBH* VII, obv. 13. One wonders whether Lugalbanda's temple is to be connected with the *bīt-rēš*(é.sag) *a-ki-tum* (known to have been, like E-sag, in the quarter Kullab from *VS* V 5, 4, a document from the time of Kandalānu), a building understood by Unger to be the "temple of the start of the Akītu-Festival" (*Babylon*, p. 159).

The ceremonial name of the temple of Lugalbanda is straightforwardly interpreted as *bītu rēštū* in the explanatory list no. 3 (BM 34850, rev. 9'). For the city quarter Kullab, in which lay Lugalbanda's temple as well as the three that precede it in the list, see *Tintir* V 96 and commentary.

28-29 These shrines of the Igigi and Anunnaki make an obvious pair. The glosses offered in the various MSS (listed in the apparatus) are not always helpful: MS v's ŠU-ki obliges us to read *Edurkuggakku* and *Ekagulakku*, perhaps, but is contradicted by the glosses of other sources. Final -ri in the gloss on é.dūr.kù.ga is mystifying, but agreed nonetheless in two sources (MSS gi).

A sanctuary of the same name as that of the Igigi occurs in connection with Gula as Gašantiluba (Nintinugga) in the lament CT 44 17, rev. 18: nin ama é.dūr.kù.[g]a eden.na (še.àm.ša₄). The dais of the Anunnaki is known outside the present line only in the ritual tablet of the Divine Love Lyrics (Lambert, *Love Lyrics*, p. 102ff.: in obv. i 8 read [... é.ká.gu.]a parak ^aa-nun-na-ki; the ceremonial name is also found in obv. ii 6-7 and rev. iii 3-4, parak ^aa-nun-na-ki in obv. ii 11).

30 The temple shares its name with sanctuaries of Ištar as Nanāy at Larsa and Uruk (Ebeling, *RIA* II, p. 361; Falkenstein, *BagM* 2, p. 34), and probably at Aššur (Charpin, *MARI* 3, p. 46f., 16-18: time of Šamšī-Adad; cf. below on no. 20, GAB 158). Two such

temples are known to the Canonical Temple List (appearing separately in the unpublished Inanna-Ištar section: K 3436+, rev. i 9; Sm 277, rev. iii 3; courtesy Moran), and also to the Old Babylonian list, *OECT* IV 161, rev. ii 27-28 (now *MSL* XI, p. 142, vii). For me ur₄.ur₄ = *paršī hamāmu* in temple names and divine epithets, see the commentary on IV 25.

The cult of Nanāy is first attested in Babylon during the Old Babylonian period, when it appears in E-tur-kalamma, the temple of Bēlet-Bābili (see Hammurapi's 34th year-name and Sumulael's 26th: above, p. 307). Offerings to Nanāy of é.me.ur₄.ur₄ in Babylon were made on the 25th Kislimu, as also were those to the same goddess in é.ur₃.šā.ba (*BRM* IV 25, 48 // Reisner, *SBH* VII, obv. 23-24; é.ur₃.šā.ba being there either her temple in Borsippa or her *šubtu* in E-sagil, for which see further p. 282). E-me-urur is known to the Late Babylonian administrative tablet, no. 38 (BM 77433, 35).

On the quarter TE.E^{ki}, situated between the city centre and the Zababa Gate, see *Tintir* V 97 and commentary. The variant for the quarter name, A.ĤA^{ki} (MS m), is influenced by the quarter Tuba, which is written thus by the same MS in l. 43, and attests to a corrupt tradition also found in an unpublished ritual that quotes the present line (BM 32656, rev. 3'-4': ¹⁴kur.gar.ra ana é.me.ur₄.ur₄ bīt ^ana-na-a [šā qē-reb] A.ĤA^{ki} il-lak: 9th day of Simanu). MS i's LA.A is apparently a simple misreading of an italic TE.E.

31 The reading of the name of Nuska's temple, the first of the list in west Babylon, is determined by the variant é.nu.maḥ (MS v). We translate the name after the manner of no. 3 (BM 34850, rev. 11': bīt rubê rabî; a similar interpretation, quoted in the commentary to BM 34850, is that of the syncretistic hymn *KAR* 109, where E-nun-maḥ is a temple probably in Dinikti). But the origin of the name may differ from the understanding of it in Neo-Babylonian times: the sign group É.NUN denotes a particular cultic chamber, read variously agrun and é.gar₆ (the same word: note the gloss [e-ga-ra]-an in *Diri* V 290) and translated into Akkadian by means of the loanword *agarunnu*, or by *kummu* (for the lexical and bilingual evidence see *CAD*, s.v.). The ceremonial name of Nuska's temple could thus be translated as "Exalted Sanctum". Another sanctuary of the same name is a chapel of Šin and Ningal in E-kišnugal at Ur (Ebeling, *RIA* II, p. 403f.).

32 Bēlet-Ninua's temple in Babylon shares its name with her sanctuary at Aššur, explained in the Assyrian Temple List as bītu ša ušurāt šamê u eršetî ina libbīšu uddâ (no. 20, GAB 151). The Babylonian temple is explained simply as bīt ušurāt šamê [u eršetî] (no. 3, BM 34850, rev. 12'). Bēlet-Ninua is, of course, the great goddess of Nineveh, Ištar of E-mašmaš. The role of Ištar as a goddess who controls the me's is well attested (see above, on IV 25), and this is the allusion of her temples as home of the "ordinances of heaven and underworld". A shrine of the same name, but different ownership, is the seat of Anu in Ubšu-ukkinna at Babylon (*Tintir* II 18'). In the Old Babylonian period é.gi.š.hur.an.ki.a is an epithet of E-unir, the ziqqurra of Eridu (in the hymn to Hammurapi, *TCL* XVI 61, 3 = van Dijk, *MIO* 12, p. 64).

The temple in Babylon is attested in an inscription of Esarhaddon that concerns itself with the restoration of divine statues, two of the gods in question being ^aab.šú.šú ^aab.ta.gi₄.gi₄ a-šī-ba é.gi.š.hur.an.ki.a bīt ^abēlet-ninua^{ki} (Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 84, 40-41). The temple of Bēlet-Ninua also appears in no. 38 (BM 77433, 33), and its gate in *KAR* 142, obv. ii 7 (p. 285) as the site of a throne-dais of the *Asakku*-Demon. Offerings were made to ^akaš-ši-ti šā bīt ^abēlet-ni-nu-a on the 17th of Kislimu according to the offering calendars for that month (*SBH* VII, obv. 21 // *BRM* IV 25, 45, which gives a ceremonial name é.hur.sag.an.ki.a instead of é.gi.š.hur.an.ki.a). A broken passage at the beginning of the Religious Chronicle (Grayson, *ABC*, p. 133) seems to record the observation and killing of, presumably, some wild animal in the vicinity of Bēlet-Ninua's temple: in i 6 read perhaps [... (ina kuta!)? bīt ^aga]šan-ni-nu-a imurū(igi) [u], noting in the following line [... idūkū(gaz)^{meš}-š[ú]. The temple was a well-known landmark on the west city wall, according to *Tintir* V 101 and the metrological text no. 15 (BM 54634, rev. 10').

33 In the Canonical Temple List é.bur.sa₇.sa₇ follows Šara's cult-centre at Umma (II R 61, no. 1, rev. i 2-3 + unpub. join; coll.):

é.maḥ	=	[bīt] ^a šara
é.bur.sa ₇ .sa ₇	=	[bīt MIN]

In the Collection of Sumerian Temple Hymns é.bur.sa₇.sa₇ is an epithet of — or a shrine within — é.maḥ of Umma (Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 34, 303). For references to bur sa₇.sa₇, cultic vessels into which wine and honey are poured, see *ibid.*, p. 31, 248, and p. 101. An é.bur.sa₇.sa₇ also appears in Proto-*Kagal* 206 (*MSL* XIII, p. 72).

Elsewhere Šara's temple is only found in the Late Babylonian administrative tablet no. 38 (BM 77433, 30, obscurely coupled with that of Belili).

The city quarter Bāb-Lugalirra is treated below in the commentary on V 101. It is the northern part of west Babylon.

34 The temple shares its name with a shrine of Enlil in Nippur, which appears regularly, following é.kur and ki.ūr, the temples of Enlil and Ninlil in that city, in the lists of temples that are to be found in laments and litanies (many references to the appearance of é.nam.ti.la in such texts are collected by Ebeling, *RIA* II, p. 369; particularly revealing is the *balag* composition, *SBH* 29, rev. 1-15, in which not just the temples of Nippur appear in the litany, but also city gates and a river: between é.ki.ūr and é.mi.tum.ma.al, both of Ninlil, is é.nam.ti.la ... é ^amu.ul.lil.lá.ke₄ (line 6); cf. also the similar list in Kutscher, *YNER* 6, p. 108ff., 158-70).

E-nam-tila in Babylon, here ascribed to Enlil in his name of Bēl-mātāti, is first mentioned by name in the 19th and 31st year-names of Ammiditana, who furnished the temple with a throne for Ninurta (Ungnad, *RIA* II, p. 188f., 230 and 242); and again in his 34th, in which a statue of Samsuiluna is brought into the temple (*ibid.*, 245). Further

attention to the furnishings of E-namtila was paid by Ammišaduqa, as he records in the names of his eighth and fourteenth years (ibid., p. 190, 256 and 262). The cult of Enlil is already established in Babylon in the time of Hammurapi, however, for this king provided the god with an “exalted throne-dais” (bára maḥ: ibid., p. 179, 120). Indeed, that E-namtila was already in existence in Hammurapi’s reign is shown by a late copy of one of his building inscriptions, from Borsippa (King, *LIH* I 59). No temple name survives in the text, which records the construction for Enlil of a “storehouse of his delight in Babylon, the city of his dwelling” (rev. 20-23: *i-nu-šú tin.tir^{ki} āl na-ar-me-šu bīt šu-tum-me hu-ud lib-bi-šú e-pu-uš*). The colophon, however, makes it clear that E-namtila is the building referred to, for this was the site of the original inscription (ibid., rev. 24-28 = Hunger, *Kolophone*, p. 55, 140): *ša muḥḥi mu-sar-e ša é.nam.ti.la ša ha-am-mu-ra-pi šarri ri-mut-gu-la ... i-na é.zi.da bīti na-ram nabû ú-ki-in*, “(A copy made) from the E-namtila inscription of King Hammurapi Rīmūt-Gula...placed in E-zida, the temple beloved of Nabû”. The reference to the temple in Hammurapi’s inscription as a “storehouse” causes no difficulties, for the expression is figurative: compare, in the Collection of Sumerian Temple Hymns, the temple of Nuska at Nippur described as é.šutum en.líl.lá, “storehouse of Enlil” (Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 19, 50).

E-namtila also occurs, among other temples of Babylon, in the hymn *KAR* 109 (obv. 18: quoted below, in the commentary on no. 3, BM 34850, rev. 13’-14’), and is further found in no. 38 (BM 77433, 25), an administrative document, and in no. 40 (BM 38293, 7’), apparently a ritual or cultic text. Given the location of the temple in the quarter Kumar, of which E-namtila is an important landmark (V 100), it is interesting to note a deed from the reign of Nabopolassar dealing with waste land in Kumar, which abuts a plot belonging to a son of Nabû-nāšir-apli, a *šangû* of é.nam.ti.la (*TCL* XII 19, 2-7).

In the explanatory list of the temple names of Babylon, no. 3, E-namtila is explained as *bīt bunnannê* and as *bīt balāṭi* (BM 34850, rev. 13’-14’); the latter translation is also found for the E-namtila of Gula at Aššur in the Assyrian Temple List (no. 20, GAB 176).

35 é.ēš.[maḥ] can be restored among other temples of Ea in the Canonical Temple List (II R 61, no. 1, obv. 16), which knows also of a temple of Enlil of the same name (Pinches, *PSBA* 22, p. 365, 13). Note further a shrine éš.maḥ in Ka-maḥ, a gate of E-sagil, also belonging to Ea (*Tintir* II 42). éš.maḥ occurs parallel to éš.abzu, between Eridu and Kuara, in the *balag* composition, Reisner, *SBH* 28, obv. 4, and again in the company of éš.abzu in II R 58, no. 6, 45 (*mīs pi*), and is probably there a by-name of the great temple of Eridu, as in the hymn to Enki *CT* 36 32, 3: *ki.tuš kù ša.ge bí.pād.da.zu abzu éš.maḥ.a* (coll. Kramer, *Iraq* 36, p. 98). In the Collection of Sumerian Temple Hymns the ziqqurrat of this temple is given the epithet éš.maḥ (Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 17, 18). The name éš.maḥ perhaps refers — at least where sanctuaries of Ea are concerned — to the cosmic abode of the god of Apsû, which in the Creation Epic goes by the similar name of éš.gal.la (*Enûma eliš* IV 144-45: see Lambert in Blacker and Loewe, *Ancient Cosmologies*, p. 55; also George, *Iraq* 48, p. 133, 4 and note).

Elsewhere in *Tintir* E-ēšmaḥ is a prominent feature of the quarter Kumar (V 100). Outside this text é.ēš.maḥ appears in K 9876, a tablet concerned with the New Year Festival of Babylon (obv. 2; copy in Pallis, *Akîtu Festival*, pl. 8). A temple of Ea probably follows other temples of west Babylon in the administrative tablet, no. 38 (BM 77433, 34; text broken).

The temple name is explained in no. 3 (BM 34850, rev. 15’) as *bīt rubê*, no doubt an allusion to its owner (cf. Enki’s epithet *nun.gal*, especially in Enki and the World Order: Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 53).

36 The reading of the temple name is determined by the writing [é].ká.dím.ma in MS q. Note also MS v’s é.ká.edin.na, “House, Gate of the Steppe”, a variant name which MS i is perhaps in search of (see the apparatus). On other sanctuaries of Belili, at once the sister of Dumuzi and an ancestor of Anu, see Jacobsen, *JNES* 12, pp. 168²⁸, 182⁴⁹, where an é⁴be.li.li is apparently located near a place called edin.líl.lá (cf. é.ká.edin.na?). Belili’s temple in Babylon is elsewhere only found in the administrative tablet, no. 38 (BM 77433, 30; paired with that of Šara). In E-sagil she shares a *šubtu* with her husband Alala (*Tintir* II 14).

37 E-me-sikilla is listed in the Canonical Temple List with Amurru’s other temple in Babylon, E-namtagga-duḥa (quoted above p. 306). Compare the Old Babylonian list *OECT* IV 161, rev. iii 35-36 (*MSL* XI, p. 142, viii): é.me.sikil, é.me.sikil.la. MS v’s variant name, é.maḥ, is unexplained.

An é.me.sikil of mar.dú was restored by Damiq-ilīšu, last king of the First Isin Dynasty, though it is a moot point whether this refers to the temple in Babylon (on this king and Babylon see the commentary on the following line). He describes it as é.šutum ki.ág.gá.ni, “(Amurru’s) beloved storehouse” (Hallo, *JNES* 18, pp. 56 and 60, A 7556, 19-20). The temple of this name in the administrative tablet no. 38 (BM 77433, 31) is, however, certainly in the city.

For me.sikil.la, a stock Sumerian phrase, see Enki and the World Order 133 (Bernhardt and Kramer, *WZJ* 9, p. 234); Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 42, 425 and 428; *Nanna-Suen*, p. 108, 8, and further references, p. 112.

38 Šamaš’s temple in Babylon is listed with others in the Canonical Temple List (Craig, *AJSL* 13, p. 220, Sm 289, rev. i 11-14):

é.babbar.ra	=	bīt [^a šamaš (ša sippar ^{ki})]
é.babbar.ra	=	bīt MIN (ša larsa ^{ki})
é.di.ku ₅ .kalam.ma	=	bīt 3 (ša bābil ^{ki})
é.di.ku ₅ .dá	=	[bīt 4]

An é.di.ku₅.kalam.ma also appears in Proto-Kagal (*MSL* XIII, p. 73, 220).

The earliest mention of a temple of this name is in a year-name of Damiq-ilīšu of Isin (mu é.di.ku₅.kalam.ma 4utu.ra mu.dù: Ungnad, *RIA* II, p. 147, 211). While Kraus (*JCS* 3, p. 88) and Edzard (*Zwischenzeit*, p. 158⁸⁴²) would place this temple in Isin, Hallo (*JNES* 18, p. 56) has reservations, pointing out that Damiq-ilīšu also rebuilt an E-me-sikil of Amurru, which may be the temple of this name in Babylon, and putting forward evidence for Isin controlling other parts of Babylonia (Akkad) during the early years of his reign. There is also a 'Street of Damiq-ilīšu' in the city (V 76). Taken together, two temples and a street associated with this king are strong indications of a building programme in a city that must have been under his control for more than a short period of time.

A second attestation of the temple in the Old Babylonian period is in a letter of Abi-ešuh, eighth king of the First Dynasty of Babylon (4utu é.di.ku₅.kalam.ma, Frankena, *AbB* II 73, 3). Note further its appearance in document from the time of Ammišaduqa (*CT* 2 1, 29; 6, 39). The cult of Šamaš at Babylon is also known from the time of Apil-Sîn, according to his 17th year-name (mu 218gu.za bára.maḥ 4utu ká.dingir.ra^{ki} mu.un.na.dím.ma, Ungnad, *RIA* II, p. 166, 81). E-diku-kalamma was restored by that untiring builder, Nebuchadnezzar II (*I R* 55, iv 31; Wadi Brisa B vi 3; *PBS* XV 79, ii 36), who locates it in the western part of Babylon (*CT* 37 14, ii 43: é.di.ku₅.kalam.ma bīt 4šamaš ... bal-ri ereb 4šamši). The location of this temple of Šamaš in west Babylon (more specifically, as the present text reveals, in the quarter Kumar) perhaps explains how a representation depicting the cult-statue and regalia of Šamaš came to be found in the area during the reign of Nabû-apla-iddina, which happy circumstance enabled the king to refashion the statue and so properly re-instate the cult of Šamaš in E-babbarra of Sippar (*V R* 60 = *BBS* 36, iii 15-iv 28). While some have dismissed this discovery as fraudulent, one should note that at the time E-diku-kalamma may well have been in disrepair or even disuse — following the Aramean disturbances — and accordingly it is not improbable that an exploration of its site would have yielded up a pictorial representation of the god (the text speaks of a fired clay image — ú-šur-ti šal-mi-šú šir-pu ša ḥa-aš-bi (iii 19-20) — than which there are few objects more durable, but, at the same time, less prone to looting).

Also in west Babylon are the Šamaš Gate and his procession street (V 56 and 74). The temple is mentioned in the offering calendar, *BRM* IV 25, concerning ritual activities on the 18th day of Araḥsamna (line 7), and also appears in no. 38 (BM 77433, 29), the late administrative document. A temple é.di.ku₅.kalam.ma is found in the listings of Babylonian temples that occur in litanies and laments (Langdon, *BL* 36, 7; 186, rev. 5; Reisner, *SBH* 17, obv. 7; Kutscher, *YNER* 6, line 256) and might appear from its position in such texts, following Sippar and E-babbarra, to be a sanctuary in that town or a shrine within the great temple. But the sequence of temple names in these texts is not always topographical — note the regular inclusion of Babylon's ziqqurrat, E-temen-anki, and Zarpanītum's cella in E-sagil, E-dara-anna, among the sanctuaries of Nabû in Borsippa (e.g. in Reisner,

SBH 15, rev. 4; 17, obv. 12: preceded by é.zi.da and é.maḥ.ti.la, followed by é.nam.bi.zi.da and é.ur₄.me.imin.an.ki). The inclusion of E-diku-kalamma in the Sippar section of these lists is probably owed to circumstances of divine ownership rather than of topography.

For é.di.ku₅.dá, a temple not to be confused with é.di.ku₅.kalam.ma (otherwise Ebeling, *RIA* II, p. 475, s.v. Esakud), as is evident from the passage of the Canonical Temple List quoted above, see a dedicatory inscription to Ammišaduqa from Sippar, in which Šamaš is lugal é.di.ku₅.dá (King, *LIH* I 69 = Sollberger, *Iraq* 31, p. 90, 4). The reading dá(TA) is supported by lines 24-25: igi 4utu é.di.ku₅.da.ta, "in the presence of Šamaš of E-dikud".

39 The line is most notable for its variants. Three sources (MSS gxff) read the ceremonial name as the composite text; MS m has galam for kalam, but the remaining sources pose more serious problems: v appears to have (perhaps! cf. IV 15) é.[n]lg.gidar(PA).kalam.ma, i may read [é.e].si[r].kalam.ma, while the [...].da?.kalam.ma of MS kk is different again.

For Pisangunuk and his temples in Babylon see *Tintir* IV 26 and commentary.

40 Adad's temple is also known from the list no. 39 (K 8382, obv. ii b 4). The temple name is appropriate to Adad as divine *gugal*lu, responsible for the irrigation that brings fertility and an abundant harvest (cf. further his temple in Uruk, é.ḥé.nun, "House of Plenty": Ebeling, *RIA* II, p. 302).

E-namḥe first appears in year-names of Hammurapi (mu é.nam.ḥé é 4iškur ká.dingir.ra^{ki} ba.dù: Ungnad, *RIA* II, p. 179f., 130, Hammurapi 28) and Ammišaduqa (his 13th: *ibid.*, p. 190, 261), but the building of Adad's sanctuary is earlier recorded by Sumulael (year seven: mu é 4iškur.re [ba].dù, *ibid.*, p. 165, 21). In a dedicatory inscription of the first Nebuchadnezzar Adad is addressed as (Böhl, *BiOr* 7, p. 43 and pl. 2, 11):

lugal é.nam.ḥé é.ki.tuš.ḥé.gál.ti.l[a]
be-el é.nam.ḥé a-šib é.ki.tuš.ḥé.[gál.ti.la]

Lord of E-namḥe who dwells in E-kituš-ḥegal-tila.

The latter temple name, "House, Abode of Life-Giving Abundance", is either an ornate by-name for E-namḥe, or the name of Adad's chapel within it: the Sumerian line would favour the former view, the Akkadian the latter. The etymologist of the syncretistic hymn *KAR* 109 certainly plays on the temple name, as is his wont, when he addresses his goddess in E-namḥe of Babylon as "lady of plenty, provider of abundant produce" (*be-let nu-uh-ši mu-deš-ša-at ḥi-iš-ba*: obv. 19). The significance of the name is not lost on Nebuchadnezzar II, who records that he rebuilt E-namḥe "for Adad, who brings about abundance in my land" (*a-na 4adad mu-ša-āš-ki-in ḥengalli i-na māti-ia é.nam.ḥé bīt-su i-*

na ká.dingir.ra^{ki} ab-ni₇: I R 55, iv 35-37). Elsewhere he calls it é.nam.ḥé bīt ^aadad lib-ba ku-ma-ri^{ki} (Ball, *PSBA* 10, p. 368f., i 48), which might be a quotation of the present line (for Kumar, the oldest and most central quarter of west Babylon see *Tintir* V 100 and commentary).

E-namḥe is mentioned in the Babylonian offering list, *BRM* IV 25, in a passage dealing with rites of the 18th Arahšamna (line 6, in the company of E-diku-kalamma). It appears, again paired with the temple of Šamaš, in the administrative tablet no. 38 (BM 77433, 28). In a ritual(?) fragment, no. 40, E-namḥe is sandwiched between E-namtila and E-sabad, the temples of Enlil and Gula in west Babylon (BM 38293, 8'), while in the Archive of Mystic Heptads the temple is the location for a throne-dais of the Asakku-Demon (*KAR* 142, obv. ii 6: p. 285).

The variant orthography é.nam.maḥ (MSS gv) is also found in Reisner, *SBH* 68, obv. 11, and 48, rev. 60. MS ff (see apparatus) apparently confuses this line with line 34.

41 This sanctuary, one of two temples of Bēlet-Eanna in Babylon, is well known from the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II, who locates it in the western part of the city (*CT* 37 14, ii 43: é.ki.tuš.garza bīt ^abēlet-é-an-na bal-ri ereb ^ašamšī). A more specific location of the temple is given in other of his inscriptions, in which it is said to be "in the recess of the city wall (of Babylon)" (*ša tu-ub-qá-at dūri*: V R 34, ii 9; *i-na tu-ub-qá dūr ká.dingir^{ki}*: I R 55, iv 47; *tu-ub-qá-at dūri*: Ball, *PSBA* 10, p. 368f., i 50; *PBS* XV 79, ii 37; *ša tu-ub-qá-at dūri*: Wadi Brisa B vi 5). The same designation, which serves to distinguish this temple of Bēlet-Eanna from the one in east Babylon, E-kituš-girzal (which is her temple "on the canal bank": see IV 22 and commentary), is also found in no. 38 (BM 77433, 24: *ša tu-ub-qu dūri*). The offering calendar *BRM* IV 25, 22, lists offerings for both temples of Bēlet-Eanna on the 7th day of Kislimu (restore ^abēlet-é-an-na kišād palgi...^abēlet-é-an-na t[ub-qat dūri]). The "recess of the city wall" rather suggests a place where the wall changed direction (*tubqu* also has the meaning "corner", at the point where two walls meet), but there were no such places in the quarter Tuba, where *Tintir* sites E-kituš-garza. The reference may therefore be merely to a corner made by a projecting tower, such as would undoubtedly have formed part of the monumental Šamaš Gate. For this reason the temple is shown on our sketch map (fig. 4 on p. 24) as adjacent to this city gate, but the location is, of course, very tentative. The owner of E-kituš-garza, Bēlet-Eanna, "Lady of E-anna", is Ištar of Uruk. Given the temple's location in the quarter Tuba (the first of the three so listed in the present text), it is interesting to note a goddess ^aMÜŠ-A.ḤA^{ki} in the greeting formulae of two Old Babylonian letters (*CT* 43 51, 3; 54, 4). That the toponym in this divine name (to be read Bēlet-Tuba? For ^aMÜŠ = ^abēlet in divine names see p. 307) refers to the city quarter of Babylon is unlikely, for this part of the city does not appear to be the site of a settlement of great antiquity; but other places called Tuba(A.ḤA)^{ki} are known (see the commentary on V 102), and it seems that one of them is to be associated with an Ištar cult of some significance. The establishment in Babylon

of a cult of Ištar at E-kituš-garza may perhaps have brought about the naming of the quarter around it with a toponym with which the goddess was associated: compare the more obvious use of existing toponymy in the naming of the quarter Kullab, site of cults of gods of the southern Kullab, near Uruk.

Two sources offer variant readings for the ceremonial name of Bēlet-Eanna's temple in Tuba: MS i evidently read é.garza, omitting ki.tuš; v has something quite different — not for the first time! — read perhaps é.ki.s[a.d]ug₄.g[a] and understand sa as 'phonetic' for sā: "House, Place of Regular Offerings".

42 The temple name appears in other lists, namely *MSL* XI, p. 14, *Hh* XXI/4 10: é.sa.bad^{ki} = *bi-it* ^agu-la; and no. 39 (K 8382, rev. i 3). The entries seem to refer to a place rather than simply a building, and the picture is thus one of a settlement growing up around a temple and adopting its name. The Revolt Against Narām-Sîn mentions an é.sa.bad^{ki} bīt ^agu-la (var.: é.sa.ba.ad bīt ^anin-kar-ra-a[k]), apparently near Kiš (Grayson and Sollberger, *RA* 70, p. 112, G 25 // M 14). However, the original temple E-sa-bad is probably that attested in or near Isin — either part of Gula's cult-centre Egal-maḥ, or an independent temple. This sanctuary is regularly mentioned in litanies (e.g. the *balag* of ūru.ḫul.a.ke₄: *SBH* 52, obv. 31 // van Dijk and Mayer, *BagM* Beiheft 2, no. 17, 32 // BM 35021, obv. 10', following é.gal.maḥ and é.aš.te; note the writing, 9 lines earlier, 'é'.sa.ba.ad), and also appears among other temples of Gula-Ninisinna in Isin and Larak in Sîn-iddinam's letter to the goddess (*OECT* V 30 = Hallo, *Kramer Anniversary Volume*, p. 214, 7). Apart from this southern E-sa-bad and that listed for Babylon in the present line, a temple of the same name and ownership is known at Aššur, leaving no doubt that the ceremonial name é.sa.bad is one traditionally associated with Gula. The Assyrian Temple List explains the name as bīt *petât uzni* and bīt *nāšir qubūri* (no. 20, *GAB* 174-75). The former explanation is evidently conventional, for it appears again in the hymn *KAR* 109, where the goddess is addressed in terms which reflect the composer's understanding of the temple name (obv. 20, among other temples of Babylon):

ina é.sa.bad *pe-ta-at uz-ni na-ba-at ta-bi-ni*

In E-sa-bad she is one whose ear is open, who calls the fold (into being).

(On the syntax of the phrase *petât uzni* see Reiner, *StOr* 55, p. 178.) Here sa is interpreted first as *uznu* (as *MSL* IX, p. 7, *Hh* XV 43, ^{uzu}sa = *uz-nu*) then as *nabû* (for sa₄); bad as *petû* and as *tabînu*, a shelter for sheep (cf. [á].bād = *ta-bi-nu*, *MSL* XII, p. 107, *Lu* 96). A deity whose "ear is open" is one who readily listens to the prayers of the suppliant, and is thus an image appropriate to benevolent godheads in general, with no special application to Gula, goddess of medicine. An effort to link the temple name more closely to the character of its divine owner has been made by E.K. Ritter, who sees in é.sa.bad an original meaning "House of the Opening of the Vein" (*AS* 16, p. 313¹⁸, presumably

relying on *sa* = *šer'ānu*). However this may be, the translation offered in the present work follows the compilers of *KAR* 109 and the Assyrian Temple List, with the justification that, while this may not be the original meaning of the temple name, it is at least how the ancients themselves came to understand it.

For Gula in Babylon in the Old Babylonian period, and for her other temples in Babylon, see above, the commentary on IV 5. In historical texts the first mention of E-sa-bad in Babylon is in an inscription of Aššurbanipal, who records that he “completed E-sa-bad, the temple of Gula which is in Babylon, from its base to its parapet” (Millard, *Iraq* 30, p. 108, 13'-14': *é.sa.bad bīt [gu-la ša qe-re]b ká.dingir.ra^{ki} [iš-tu ušš]i(u₄)-šú a-[i gab-dib-bi-šú ú]-šak-lil*). The temple was restored by Nebuchadnezzar II along with another sanctuary of Gula, E-ḫursag-sikilla-Egal-maḫ (I R 55, iv 38-41: quoted above, p. 305), and it also appears in his inscriptions when he furnishes with a canopy the cult statue of Gunura “who sits in E-sa-bad” (Wadi Brisa B vi 9-10: *gū-n[u-r]a ... a-ši-ba-at é'.[sa.b]ad*; note the variants *gū-'nu₆-ra'* and *é.sa.bād* in A ix 34). Gunura is often the daughter of Gula, but in E-sa-bad it can also be a name of the goddess herself (see Edzard, *RIA* III, p. 701f.).

Offerings were made to the gods of Isin and E-sa-bad in Babylon on the 25th day of Araḫsamna, according to the calendar, *BRM* IV 25, 17. The temple appears in the ritual tablet of the Divine Love Lyrics (Lambert, *Love Lyrics*, p. 104, iii 15) and in the fragmentary ritual no. 40 (BM 38293, 9'), paired with Bēlet-Eanna (l. 10'), the goddess of the temple listed in the previous line of Tablet IV. Final mention of E-sa-bad in Babylon comes from documents from the archive of the Arsacid banker Raḫimēsu, demonstrating the continuing use of the sanctuary into the last century B.C. (*CT* 49 153, 8; 161, 2; G.J.P. McEwan, *Iraq* 43, pp. 132, 3, 26 and 29; 136, 5).

43 The temple's name is an allusion to a common name of its owner, Nabû, who is *é.šid.dù.ki.šár.ra* in god lists (*CT* 25 35, obv. 22 // 36, obv. 21; Sp II 500, rev. 9: copy of Strassmaier in Neugebauer, *Exact Sciences*, pl. 14; Cavigneaux, *BagM* 10, p. 126, W 23688, 2), and repeatedly in a litany (Lambert, *Albright Festschrift* 1971, pp. 344, 6; 345, 4; 346, 10). The name appears again in a late dedicatory inscription to Nabû (Lambert, *AfO* 18, p. 386, 18), where it is translated *pa-qid kiš-šat šamē^e u eršetim^{im}*, “director of all heaven and underworld”, an epithet also given to Nabû by Nebuchadnezzar II (I R 51, no. 1, i 13; Ball, *PSBA* 11, p. 160f., i 15), by Nabonidus (Bezold, *PSBA* 11, p. 93, i 16) and by the authors of a Neo-Babylonian letter (*ABL* 1105, rev. 7) and deed of sale (*CT* 55 130, 14-15). The same phrase translates a slightly different form of the name in a Gattung I incantation (Ebeling, *ArOr* 21, p. 365, 13, where the Sumerian reads *šid.dù an.ki.šár.ra.ke₄*); note also a fancier paraphrase in Advice to a Prince: *“nabû ... sa-niq kiššat šamē u eršeti mu-ma-'[ir] gim-ri*, “Nabû...who supervizes all heaven and underworld, who governs everything” (*BWL*, p. 114, 53). For *šid.dù* as an epithet of other gods, see van Dijk, *SGL* II, p. 51 (reading *šita₅.dù*).

Other temple names that reflect Nabû as “director” are *é.šid.dù.an.na.ki*, a name of his cella in Borsippa and itself explained as *bītu pāqid kiššat [šamē u eršeti?]* in text no. 28, BM 76887, 5'; and perhaps *é.šid.dù*, a shrine in E-sagil (*Tintir* II 3').

The name of Nabû's sanctuary in the quarter Tuba is known only from the present line (note the variant of MS i, *é'.MES.I.I.ki.šár.ra*, which is perhaps too far removed from *é.šid.dù.ki.šár.ra* to be accounted a corruption), but the temple also appears in the administrative tablet no. 38 as [*bīt*] *“nabû ša tu₆(KU)-ba* (BM 77433, 26). On the quarter Tuba, also written A.ḪA^{ki} (as MS m in this line), see further *Tintir* V 102 and commentary.

TINTIR V

1 If we are right to conflate line 1 of MS o with the catch-line of MS a, then the line lists two throne-daises (on *parakku* see the introduction, p. 12). One might then assume that on both manuscripts this one line of tablet contains two lines of text, and that the following lines of MS o should be renumbered as ll. 3ff. The overlap between MSS ot would then cover l. 8 as well as 7. However, the statistical summary of Tablet V gives a total of 55 daises of Marduk (l. 83), and while we are not absolutely constrained to insist that this agrees with the number of daises presented in ll. 1-48 (the figures for streets do not tally either), it may be that some of the early, more broken, lines of Tablet V listed two daises not one.

The name of the first dais exhibits a tone of lament that recurs later in the Tablet (see ll. 21 and 38). Probably it is to be seen as a pious exclamation intended to evoke the pity of Marduk, in whose power it was to relieve whatever distress might afflict the city. *Išemmesuppêya* is perhaps a divine name: see below, on V 36.

9-11 We expect epithets of Marduk, in the manner of the following lines. Marduk is known as the “protection” of the gods (e.g. in *Enūma eliš* VII 38: *š[u-lu-u]l-šu-un ra-ap-šu*), whose champion he is in the fight with Ti'āmat; and also of Babylon (in the lament K 5160, Meek, *BA* X/1, p. 75, no. 4, 7-8: *tin.tir^{ki} dul₆.[la] = šu-lul ba-ab-i-[lī]*, this being a function of the city god.

12-13 As epithets of Marduk the names of these daises find a parallel in *Enūma eliš* VI 135, where Marduk is *tu-kul-tu₄ ma-a-ti āli u niš^{meš}-šū*, “mainstay of the land, the city and his people”.

14 This dais is given as a venue for the recitation of prayers to Marduk in K 9876 (copy: Pallis, *Akītu Festival*, pl. 9), a collection of prayers used during the New Year procession; the rubric in obv. 25 can be restored to read:

[an-nu-ú šá ina bára t]a-li-mat aḥḥē^{mes}-šú iq-qab-bu-[u]

This is what is recited at the Dais "Twin of his Brothers".

Other surviving rubrics mention the Dais of Destinies (obv. 4, *parak šīmāt^{mes}*; this is Marduk's shrine, du₆.kù in Ubšu-ukkinna, on which see *Tintir* II 17' and commentary); a "dais at the bend of the river" (obv. 14, *parak si-ḥir nāri*; perhaps just outside the Istar Gate — where the river did indeed bend — at the point where Marduk embarked his procession barge, Ma-umuša, for the journey upstream to the Akītu House); and finally Marduk's throne-dais in the Akītu House itself (rev. 28, bára.maḥ). The order of the prayers listed in K 9876 is very probably topographical, following the sequence of the procession, and accordingly it is clear that the dais *Talīmat aḥḥēšu* is to be sought outside the bounds of the city proper, between the "bend in the river" and the Akītu House (perhaps at the point of Marduk's disembarkation upstream of the Istar Gate). This dais is thus the only structure listed in *Tintir* which is known to be outside the inner city.

It is strange, of course, that Marduk should be *talīmtu* rather than *talīmu*, but a parallel is provided by the Nippur Temple List, which explains the temple of Nuska at Nippur as *būt aḥi talīmti Anim* (no. 19, 19'). Like Marduk and Nuska *aḥu* too is masculine!

15-17 In l. 15 one might read *ut-nen₆* or emend to *ut-nen! ekallīya*, especially since the relevant MS (y) is prone to idiosyncrasy and error. There is also a street Kurub-lišme (listed in V 73, and followed by a yet obscurer phrase).

18 This name and that in l. 21, with their odd use of *idu*, are puzzling. Both lines are syntactically clear, but their meanings are less easy to divine; *idu*, "arm", can be used figuratively for "strength", and thus perhaps, in the case of a city, for "(armed) might". But how should Marduk have "gone around" or "sought" (*saḥāru*), and then "carried off" (*tabālu*) the "might of Babylon"? The tone of the latter would appear to be one of lament, which does occur, though rarely, elsewhere in the names of these daises (see lines 1 and 38).

19 The name of this dais recalls one of Marduk's best-known names, ^ašā.zu, "Knower of the Heart", which is explained in *Enūma eliš* VII 35:

^ašā.zu mu-de-e lib-bi ilī šá i-bar-ru-u kar-šú

Šazu, who understands the thoughts of the gods, who can examine (their) minds.

Cf. similar interpretations of this name in III R 53, no. 2, obv. 14 (esoterica), in a hymn to Nabû (*LKA* 16, 9) and in a cylinder of Nabopolassar (al-Rawi, *Iraq* 47, p. 3, 15); and a parallel epithet found in Neriglissar's inscription, *CT* 36 17, i 17, where Marduk is described as *apkallu ša li-ib-bi ^ai-gi₄-gi₄ ka-la-mu mu-du-ú*, "sage who knows the thoughts of all the Igigi". Marduk is, of course, especially blessed with insight, being the "lord of wisdom" (*bēl nēmeqi*) par excellence.

20 This dais is important enough to figure as a point of reference for the city quarter TE.E^k in V 97. With it compare a dais of Marduk's wife as Queen of Heaven listed in no. 9 as *Iqullā Istarātu ana Zarpanītum* (BM 34878 // 77236, 13').

21 See the commentary above, on line 18.

25 A shrine of the same name appears in the lament *CT* 36 46, 4: ub.saḥar.ra ub a.še.er.ra.mu, "my Ub-saḥarra, niche of woe!"

26-27 These exhortations to Marduk to destroy evil recall the explanations of his names ^asuḥ.rim, ^asuḥ.gú.rim, ^azāḥ.rim and ^azāḥ.gú.rim in *Enūma eliš* VII 43-56 and elsewhere: see further the epithets of Babylon in I 24-25 and commentary.

28 The dais of Lūmur-dīnšu, "May I Experience his Judgement", also occurs in the dais list no. 9 (BM 34878 // 77236, 4'), perhaps as one of several at the gate of the temple of Ningišzida. Lūmur-dīnšu appears in the company of Muštēšir-ḥabli, another god of Marduk's court, in Boissier, *DA*, p. 210, 19; cf. Lambert, *Afo* 19, p. 115.

29 Ukkumu, "Seizer" (? although a II/1 stem of *ekēmu* is otherwise only found in Weidner, *ITn*, no. 1, iii 25), is one of Marduk's dogs (*An* = *Anum* II: *CT* 24 16, 19-22 // 28, 74-76; cf. Sp II 500, obv. 3-6, copy of Strassmaier in Neugebauer, *Exact Sciences*, pl. 14):

^a uk-ku-mu	=	ŠU
^a suk-ku-lu	=	ŠU
^a ik-šu-da	=	ŠU
^a il-te-bu	=	ŠU = 4.ām ur.gi, ^a amar.utu.ke ₄

He also occurs in *MSL* XVI, p. 159, *Nabnītu* XVII 175, ^auk-ku-mu = ŠU-ú. The dais of Ukkumu is also to be found in K 8742, a fragment of a ritual of E-sagil (ii 5, unpub.).

35 For Ababa, one of the two gate-keepers of E-sagil, see the commentary above on II 29'-30'.

36 Compare with the name of this dais the personal names *I-le-^aBēl* (Strassmaier, *Nbn* 437, 2), *Ile'(da)-^aMarduk* (603, 3), and with the infinitive, as here, *Ile'(da)-bul-luṭ-^aMarduk* (*Nbk* 357, 10; cf. *VS* V 101, 4: ^má.gál-ti-la-^aasar.re). Other names of daises listed in the present Tablet (e.g. l. 40) compare with the more ornate kind of personal name found after the Kassite period, and one wonders how many of the daises are named, as those of lines 28 and 29 are, after minor members of Marduk's entourage.

37 Erua is a well-known name of Zarpanītum, as in *CT* 25 35, obv. 13-14 // 36, obv. 12-13:

^ae-ru-^u-a = ^azar-pa-ni-tum
^ae-ru = MIN

See further the god lists *KAV* 173, obv. 5; *CT* 46 53, ii 2.

38 *maši adi mati* is the kind of phrase found in laments (e.g. Meek, *BA* X/1, p. 76, rev. 32ff.), beseeching the god to relent in his anger. Here Šamaš is the intercessor, but a variant MS (o) may have read Qibi-dumqī (see the apparatus), who is more appropriate in such a role.

39 This dais can be restored as a *parakku šeḫru*(?), “small(?) dais”, in the list no. 10 (BM 38602, iii 17'-18').

40 With the shrine's name compare the Middle Babylonian personal name Libūr-zānin-E-kur (*MDP* 6, p. 35, iii 17; *BBS* 4, ii 6), and see the commentary above on line 36.

41 *še-ti-ma* (MS t) is taken as a late orthography for the imperative *šēt*: cf. MSS Ecc in the apparatus. *šēt*, “to leave over”, has here perhaps the nuance of “spare (life)”, as it has in *tamītu*'s and the Neo-Assyrian Šamaš Prayers.

43 Compare the street of the same name (V 67), Nabû's procession road from the Uraš Gate to E-sagil.

48 A shrine of such a name would hardly be elsewhere than the Ištar Gate, which may appear as the site of a *parakku* in text no. 11 (BM 41138, 5').

49 We understand *nakar* as stative (lit.: “Its Taboo is the Enemy”), written in MSS tcc with redundant final vowel, a typical Late Babylonian orthography. With the name of the Uraš Gate compare that of the Tisarru Gate at Aššur, Ikkibša-lā-magru (no. 20, GAB 127).

According to the Religious Chronicle the Uraš Gate was already standing in the reign of one of the predecessors of Nabû-mukīn-apli, probably Simbar-šihu of the Second Sealand Dynasty (Grayson, *ABC*, p. 135, 7; p. 136, 19). This is no surprise, for the wall Imgur-Enlil dates to at least the eleventh century, if not earlier (see below on V 57-58). The primary evidence for the gate's location on the southern stretch of the eastern city wall, as has long been traditional, is now the metrological text no. 15 (BM 54634, obv. 6'-10'), which places it near the quay wall of the east bank of the Euphrates. Two city gates were excavated on the eastern city wall in positions close to the ancient river bed, one on

the wall's north stretch and one on its south stretch. The former is identified by its inscription as the Ištar Gate, a fact which equates the Uraš Gate with the southern city gate, whose position, some 90 metres east of the quay wall, supports the figure of 181 cubits given in no. 15 for the distance between the Uraš Gate and the quay (for the excavations see Wetzel, *WVDOG* 48, p. 58f. and pl. 41). The Ištar and Uraš Gates thus form the two termini, upper and lower, of the east city wall, as confirmed by a cylinder of Nabopolassar which commemorates the wall's reconstruction “from the bank of the Araḫtu River (on the wall's) upper stretch, where the Ištar Gate is, to the bank of the Araḫtu (on its) lower stretch, where the Uraš Gate is” (*ul-tu kišād ^aa-ra-aḫ-tim šid-di e-li-i ša abul ^aištar a-di kišād a-ra-aḫ-tim šid-di šā-ap-li-i ša abul ^auraš*: al-Rawi, *Iraq* 47, p. 4, 33-35; cf. p. 8ff., figs. 5, 7 and 8 = Bahija Khalil, *Sumer* 35, p. 164ff.). At the same time these two city gates marked the approximate termini, north and south, of the Araḫtu quay wall, whose reconstruction, begun by Nabopolassar, was completed by Nebuchadnezzar II “from the Ištar Gate to the Uraš Gate” (*ul-tu abul ^aiš-tar a-di abul ^auraš*: *PBS* XV 79, ii 13-14; cf. Ball, *PSBA* 10, p. 368f., ii 9, ^au-ra-aš; *CT* 37 12, ii 30, ^au-ra-aš; Wadi Brisa B v 28).

The southern position of the Uraš Gate explains its name, for it evidently served the road to Dilbat, the cult-centre of Uraš south of Babylon, beyond Borsippa. Traffic from Borsippa could also enter the city by the Uraš Gate, as did the procession of Nabû on his visit for the New Year's Festival (*KAR* 360 = Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 92, 13: *abul ^au-ra-aš*). Consequently the Street of the Uraš Gate served as Nabû's processional way, repaved by Nebuchadnezzar II along its entire stretch, from E-sagil to the city gate (*ik-kib-šū-na-ka-ar*: Wadi Brisa A vii 47; see further *Tintir* V 70 and commentary). Nabû's procession into the city first took him to E-ḫursag-tilla of Ninurta, excavated in the mound Išan al Aswad (see above, on IV 19). This temple lay in the quarter Šuanna, and in V 93 the Uraš Gate duly appears as the southern limit of the same quarter.

Together with the Ištar Gate, the Uraš Gate is found in the Assyrian list of the gods of E-sagil and Babylon (*III R* 66 = Menzel, *AT* II 54, xi 6'). These two gates, by far the best attested of all the city gates of Babylon, were probably of special significance for the parts they played in divine processions, but may in any case have been the principal points of entry into the east city.

The so-called ‘Ninurta Gate’ (*abul ^anin-urta*) in a contract from the reign of Nabonidus (Strassmaier, *Nbn* 293, 2), which Unger suggested as a variant name of the Zababa Gate (*Babylon*, p. 74), is probably no more than an error for *abul ^auraš*. The Uraš Gate is a common landmark used to locate property in such documents, being found, often in the company of ^api-qu-du (evidently a canal outside the gate) and *tamirti li-ta-mu/me* (a suburb, also outside the gate), in many Neo- and Late Babylonian deeds and contracts, e.g., Strassmaier, *Nbn* 440, 2; 447, 3; 964, 2; *Dar* 26, 4; 152, 3; 227, 5; 466, 2; *BRM* I 73, 2 (Dar); *TCL* XIII 223, 5; and, unpublished, BM 54070, 1 (Dar); VAT 13107, 2 (Nbp); BE 55793 (Persian: Unger, *Babylon*, p. 73).

50 According to the metrological text no. 15 (BM 54634, obv. 1'-2') the Zababa Gate was the next gate along the east city wall after the Uraš Gate, a circumstance which confirms the topographical relevance of the order of the gates in the present list (on this see p. 22). As reported by Sennacherib in his campaigns against Merodachbaladan, the Zababa Gate lay on the road from Babylon to Kiš, for Merodachbaladan left the city by this gate in order to do battle with the Assyrian army outside the latter town (Luckenbill, *OIP* 2, p. 50, 21). In deeds from the reigns of Kandalānu and Nabonidus the Zababa Gate is found in connection with the Bānītu Canal (for references see below), which flowed between Babylon and Kiš (Unger, *Babylon*, p. 97f.). This city gate thus obviously derives its name from the circumstance that it would have been used by Zababa in processions to and from his city, Kiš. No doubt the Zababa Gate is that referred to by Herodotus as the Kissian Gate (III 155 and 158), and paired by him with the Belidian Gate, the Marduk Gate of our next line. The same two gates are associated by Nabonidus, who reports that he rebuilt the stretch of city wall "between the Marduk Gate and the Zababa Gate" (text quoted below in the commentary on V 57-58). The traditional identification of the Zababa Gate with the city gate excavated about 150 metres north of Imgur-Enlil's south-east corner fits its function as the gate serving the road east to Kiš (for the archaeology see Wetzell, *WVDOG* 48, p. 58). The distance between this gate and the wall's corner is probably to be compared with the metrological tablet's figure of 300 cubits between the Zababa Gate and a tower (no. 15, BM 54634, obv. 2' and commentary).

A recently published Neo-Babylonian historical text records, among the many atrocities committed by an unidentified ruler, the burning alive, in a single day, of 16 Cutheans at the Zababa Gate (*ina abul* ^a*za-ba₄-ba₄* *ša qē-reb tin.tir*^{ki}: von Weiher, *BagM* 15, p. 202ff., 12-13). In deeds and contracts the gate is attested as a property landmark from the reign of Kandalānu on: *VS* V 4, 2 (Kand.; Bānītu Canal); Strassmaier, *Nbn* 116 = *V R* 68, no. 1, 3 (Bānītu Canal); 132, 2; 437, 3; 552, 6 (field between Zababa Gate and *abul gi-iš*: see the commentary on the next line; Bānītu Canal, road to Kiš); 687, 2; *Cyrus* 337, 1; Kohler-Peiser, *Rechtsl.* IV, p. 69 = *Archi*, *OrAnt* 14, p. 13, 2 (Cyprus); Strassmaier, *ZA* 4, p. 152, no. 9, 2 (Barzia); *Dar* 37, 2; 379, 67; *VS* VI 254, 2; BE 15293 (Artaxerxes: Unger, *Babylon*, p. 75).

51 Our interpretation of the name differs from those of previous editors. For *šu'u* see the synonym lists (Kilmer, *JAOS* 83, p. 425, *Malku* I 9: *šu-e-tum* = *be-el-tum*, also p. 433, Explicit *Malku* I 20; von Soden, *LTBA* II 2, i 30: *šu-'u* = *šar-ru*), and the Babylonian Theodicy (*BWL*, p. 80, 188; p. 86, 254). MS y's *še-'a-šū* is an erratic orthography typical of that source. The same manuscript's *i-re-mu* is now shown by the other sources to stand for *ire'i*. The weak consonant /r/, as well as the glide /w/, can be expressed with signs from the 'm' range: cf. *li-ir-ma-a* for *lir'ā* in *Erra* IV 136; *ra-mi-im* for *rā'im* in NB personal names (*ABL* 202, 9; Strassmaier, *Camb* 92, 3); the common use of *šumāti*(mu)^{meš}

for *šu'āti* in NB; and, in this book, the writings *ku-mar* for Kuar(a) (*Tintir* IV 40) and *šu-ma-an* for Šuanna (V 93).

The Marduk Gate is found outside this line in contracts from the reigns of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and Darius (Weidner, *AfO* 16, p. 45, Bab. 28395, 4; *VS* III 150, 1), but this must be what Herodotus meant by the Belidian Gate, Bēl of course being Marduk (III 155 and 158, paired with the Kissian or Kiš Gate of Zababa). The dearth of documentation for the Marduk Gate in legal documents no doubt prompted its equation by Unger with the well-known Giššu Gate, but despite him, Gurney and *CAD* G, there is no variant *giššu* for *ṣmarduk* in *Tintir* V, either in this line or in line 69: the confusion arose through a misreading of MS A's *ṣam[ar.utu]* in the latter line. Moreover, it is now apparent that the Giššu Gate was not a gate of the wall Imgur-Enlil, but belonged instead to the outer defence built around east Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar II (see above, p. 137f.).

The Marduk Gate is to be identified with the next along the city wall after the Zababa Gate, that is, the northernmost of the two gates excavated on the east stretch of the east circuit of Imgur-Enlil (the excavations are reported by Wetzell, *WVDOG* 48, p. 57f.).

52 The Ištar Gate remains the only gate in the city wall to be identified by means of its own inscription, excavated in situ: it is from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (Koldewey, *MDOG* 12, p. 14, 1-6 = *WVDOG* 32, p. 41, fig. 43):

[*Nabû-kudurrî-ušur šar Bābili . . .*]
[*mār*] ^a*nabû*-*apla-ú-š[u-úr šar Bābili]*
abul iš₈-tār i-na a-gu[r-ri] ^{na}*uqnî elletî*
a-na ṣmarduk bēli-ī[a na-ak-li-iš ú-še-pi-iš-ma]
ri-i-mu erî e-ek-ā[u-tum u mušḥuššî še-zu-zu-tî]
i-na si-ip-pi-šu [uš-zi-iz . . .]

I Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, . . . , son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, skilfully rebuilt the Ištar Gate with pure lapis-glazed bricks for my lord Marduk. I stationed at its sills fierce bulls of copper and frenzied dragons. . .

The rebuilding of the Ištar Gate was made necessary by Nebuchadnezzar's construction work on the southern palace and Marduk's procession road (Ay-ibūr-šabû, the Street of Babylon), which lay immediately inside the gate. The East India House inscription gives the details (*I R* 56, v 55-vi 3):

^a*iš₈-tār-sa-ki-pa-at-te-e-bi-ša ša im-gur^a-en-lil ù ni-mi-it-ti^a-en-lil abullātu^{meš} ki-la-at-ta-an i-na ta-am-le-e su-le-e bābili^{ki} iš-ta-ap-pi-la né-re-ba-ši-in abullāti^{meš} ši-na-a-ti ad-ke-e-ma mi-iḥ-ra-at me-e i-šid-si-in i-na ku-up-ri ù a-gur-ri ú-šar-ši-id-ma*

As for Ištar-sākipat-tēbīša, the entrances to both gates, that of Imgur-Enlil and that of Nīmitti-Enlil, had become too low because of the infilling of the Street of Babylon. I demolished these gates and relaid their foundations in bitumen and baked brick at the level of the water-table.

(Cf. *VS I 44*, 3-7; Meyer, *4 Jahrtausende...*², p. 233, 24-35.) A description of the new set of gates follows (vi 4-21):

i-na a-gur-ri^{na4} ugnī elletim^{tim} ša rīmū ù mušhuššū ba-nu-ú qer-bu-uš-ša na-ak-li-iš ú-še-piš^{siš} erēnī da-nu₄-ti a-na šu-lu-li-ši-na ú-ša-at-ri-iš^{siš} dalāt^{siš} erēni ta-aḥ-lu-up-ti siparri aš-ku-up!(TE)-pu ù nu-ku-še-e pi-ti-iq erī e-ma bābāti-ša e-er-te-et-ti rīmī erī e-ek-du-tum ù mušhuššī še-zu-zu-ti i-na si-ip-pi-ši-na uš-zi-iz abullāti^{meš} ši-na-a-ti a-na tab-ra-a-ti kiššat ni-ši lu-le-e uš-ma-al-lam

I skilfully rebuilt (the gate) in pure lapis-glazed baked bricks, by which means bulls and dragons were fashioned within it; I stretched across it mighty (beams of) cedar for its roof; I set firmly in place the doors of cedar overlaid with bronze, the thresholds and the door-pivots, cast in copper, in each of its gates; I stationed at their sills fierce bulls of copper and frenzied dragons, filling these gates with splendour to the wonderment of the whole nation.

(Cf. *VS I 44*, 7-13; Meyer, op. cit., p. 233, 36-53.) The modern visitor to the site of Babylon may walk through the foundations of Nebuchadnezzar's gate, which were cleared by the German expedition (for the archaeology see Koldewey, *WVDOG* 32), and observe row upon row of bulls and dragons moulded in bas-relief in the baked-brick walls, as described by their builder. The blue-glazed superstructure has been restored and stands in the Vorderasiatisches Museum of Berlin (an account of the work of reconstruction and restoration is given by Jakob-Rost, *FB* 20, p. 221f.). The astonishing depth of the foundations (the heads of the lowest row of bulls were found some 18 metres below the final street level) has caused some discussion (see most recently G. Bergamini, *Mesopotamia* 12, p. 150ff.); but Nebuchadnezzar himself passes comment on this, specifically stating that the foundations for his new gate were laid "at the level of the water-table".

Until the time of Nebuchadnezzar II the Istar Gate lay sufficiently close to the river bank to be accounted a terminal point of the Arahtu quay wall (see *PBS XV* 79, ii 12-15, quoted below in the commentary on *V 59*). Nebuchadnezzar's fortifications in the northern palace area, however, obtruded into the river bed and diverted the course of the river westward, so that after his time the gate no longer stood as near the river as before. This necessitated an extension of the moat walls from the Istar Gate to the river bank, a distance which Nebuchadnezzar approximates as 360 cubits (if in the larger cubit standard, about 270 metres, a figure which tallies with the results of the excavation; Koldewey, *MDOG* 11, p. 9, ii 21-26):

i-nu-mi-šu ma-aš-ša-ar-ti ká.dingir.ra^{k1} du-un-nu-nim 'aš-te-'ma' 3 me 60^{su} am-ma-at qá-qá-ri i-ta-a-at ni-mi-it-ti^d en-líl ša^r al-ḥe^r-e ká.dingir.ra^{k1} a-na ki-da-a-[nim] iš-tu kišād¹⁴ puratti a-di si-i[p-pi] šu-me^r-lu' ša abul¹⁵ iš-ta-ar 2 ka-a-ri [d]a-nu₄-tim i-na ku-up-ri ù a-gur-ri dūra ša-da-ni-iš ab-ni-m[a]

At that time I sought to strengthen the defences of Babylon: for 360 cubits alongside Nimitti-Enlil, the rampart of Babylon, on the outside, from the bank of the Euphrates to the left-hand sill of the Istar Gate, I built two mighty moat walls of bitumen and baked brick, (as high) as a mountain.

For other inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II which mention the Istar Gate, see the commentary on the Arahtu (*V 59*) and on the procession road of Marduk (*V 64*: Ay-ibūr-šabū; *V 70*: Istar-lamassi-ummānīšu, the Street of the Istar Gate).

An Istar Gate is mentioned in an Old Babylonian letter as the location of a house (é ša 'ká.gal' iš₈-tár: *PBS VII* 62, 20), from which it may be inferred that it had become the name of a city quarter. But it is far from certain that the context of the letter is Babylon; if it is then this Istar Gate is probably not to be identified with the north gate of Imgur-Enlil, belonging rather to an older city wall of smaller compass (on the question of the date of Imgur-Enlil, and thus the present Istar Gate, see above, p. 15). The same can be said for *ba-ab* ⁴MÜŠ in another OB letter (*AbB VI* 88, 7 and 13). But the Istar Gate in the Religious Chronicle (Grayson, *ABC*, p. 136, ii 21), in the context of, probably, Simbar-šihu, is certainly the gate of Imgur-Enlil. In the historical-literary fragment *CT* 51 73, 18, and in an unpublished letter of Šin-šarra-iškun (to be edited by W.G. Lambert in Ira Spar's forthcoming volume of cuneiform texts from the Metropolitan Museum of New York), the Istar Gate acquires an epithet, *nē-reb šarru-u-ti*, "Entrance of Kingship", an allusion to the passage through it of the procession of the New Year Festival, at which both divine and mortal kingship were ritually confirmed.

The ceremonial name of the Istar Gate reflects the character of Istar as a goddess of battle, and is a phrase which can be restored as an epithet of Istar of Uruk in Nebuchadnezzar II's Wadi Brisa inscription (*B viii* 1-2: *a-na* ⁴bēlet(MÜŠ)-uruk^{k1} ...] *sa-ki-pa-at* [te-bi-ša]).

The Istar Gate seldom appears in contracts, no doubt because at the time when such documents become common the land in its vicinity was so much given over to fortifications and waterworks (the Eastern Outwork, associated with the moat by Bergamini, *Mesopotamia* 12, p. 137f.), that plots of land in private ownership were largely excluded. The extant texts concern payment for work on the moat wall outside the gate in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (*VS IV* 23, 11-12: *dul-la ša ka-a-ri ša meḥrat*(igi) *abul*!(ká. <gal>) ⁴15); and plots of land, also outside the gate, where the Old Kutha Canal met the Euphrates (Strassmaier, *Dar* 102 // Ball, *PSBA* 14, p. 142f., 2; BM 59568, 1-2: *e-la-an bāb nār* gú.du₈.a^{k1} *la-bi-ru meḥrat abul* ⁴iš-tar pi-ḥat tin.tir^{k1}; unpub., Darius).

53 Light is shed on the name of this gate by MS pp, which although not preserved at this point repeats the name as a variant of Enlil-mukin-šarrūtīšu, the Street of the Enlil Gate in *V 71*, there reading ⁴en-líl mu-nam-mir-[šú]. The present line's *mu-nam-bir-šu* comes from MS y, from the very last period of cuneiform writing and full of orthographic

eccentricities (though dissimilation of /m/ to /mb/ before /r/ is noted in other languages, including Sumerian: M.-L. Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language* (Mesopotamia 10), § 33). MS t's EZEN is, as noted in the apparatus, a simple orthographic error for similar *mir*.

As the fifth gate of the list the Enlil Gate will be the first encountered in the west part of the city by one making an anticlockwise circuit of the wall, and its position was most probably on the west wall's north stretch, as the counterpart of the Ištar Gate across the river. It will then be the gate whose apparent remains opposite the southern palace were still visible in the river at low water to members of the German expedition (see Wetzell, *ZA* 48, p. 47f.). Outside the Enlil Gate in the late period was the New Canal (*nāru eššu*) found in many contracts which deal with land in the gate's vicinity: references are given by Unger, *Babylon*, p. 68 (in *V R* 67, no. 1, 2, for *a-lu eš-šu* read *id! eš-šu*). A further attestation of the Enlil Gate is Nemet-Nejat, *LBFP* no. 1, rev. 5: [me]h^{ra}t(igi) ká.ga[l ^en-lil pīhat ká.dingir^{meš.ki} (coll.).

54 The King's Gate (*abul* ⁽⁴⁾šarri) is the gate known to Unger as the Sîn Gate (*Babylon*, p. 71f.). There is no evidence for a Sîn Gate at Babylon; the misunderstanding developed from a misreading of ⁽⁴⁾lugal as ⁽⁴⁾nanna, influenced by the name of the Street of the King's Gate, Sîn-mukīn-agē-bēlūtīšu (*V* 72). On the site of the gate, which is not attested elsewhere, see p. 23.

55 The Adad Gate appears again in *Tintir* as, apparently, the western limit of the quarter listed in *V* 99. It has previously been wrongly identified with the Akus Gate, which now can certainly be seen as a separate structure, perhaps a remnant inside the city of an old city wall of more limited compass than Imgur-Enlil (see on this further the commentary on *V* 99). From the Adad Gate into the city led his procession road, Adad-zānin-nišīšu (*V* 73), at whose opposite end one can imagine his temple, E-namhe (*IV* 40). The gate appears in three Late Babylonian contracts (*VS* *V* 101, 1; *TCL* XIII 215, 2; 223, 8).

The position of the Adad Gate as the third of the suggested four gates of west Babylon (p. 23) marks it out as the gate whose location is very probably to be understood as the meeting point of the "upper" and "lower" sections of the west circuit of Imgur-Enlil in the metrological commentary no. 16 (BM 35385; see p. 137).

For the reading of *érin*^{meš} as the singular *ummāni*, against expected *ummānāti*, here and in the following line, cf. the syllabic variants of MS A in the parallel pair of street names, ll. 73-74.

56 The Šamaš Gate, the last in the list, is best known from the clay map fragment, BM 35385 rev. (pl. 28 = *CT* 22 49), in which it is associated with the quarter Tuba (on the map see further the commentary below on *V* 102, and a hypothetical reconstruction of the original map as fig. 5, on p. 28). In *V* 102 the gate appears again as the west limit

of Tuba. According to a Neo-Babylonian contract the Šamaš Gate lay opposite the mouth of the Borsippa canal (Strassmaier, *Nbn* 193, 2), which would have taken off from the Euphrates south of the city in a SSW direction. This tallies with the expected position of the gate roughly opposite the Uraš Gate, with which the list began. The Šamaš Gate appears in two further Neo-Babylonian deeds, Strassmaier, *Nbn* 990, 7 (gaba <ká>.gal ⁴utu), and Sack, *Amēl-Marduk*, no. 33, 1-2. A Neo-Babylonian royal inscription, BM 38346 (*CT* 37 21, probably of Nabonidus), mentions a Šamaš Gate in connection with a palace lying between it and the Gattu River (this is a name of the Euphrates: see the commentary on *V* 59). But it is by no means certainly speaking of Babylon, where there seem already to be abundant palaces near the Ištar Gate (the southern and northern palaces) and in the mound Babil (the Summer palace). Unger is adamant in *Babylon*, p. 112, that the text deals with Dilbat, but Sippar and Uruk seem equally viable candidates, being important cities on the Euphrates each with a Šamaš Gate (Uruk: Falkenstein, *Topographie*, p. 50f.; Sippar, unpub. deed of sale, courtesy Kennedy).

57-58 The city walls of Babylon are first mentioned in Sumuabum's first year-name, "Year the Great Wall of Babylon was built" (mu bād.gal ká.dingir.ra^{ki} ba.dù: Ungnad, *RIA* II, p. 165, 1). The same name is given to the fifth year of Sumulael, Sumuabum's successor (*ibid.*, p. 165, 19), and perhaps indicates the completion of the project begun by the latter eighteen years earlier. Construction of a city wall is next reported in the reign of Apil-Sîn, whose second year-name is "Year the New Grand Wall of Babylon was built by Apil-Sîn" (mu bād.maḥ gibil ká.dingir.ra^{ki} a-pil-^asîn ba.dù: *ibid.*, p. 177, 66). As argued above, p. 18, neither this nor the wall of Sumuabum and Sumulael is likely to have followed the circuit of the later Imgur-Enlil, which has all the hallmarks of a carefully conceived town-planning operation and probably belongs to the late Old Babylonian or Kassite periods. According to the Adad-šuma-ušur Epic (if it is not guilty of anachronism), Imgur-Enlil was standing in the reign of this late Kassite king (Grayson, *BHLT*, p. 62, iii 25, read perhaps: *a-na im-gur-^ae[n-lil dū]ri(bād)-šú i[l-lik?]*, "He went(?) to Imgur-Enlil, (Babylon's) wall (on his way to Borsippa)"). Part of the text may even be an account of its (re)building (iii 11-23; note the parallel lines, 13: [*lu zaq-pa ^{s1}dalār^{meš} dūri a[bulātu^{meš}-(šú)] lu kàš-[ra]*; and 23: *az-qu-u[p ^{s1}d[alār^{meš}] dūri abullātī^{meš}-(šú) ak-šur*], "I set up the doors of the wall, I constructed (its) gates"). Grayson sees in this passage a restoration of E-sagil, but the coupling of *dūru* and *abullu* is strongly suggestive of the city wall. And Adad-šuma-ušur would have good reason to rebuild Imgur-Enlil, for the walls of Babylon had suffered dearly a few years earlier at the hands of Tukultī-Ninurta I of Assyria, according to Chronicle P (Grayson, *ABC*, p. 175, iv 4; *dūr tin.tir^{ki} 'iq-qur*, "He dismantled the city wall of Babylon (and sacked the city)").

The fate of the city walls during the sack of Babylon by the Elamites at the end of the Kassite period is not recorded, but inscriptions of the seventh and eighth kings of the following dynasty record more building work on Imgur-Enlil. A very fragmentary

inscription of Marduk-šāpik-zēri gives the following text (*BE* I 148, ii 3-8; cf. Brinkman, *PHPKB*, p. 135⁸⁰¹):

in qé-r[e-eb] ká.dingir.[ra^{k1}] ba-ba-[tí] ú-dan-n[ín-ma] bād im-gur-[^den-líl] bād x[. . .]

The text of a brick of his successor, Adad-apla-iddina, is hardly more revealing (Wetzel, *MDOG* 53, p. 28, coll. from photo Bab 3455; cf. *WVDOG* 48, p. 64, 79; Brinkman, *PHPKB*, p. 140⁸⁴³):

^dadad-apla-i-din-nam šār ká.dingir.ra^{k1} [bād] im-[gur]-^den-líl [. . .]

But the brick's real value lies in its discovery in a rubbish tip close to the site of the Zababa Gate, which suggests that the Imgur-Enlil of the Second Isin Dynasty followed the same circuit as that of Nebuchadnezzar II. Thus the Neo-Babylonian extent of the city, as it is delineated by the city walls and shown on the maps of the city prepared by the excavators, dates back at least as far as eleventh century (so already Wetzel, *WVDOG* 48, p. 64).

Since archaeological investigations were reopened on the city walls a foundation cylinder has come to light which further attests to Adad-apla-iddina's work on the wall (if its editor is right to restore the royal name in col. i, line 1: [*^dadad-apla-i-din-nam*], al-Rawi, *Sumer* 37, p. 116f.). The text is Sumerian and the second column well preserved (ii 7-16):

bād im-gur-^den-líl bād ká.dingir.ra^{k1}.ke₄ zag.mu.ta sumun.bé.eš diri.ga ši.in.da.ab. zi.zi.da temen.bi libir.ra sá bí.in.du₁₁.ga.e.a gaba ki.gal.la! uš₈.bi al.tag.ga.bi [n]íg. u₄.bi.da.gim [k]i.bi.šè al.gi.gi.da

(Adad-apla-iddina set to it(?)) to re-erect the wall, Imgur-Enlil, the city wall of Babylon, which at the new year had collapsed through old age, to reach its ancient foundation platform, to put down its footings on the breast of the netherworld, and to restore it to its place, according to its former state.

An apparently partial rebuilding of both Imgur-Enlil and Nimit-Enlil (mentioned by name for the first time) was carried out by Sargon II of Assyria (de Genouillac, *RA* 10, p. 84, 10-20 // Walker, *CBI* 76 // Koldewey, *WEB*⁴, p. 136, fig. 86 // Beckman, *ARRIM* 5, p. 3):

ana epēš^{es} bād im-gur-^den-líl uzun-šú ibši-ma ú-šal-bi-in-ma a-gur-ru ki-ru elletim^{im} ina kup-ru ù itte ina (some copies here insert i-te-e abul ^dištar(15)) kišād ^dpu-rat-ti ina qé-reb AN.za-nun-ze-e kára ib-ni-ma bād im-gur-^denlil(50) ù bād ni-mit-^denlil(50) ki-ma ši-pik šadī⁴ ú-šar-šid še-ru-uš-šú

(Sargon) attended to the rebuilding of the wall Imgur-Enlil: he moulded bricks, baked in a pure kiln, and constructed a quay wall with bitumen and pitch (dupls. add: alongside the Ištar Gate) at the bank of the Euphrates, in the very abyss. The walls Imgur-Enlil and Nimit-Enlil he made as firm as a mountain range above it.

Thus Sargon's efforts were concentrated on that part of the city wall which lay adjacent to the palace area, between the river and the Ištar Gate. His quay wall not only ran alongside the city wall at this point, but continued some way south along the river bank (excavations by Wetzel, *WVDOG* 48, p. 64f.).

Imgur-Enlil and Nimit-Enlil, respectively the *dūru* and *šalhū* of Babylon, did not escape the wrath of Sennacherib, who sacked the city in 689 (*OIP* 2, p. 84 = *III R* 14, 51-52, quoted above, p. 299). What Sennacherib had destroyed, Esarhaddon sought to repair. He was careful to maintain the ancient dimensions of the city walls (Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 25, Ep. 35, vi 34-vii 4):

im-gur-^den-líl dūr(bād)-šú rabâ^a 30^{am} āš-lu šiddu 30^{am} pūtu ina ^{s15}asli(as₄.lum) rabīti¹⁴ mi-šiḫ-ta-šú am-šu-uḫ ki-i pí maḫ-ri-i ú-še-piš-ma ú-zaq-qir ḫur-šá-niš ni-mit-^den-líl šal-ḫu-šú ar-šip ú-šak-lil a-na tab-rat kiš-šat ni-ši la-la-a uš-ma-al-li

As for Imgur-Enlil, (the city's) great wall, I measured its dimensions with the large *ashu*-cubit: 30 *ašlu* each were its sides and 30 *ašlu* each the back and front. I rebuilt it according to the original (measurements) and raised it as high as a mountain. I completed the reconstruction of Nimit-Enlil, its rampart, and filled it with splendour to the wonder of all the people.

(Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 21, Ep. 23, 19-24; 88, 9-10.) Esarhaddon reveals an ignorance of the true measurements of the wall in supposing it to be square in plan. This was a misconception shared by classical antiquity, whose writers compound the error with enormous exaggeration of length: Herodotus quotes a figure of 120 stadia each side (*I* 78), which C. Julius Solinus (56, 2) and Pliny the Elder (*VI* 121) convert to a circumference of 60 Roman miles. Against this tradition stands one which fluctuates between 360 and 385 stadia for the wall's circumference (Diodorus Siculus, *II* 7, 3, citing Ctesias and Cleitarchus; Q. Curtius Rufus, *V* i 26; Strabo, *XVI* 1, 5). On the Babylonian sources for the length of Imgur-Enlil see above, p. 135.

The work on Nimit-Enlil was perhaps not as "completed" as Esarhaddon maintains. At all events, his successor, Aššurbanipal, found it necessary to continue the work (*CT* 9 7, 1-7):

ina u₄-me-šú-[ma im-g]ur-^den-líl dūr(bād) ká.dingir.ra^{k1} ni-mit-^den-líl šal-ḫu-ú-[šú š]a la-ba-riš il-lik-ú-ma i-qu-pu in-na-ab-[tu] āš-šú ma-aš-šar-ti é.sag.il ù eš-re-e-ti ká. dingir.r[a^{k1} d]u-un-nu-nu ina e-muq um-ma-na-a-ti-ia sur-riš ni-mit-^den-líl[¹l-lá?] šal-ḫu-ú-šú ina ši-pir ^dkulla eš-šiš ú-še-piš-ma abullāt^{meš}-šú ú-[rak-kis?] ^{s15}dalāt^{meš} ú-še-piš-ma ú-rat-ta-a ina bābāt^{meš}-[ši-na]

At that time Imgur-Enlil, the wall of Babylon, and Nimit-Enlil, its rampart, which had grown old and buckled, collapsed. In order to strengthen the defences of E-sagil and the sanctuaries of Babylon, with the might of my workforces I immediately rebuilt Nimit-Enlil, its rampart, through the agency of Kulla (the brick god), and [joined up(?)] its gates. I made the door-leaves and hung them firmly in their gateways.

Reading between the lines it seems that Aššurbanipal lacked either the time or the resources to rebuild Imgur-Enlil, the inner wall of the city's double fortification, and concentrated his efforts on the smaller outer wall.

The work of the Chaldaean kings of Babylon on the city wall was initiated by Nabopolassar. His rebuilding of Imgur-Enlil is commemorated in three recently published cylinder inscriptions (al-Rawi, *Iraq* 47, p. 10ff., fig. 1-3, in three columns; fig. 4 // 6; and fig. 5 // 7 // 8. The latter two single-column texts earlier appeared in transcription only in Bahija Khalil, *Sumer* 35, p. 164ff.). The longest of these devotes nearly its entire second column to the rebuilding, much of which is given over to an exposition of the wall's place in cosmology and theology. As al-Rawi notices, literary phrases from this passage are borrowed by Nabonidus in an inscription he buried alongside the originals of Nabopolassar (*PBS* XV 80, see below). The eastern section of Imgur-Enlil was rebuilt from scratch, but once again exactly on its former site (al-Rawi, loc. cit., p. 10, ii 37-41):

te-me-en-šu la-bi-ru a-ḫi-iṭ ab-re-e-ma i-na aš-ri reš-ti-i li-bit-ta-šu lu-ú ad-di i-na i-ra-at ki-gal-la i-šid-sú lu-ú ú-šar-ši-id e-bi-iḫ dan-num bal-ri šīt ašamši lu-ú ú-ša-as-ḫi-ir

I made a careful exploration of its old foundation platform and laid its brickwork in the original position: I grounded its foundation on the breast of the netherworld. I encircled the East Bank with a mighty cincture.

(For *balru*, as against *ebertu*, see the commentary on V 98.) Elsewhere Nabopolassar records the rebuilding of Nimit-Enlil alone (*BRM* IV 51, 27-32 = *YOS* IX 84, 28-33):

i-ni' u₄-mi-šu ni-mit-ti-[^aen-líl šal-ḫu-u-šu] e-eš₁₅-ši-iš lu ab-ni-ma a-na a^amarduk be-lí-[ia] ki-ma u₄-mi-im lu ú-na-mi-ir ma-aš-ša-ar-ti é.sag.íl u ká.dingir^{mes} lu ú-da-ni-in māri^{mes} ba-bi-lam^{k1} šu-ub-ti ne-eḫ-ti lu ú-še-ši-ib

At that time I rebuilt Nimit-Enlil, [(the city's) rampart], and made it shine bright as the day for my lord Marduk. (Thus) I strengthened the defences of E-sagil and Babylon, and allowed the citizens of Babylon to dwell in safety.

The work begun by Nabopolassar was continued by his son and successor, Nebuchadnezzar II, who is more precise in reporting the details of the construction of this great fortification (*CT* 37 11f., ii 22-29):

ba-bi-i-lá^{k1} ma-ḫa-zi be-lam ra-bi-ú a^amarduk im-gu-úr-^aenlil(50) ú ni-mi-it-ti-^aenlil(50) dūrāni(bād.bād)-šu ra-bi-ú-tim ša a^ana-bi-um-apla-ú-šu-úr šar ba-bi-i-lá^{k1} a-bi ba-nu-ú-a ib-nu-ú uš-šu-šu-un ka-a-ru kupri(esir.UD.a) ú a-gu-úr-ru a-di! šī-ni-ša ú-ša-al-mi-šu-nu-[ti-m]a la ú-ša-ak-li-lam šī-pi₅-rī-šu-un ia-a-tim apil-šu re-eš-ta-am na-ra-am li-ib-bi-ša dūrāni(bād.bād) šu-nu-tim ú-ša-aq-qa-am re-ša-a-šu-un ú-ša-a[k]-li-lam šī-pi₅-rī-šu-un i-na sipp^{mes} abullāti^{mes}-ša rīmī erī^a ek-du-tim ú muš-ḫuš-šu še-zu-zu-ú-tim uš-zi-iz ab-ni-ma ka-a-ru ša-al-šu di-ma-a-tim a-sà-a-tim e-lī te-me-en-nim ma-aḫ-ra-am ú-ša-

ap-pi-il-ma i-na i-ra-ti ki-gal-lam ú-ki-in uš-šu-šu-un!(UM) ka-a-ru šu-a-tim it-ti ka-a-ru a-bi i-pú-šu à-sa-ni-iq-ma re-ši-šu ša-da-ni-iš ú-za-aq-qī-ir

As for Babylon, the cult-centre of the great lord Marduk, and its great walls, Imgur-Enlil and Nimit-Enlil, of which Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, my father who begot me, built the foundations, and which he surrounded with a double moat wall of bitumen and baked brick, but whose construction he did not complete — I, his firstborn son, his favourite, raised high the tops of those walls and finished their construction. I fashioned fierce bulls of copper and frenzied dragons, and stationed them at the sills of its city gates. A third moat wall, (with) towers and turrets, I dug deeper than the original foundation platform and laid its footings on the breast of the netherworld. This moat wall I joined to the moat walls my father had built and raised its top as high as a mountain.

(Cf. V R 34, i 16-32; I R 52, no. 3, ii 3-10; 55, iv 66-v 4, v 21-33; Ball, *PSBA* 10, p. 368f., i 55-ii 5; Wadi Brisa B v 4-21; *PBS* XV 79, i 96-ii 11.) With the completion of this work the main fortification of the city consisted of three walls of solid brickwork: Imgur-Enlil, Nimit-Enlil, and the three abutting moat walls, which together formed a composite whole running parallel to the main walls at about 20 metres distance (Wetzel, *WVDOG* 48, pp. 7, 30). These moat walls were new to the sixth century, Nabopolassar being, as his son tells us (*CT* 34 20, 24; V R 34, i 23; etc.), the first king to undertake such a project. Usually Nebuchadnezzar attributes two of the three moat walls to his father (as above), but on another occasion he takes credit for them himself, allowing Nabopolassar only a single wall (I R 55, v 27-33):

i-ta-at kar ḫi-ri-ti-šu 2 ka-a-ri da-nu₄-ti in ku-pur ú a-gur-ri ab-ni-ma it-ti kar a-bi ik-šú-ru e-es-ni-iq-ma āla a-na ki-da-nim ú-ša-al-mi

Alongside (Nabopolassar's) moat wall I built two mighty moat walls of bitumen and baked brick and joined them to the moat wall my father had made. (Thus) I surrounded the city on the outside.

In addition to the provision of a third moat wall, innovations of Nebuchadnezzar II regarding the wall Imgur-Enlil included the construction of two great bastions, one in the Euphrates alongside the southern palace (see the commentary on V 59), and another outside the city wall between the Istar Gate and the river (I R 52, no. 3, ii 12-22; this is the north citadel, to its builder *ḫa-al-ši ra-bi-tim*, "a massive fortress"). All the king's construction work mentioned so far has been in the eastern half of the city. He is, indeed, unnaturally quiet about his work on its western fortifications, reporting tersely (*PBS* XV 79, ii 11-12):

ka-a-ri a-gur-ru bal-ri ereb ašamši dūr(bād) tin.tir^{k1} ú-šal-mu

I surrounded the wall of Babylon on the west bank with a moat wall of baked brick.

(Cf. V R 34, i 33-34; I R 55f., v 34-37; Ball, *PSBA* 10, p. 368f., ii 6-7; CT 34 20, 35-36; Wadi Brisa B v 22-24.) The fortification of Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar II (he also built a considerable outer defence running east of the city from the Summer palace at Babil to the Euphrates below the Uraš Gate, recorded in I R 56, vi 22-56) became justly the subject of renown, and is something of which Berossus makes much comment, noting accurately that this king surrounded the inner city with three circuits of walls (F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* 3C1, p. 390).

Despite the energetic attentions of the indefatigable Nebuchadnezzar, the city walls were in need of urgent repair within but a few decades. In an inscription couched in flowery literary phrases, and arranged for the most part in regular poetic lines, Nabonidus tells of his efforts in this direction (*PBS XV* 80, i 17-ii 3: defective exemplar, readings from dupl. A Babylon 10 (photo: *Iraq* 47, pl. 1) used where possible, courtesy F.N.H. al-Rawi):

i-nu-šu im-gur-^den-lil {en-lil} dūr(bād) ká.dingir.ra^{k1}
 birūt abul ^dmarḍuk u abul ^dza-ba₄-ba₄
 iš-da-a-šu i-nu-šu-ma i-qu-pu i-ga-ru-šu
 re-e-ši-šu it-ru-ur-ma ni-mi-it-ta la i-ši
 <ana> dūri(bād) šu-a-ti du-un-nu-nim-ma ni-mi-it-ta šu-ur!(IŠ)-ši-i
 i-ga-ru-šu qu-up-pu-tim ad-ke-e-ma
 bād im-gur-^den-lil dūr(bād) ká.dingir.ra^{k1} ku-du-ur-ru giš.20^{ta.a}
 pu-lu-uk-ku da-ru-ú ú-šur-ti ki-na-a-ta
 mi-ši-ir šu-ur-šu-du ki-sur-ra-a šu-un-du-lu
 tu-uk-šu da-núm e-di-il pi-i a-a-bi
 ma-ḥa-za re-eš-tu-ú tuk-la-tu₄ ba-ú-la-a-ti i-ši-id-su![?]
 ú-da-an-ni-in-ma ki-ma kin-né-e ú-pat-ti-in-ma
 ša-da-ni-iš ú-zaq-qí-ir mi-la-a-šu
 úḥ-mi-iš ú-šar-ši-id-su a-na tab-ra-a-tú aš-ták-kan-šu

At that time Imgur-Enlil, the wall of Babylon,
 between the Marduk Gate and the Zababa Gate,
 its foundations had become shaky, its walls buckled,
 its top was wobbly, it had no bulwark.
 To strengthen that wall, to give it a bulwark,
 I levelled its derelict walls.

The wall Imgur-Enlil, the wall of Babylon, a boundary of 20 giš,
 an eternal boundary-mark, a plan of constancy,
 an immovable border-line, an extensive frame,
 a mighty shield, a bar against the enemy,
 a primordial structure, the hope of the populace: its foundation
 I strengthened and made sheer like a crag.
 I built it up as high as a mountain,
 grounded it firm as a cliff and made it an object of wonder.

(For giš, a unit of linear measure, see p. 135²⁴.) The rebuilding of the walls of Babylon seems to have been one of the few good things remembered of Nabonidus. In the Dynastic Prophecy it is his only distinction (Grayson, *BHLT*, p. 28, ii 15: bād ina E^{k1} i[ppuš(dù)^{u5?}]). But the Verse Account of Nabonidus, when it acknowledges a precedent for Cyrus' work on Imgur-Enlil, gives the hapless king no credit at all, recalling instead his celebrated predecessor (Smith, *BHT*, pl. 10, vi 8-11; cf. Landsberger, *ZA* 37, p. 94; coll.):

[...] x lib-ba-šu ub-lam-ma
 [...] t[up-šik-ku dūr(bād) tin.tir^{k1} uš-tak-lil
 [...] ki-m]a ^{md}nabû-kudurrî-ušur ina mi-gir lib-bi-šu e-pe-šu
 [...] -'u' re-ši ḥal-ši ib-ta-ni ina im-gur-^den-lil

[(Cyrus)] inclined to [(rebuild Imgur-Enlil):]
 [He took up shovel and] hod and completed the wall of Babylon;
 [(He resolved)] to do gladly as Nebuchadnezzar (had done):
 [(He raised high)] (its) top, constructed a citadel on Imgur-Enlil.

(Restorations in parentheses are conjectural.) The work of Cyrus is also reported in his cylinder inscription, V R 35 + *BIN* II 32 (Berger, *ZA* 64, p. 200ff., 38-42; coll.):

bād im-gur-^den-lil dūra rabâ^a ša tin.tir^{k1} ma-a]š-'šar-ta¹-šu du-un-nu-nim aš-te-'e-ma
 [...] ka-a-ri a-gur-ru ša kišād ḥa-ri-ši ša šar maḥ-ri i-pu-[šu-ma la ú-ša]k-li-lu šī-pi-ir-
 šu [...] 'a'-na ki-da-a-ni ša šar ma-aḥ-ra la i-pu-šu um-man-ni-šu di-ku-u[t ma-ti-šu
 i]a-na q]é-reb šu-an-na^{k1} [...] ina kupr]i ú agurri eš-ši-iš e-pu-uš-ma [ú-šak-li-il šī-pi-ir-
 šī-i]n [...] ^{sis}dalātī^mes ta-aḥ-lu-up-ti siparri as-ku-up-pu ú nu-ku-š[e-e . . .]

Despite the lack of continuity unavoidable in such a fragmentary inscription, it is clear that the details of Cyrus' work on Imgur-Enlil include restoration of the moat walls and renovation of the gates, and so the Persian can be seen very much — in the words of the Verse Account — “doing as Nebuchadnezzar had done”. The vocabulary is, moreover, very reminiscent of Nebuchadnezzar's own accounts, a circumstance that might be treated with suspicion were it not for the chance corroboration of a document not drafted by the hand of government. This is a humble contract from Cyrus' accession year recording the payment of 19 shekels of silver for work done on “the city wall at the Enlil Gate” (šā dūri šā abul ^den-lil: Strassmaier, *Cyrus* 10, 2).

The Persian postscript to the history of Imgur-Enlil records that the city wall was twice levelled, on both occasions in answer to native revolt: first by Darius in 521 and then, probably with ferocious finality, by Xerxes in 482.

The geographical list K 2035a + 4337 (*II R* 50; cf. Weissbach, *ZDMG* 53, p. 653ff.), rev. iv 25-26, also gives the names of the walls of Babylon (coll.):

[bā]d im-gur-^den-lil = MIN (= du-ú-ru) šu-an-na^{k1}
 [bā]d ni-mit-^den-lil = šal-ḥu-ú-šu

The same text lists, a few lines later, the walls of Nippur (iv 28-29):

[bà]d im-gur-amar.utu = dūr(bād) nibru^{k1}
[bà]d ni-mit-amar.utu = šal-ḫu-ú

While it can be argued that Enlil is not out of place in the names of the walls of Babylon (a cult of Enlil is attested at Babylon from Old Babylonian times: see above, on IV 34), Marduk is hardly to be expected in the names of the walls of Nippur. The first attestation of these names of Nippur's walls is a cone inscription of Adad-apla-iddina of the Second Isin Dynasty (published by Oppert in V. Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie* II, p. 308; cf. Brinkman, *PHPKB*, p. 140⁸⁴⁶ and p. 336, 8.2.4):

adad-apla-i-di-na-am šar ká.dingir.ra^{k1} e-pi-iš ni-mit-marduk šalḫi(bād.šul.ḫi) dūr
(bād) nippur^{k1} a-na en-lil be-lī-šu

Adad-apla-iddina, king of Babylon, builder of Nimit-Marduk, the rampart of the wall of Nippur, for his lord Enlil.

Nearly a century earlier, the Elamite king, Šilhak-Inšušinak, campaigned in Babylonia, and his inscription mentions a Nimitu-Marduk in the general vicinity of the Euphrates (König, *EIKi*, no. 55, § 6 10). Labat would have this Nimitu-Marduk on the southern approach to Babylon (*CAH*³ II/2, p. 492), while Brinkman suggests that it refers to the wall of Nippur (*PHPKB*, p. 90). Neither suggestion carries any great conviction, for we suspect that had Šilhak-Inšušinak approached either Nippur or Babylon he would have said so in no uncertain terms. This Nimitu-Marduk was probably a small settlement, perhaps colonised by Babylon, somewhere near the Euphrates in Babylonia.

However this may be, it is evident that Imgur-Marduk and Nimit-Marduk date, as names for the walls of Nippur, at least as far back as Adad-apla-iddina. As we have noted earlier, the earliest attestations for Imgur-Enlil and Nimit-Enlil as names of the walls of Babylon belong to a similar period. It would seem that both sets of walls acquired their names at much the same time. One wonders accordingly whether the use of these parallel names is not an act of deliberate syncretism, perhaps pointing to a theological 'twinning' of the two cities. Such a school of thought finds expression in the hymn *KAR* 8, which would have us believe that Nippur and Babylon are cosmologically and theologically inseparable (obv. ii 6-9):

[ni]bru^{k1} uru en.lil.lá tin.tir^{k1} ša.ge túmu.ke₄
ni-ip-pu-ru al idim ba-bi-lu bi-bil lib-bi-šú
nibru^{k1} tin.tir^{k1} umuš.bi dil.ām
ni-ip-pu-ru ba-bi-lu te-em-šu-nu ištēn-ma

Nippur is the city of Enlil; Babylon is his favourite.
Nippur and Babylon, their meaning is the same.

The walls of Babylon appear deified, among other gods of E-sagil and Babylon, in the *tākultu* texts III R 66, xi 18-19 (^aim-gur-idim, ^ani-mit-idim), and *STT* 88, xi (ix!) 6-7 (*kar-šu im-gur-idim, ni-mit-idim*): for these texts see most recently B. Menzel, *AT* II, nos. 54 and 58.

Our transcription of the rampart's ceremonial name as Nimit-Enlil reflects its interpretation by Nabopolassar and his successors as *nēmetti-Enlil* rather than *nēmed-Enlil*; and indeed the writing *ni-mit* can be taken as an apocopated construct of *nēmettu* (cf. *kišit* for *kišitti* in OB and SB omen apodotes: *CAD* K, p. 451).

59 The Araḫtu River, first mentioned in sources of the Ur III period (see Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* II, p. 271), is now generally accepted as a name for the western branch of the Euphrates, which appears to have increased in importance as the eastern branch, flowing through Kiš and Nippur, became less navigable and its banks less fertile. By the first millennium the Araḫtu branch had become the main course of the Euphrates in Babylonia, and the names Araḫtu and Purattu were used synonymously for the river that flowed through the city of Babylon (on the history of the Euphrates in Babylon see McGuire Gibson, *Iraq* 34, p. 117; Jacobsen, *Iraq* 22, p. 175ff.; *RGTC* II, p. 271f.). Thus Nebuchadnezzar II could refer to the river as the Araḫtu and the Purattu almost in the same breath (e.g. I R 55, v 5-8; *PBS* XV 79, ii 12-19, quoted below, and parallels). This need not imply that he saw any distinction between Araḫtu and Purattu at Babylon (as maintained by Unger and recently repeated by McEwan, *OrNS* 52, p. 228; cf. also the remarks of Brinkman in Larsen (ed.), *Power and Propaganda* (Mesopotamia 7), p. 240⁸). It merely displays an erudite delight in the use of alternative names for the same thing that is typical of late scholarship. It would be a surprise indeed, if a river as long as the Euphrates did not have local names in the many regions through which it flowed. The various names of this river and its branches are treated in the lexical texts:

^{id}gù.ḫa.an.dé = a-ra-aḫ-[tum] = [pu-rat-tu]
^{id}unu.bi.tar.ra = ú-ru-ut-[tum] = [MIN]
^{id}.dirḫan.TIN.TIR.DÚB = (blank) = [MIN]
(*MSL* XI, p. 40, *Hg* B VI 6-8; cf. G.J.P. McEwan, *OrNS* 52, p. 228)

^{id}buranun = ú-ru-ut-tum
(*MSL* XVII, p. 229, *Antagal* G 302)

[^{id}ún]u.bi.tar.ra = ú-ru-un-tú
[x x m]e?.na = ga-a-du
[^{id}.dirḫan.T]IN.TIR.DÚB = a-ra-aḫ-tum
(*MSL* XVII, p. 82, *Erimḫuš* VI 46-48)

^{id}buranun = *pu-rat-tum*
^{id}gù.ḥa.an.dé = *a-ra-aḥ-tum*
^{id}érin.ga = *i-tu-ru-un-gal*
 (MSL XI, p. 56, K 2035a + 4337, rev. iii 8-10)

ga-at-tú = *pu-rat-tú*
^úru-ut-tú = MIN su.bir₄^{k1}
 (von Soden, ZA 43, p. 236, Malku II 47-48)

As the synonym list explains, Uruttu was the name for the Euphrates in north Mesopotamia. Gattu is a name for (a branch of) the river that is found also in a Neo-Babylonian royal inscription (CT 37 21, BM 38346, rev. 1: *ki-ša-ad ga-at-ti*) and in the Shrine List of E-šarra (no. 21, rev. 11', in connection with ^{ir}ḥan.TIN.TIR.DÚB). The reading ^{id}érin.ga in the fourth extract (as against MSL's ^{id}zalag.ga) follows Jacobsen, Iraq 22, p. 177^o: it would seem to be a 'phonetic' writing for a name elsewhere written logographically as ^{id}UD.NUN^(k1), and phonetically as ^{id}uru₁₆(EN)^{uru}.gal.

The epithet *nār ḥengalli* is rather an obvious one for a river, both as a supplier of irrigation water and as a trade route. It is used again of the Araḫtu by Esarhaddon (Borger, Esarh., p. 14, 38) and of the Euphrates at Babylon by Neriglissar (I R 67 = ZA 40, p. 290, i 41; both quoted below). A more literary expression is *miṭ-rat nuḥši*(^{hē}.nun) which refers to the same river in KAR 360, 11 (for the equation of *miṭirtu* and *nāru* in the synonym lists see CAD M/2, p. 144).

Like other rivers of Babylonia, the Araḫtu was prone to changes of course, particularly if left undredged (the dredging of rivers and canals was a vital but daunting task, and a royal duty often proudly recorded). The problems posed by nature could be compounded by the folly of man, however, and the history of the Araḫtu in the late period is particularly instructive in this regard. Sennacherib describes in his Bavian inscription how he demolished the walls and sacred buildings of Babylon, throwing the debris into the river (OIP 2, p. 84 = III R 14, 51-52: quoted above, p. 299). This would have had a detrimental enough effect on its course, one would have thought, but Sennacherib went one step further in his determination to obliterate the city. He goes on to describe how he used the river to help achieve his goal (ibid., 52-54):

ina [qé-reb] āli šu-a-tu ḥi-ra-a-ti aḥ-re-e-ma er-še-es-su i-na mē^{mes} as-pu-un ši-kin uš-še-šú ú-ḥal-liq-ma eli ša a-bu-bu na-[ās-pan]-ta-šú ú-šá-ter āš-šu aḥ-rat u₄-me qaq-qar āli šu-a-tu ú bītār^{mes} ilī^{mes} la muš-ši-i <i>-na ma-a-mi uš-ḥar-miṭ-su-ma ag-da-mar ú-šal-liš

Inside that city I dug ditches, and I levelled its ground with water. I made the very shape of its foundations disappear, and laid it waste more effectively than the Flood. So that the site of that city and the temples of (its) gods might not be identified in future days, I caused it to vanish completely amid the water like a water-mead.

Esarhaddon passes comment on the results of his father's diversion of the river into the city, as he describes the forlorn scene which greeted the beginning of his reign some nine years later (CT 34 1, iii 4-14; Borger, Esarh., p. 14, G):

qan(gi) apparātī^{mes} ú šīšar-ba-ti ina qer-bi-šú ma-gal i-šir-ma ú-šar-ri-šá pa-pal-lu iššūrātī^{mes} šamê^e nūnū^{mes} apsī ša la ni-bi ina qer-bi-šú ib-ba-šu-ma

Marsh reeds and poplar trees flourished abundantly within (the city) and sent forth a dense growth of saplings. Birds of the sky and fish of the deep were present there in countless numbers.

Shamefacedly, Esarhaddon avoids mention of his father's responsibility for the disaster, and would have his reader believe that the catastrophe had been a natural one, brought on by a vengeful Marduk (Borger, Esarh., p. 14, 38-43):

^{id}a-ra-aḥ-ti nār ḥengalli a-gu-ú ez-zi e-du-ú šam-ru mīlu kaš-šu tam-šil a-bu-bu ib-bab-lam-ma āla šu-bat-su eš-re-e-ti-šú mē^{mes} uš-bi-'ma ú-še-me kar-meš

The Araḫtu, the river of abundance, had produced of itself a terrible wave, a raging tide, a mighty inundation, a replica of the Flood, and (so) caused its waters to sweep over the city, its habitations and its sanctuaries, turning it into a heap of ruins.

Before Esarhaddon could turn to the rebuilding of the city, he found it necessary to restore the river to its proper course (CT 34 1, iv 16-21; Borger, Esarh., p. 19, G):

mē^{mes} ^{id}pu-rat-ti ab-bu iš-tu qer-bi-šú ap-ru-us-ma a-na ma-la-ki-šu-nu maḥ-re-e ú-šar-di

I removed from inside (the city) the waters of the Euphrates, (which had become) a morass(?), and made them follow their former course.

No doubt in order to keep the river in its proper bed, the first two Chaldaean kings of Babylon, Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar II, spent considerable time and effort on the construction of a series of quay walls on the east bank, and effected at the same time some strengthening of the west bank. Nebuchadnezzar reveals that his father began the work, but he himself completed it (PBS XV 79, ii 12-19):

ka-a-ri ^{id}a-ra-aḥ-tum bal-ri šīt ^ašamši ul-tu abul ^aiš-tar a-di abul ^auraš ina ku-up-ri u a-gur-ru a-ba-am a-li-du ik-šur-ma ma-ka-a-at a-gur-ru a-ba-ar-ti ^{id}puratti ú-rak-kis-ma la ú-šak-lil sit-ta-a-tum ia-a-ti a-pil-šu re-eš-ta-a na-ram lib-bi-šú ka-a-ri ^{id}a-ra-aḥ-tum ina ku-up-ri u a-gur-ru ab-ni-ma it-ti ka-a-ri a-bi ik-šur-ru ú-dan-ni-in

My father who begot me constructed a quay wall of bitumen and baked brick on the east bank of the Araḫtu, from the Ištar Gate to the Uraš Gate, and erected piers(?) of baked brick on the other bank of the Euphrates, but did not finish it all; I (Nebuchadnezzar), his firstborn son, his favourite, built a quay wall on the Araḫtu of bitumen and baked brick, and reinforced it with the quay wall my father had constructed.

(Cf. V R 34, i 35-45; Ball, *PSBA* 10, p. 368f., ii 8-18; Wadi Brisa B v 27-38; *CT* 34 20f., 37-45; with additional material concerning the western moat wall, *CT* 37 12, 30-33.) The implication is, perhaps, that the *makûtu*'s, which were some sort of brick supports or abutments, were the initial stage of the construction: while Nabopolassar completed the eastern quay wall, he did not progress with the west quay beyond this first stage. Nebuchadnezzar built another wall on the east bank alongside that of his father, thus strengthening it. That these two walls abutted each other is apparent also from the excavations (Wetzel, *WVDOG* 48, p. 30ff.; cf. Bergamini, *Mesopotamia* 12, p. 115 and fig. 72), and from a second inscription of Nebuchadnezzar which describes the work done in different terms (*VAB* IV, p. 186, Nbk 21, ii 7-8):

i-da-a-at ka-a-ri ¹⁴*a-ra-aḥ-tim* *ša a-bi i-pú-[šu]* *ka-a-ri danna i-na ku-up-ri u a-gur-ri* *ša-da-ni-iš* [*ab-ni*]

Alongside the quay wall of the Araḥtu which my father had made, [I built] a mighty quay wall of bitumen and baked brick, (as high) as a mountain.

Different again, but certainly concerned with work on the Araḥtu quay walls, is BM 138172, a small fragment of a black stone cylinder, which, while possibly of Nebuchadnezzar, might rather be from an original inscription of his father (no. 63, pl. 56):

...]x ¹⁴*a-ra-aḥ-tim* [...
... *nār*u? *ba-bi-la-at* [*nuḥ*šī? ...
... *k*]a-ar *ša bal-r*[i *šīt* ⁴*šamši* ...
... *u*]l-tu *abul iš*₈-t[*ār* *adi abul* ⁴*uraš* ...
... *ka-a*]r si[*g*₄.al.ūr.ra ...

Nowhere does Nebuchadnezzar say that he finished his father's work on the west bank, and his reticence in this matter, as also with the city wall, Imgur-Enlil, can be taken as a sign that he was too much concerned with the defences of the east part of the city to devote much time to the west. Indeed, the shoring up of the east bank may have been compelled not so much by military considerations as by a need to prevent an eastward shift of the river's course, for Nabopolassar's quay wall not only served the interior of the city, but extended along the east bank well beyond the confines of Imgur-Enlil (so that when Nebuchadnezzar came to build his outer wall from the Summer Palace to a point downstream of the Uraš Gate, he was able to "join it up to the quay wall that his father had constructed": *it-ti ka-a-ri a-ba-a-am ik-šú-úr-ru e-sé-ni-iq-ma*, V R 34, ii 19).

The reinforcement of the Araḥtu quay wall was not Nebuchadnezzar II's only building project to affect the east bank of the river. Some time after the construction of the quay wall he built a huge bastion, with walls 25 metres thick, adjoining the southern palace on its west side, and protruding well beyond the line of the quay walls into the river itself (for the archaeology see Koldewey, *WEB*⁴, Chapter 23). The construction of this great fortress is briefly recorded by the king as follows (*PBS* XV 79, ii 48-52):

a-na ni-šir-ti *é.sag.íl u tin.tir*^{k1} *la na-aš-ku-un na-ba-lum qé-re-eb* ¹⁴*puratti ḥa-al-šu ra-bi-ti i-na nāri i-na ku-up-ri u a-gur-ru ú-še-pí-iš i-ši-id-su ap-sa-a ú-šar-šid-ma re-e-ši-šu ú-zal*(GAR)-*aq-qí-ir ḥu-ur-sa-niš*

There was no dry land in the Euphrates (bed to fortify) for the defence of E-sagil and Babylon, (and so) in the river itself I built a great citadel of bitumen and baked brick; its foundations I grounded in Apsû and its top I made as high as a mountain range.

(Cf. Ball, *PSBA* 10, p. 368f., ii 19-24.) This bastion is perhaps depicted on a lost clay map fragment (Borchardt, *SPAW* 1888, p. 129f.; Unger, *Babylon*, p. 254, no. 5) as lying between the Araḥtu River (¹⁴*a-ra-aḥ-tum*) and a small channel marked "King's ditch" (e.lugal; Unger's identification of this with Lībil-ḥengalla, which did not flow parallel with the Araḥtu but left it at a right-angle, is untenable: *Babylon*, p. 101f.). The interior area between these two watercourses is marked 70 a.šā *būtānu*(é)^m, "70 is the interior area", but need not refer to a palace (so Unger). But it is debatable whether Babylon, and not some other city, is the context of this plan.

The effect of building this huge fortification, as Nebuchadnezzar says, in the river itself (it extended from the former bank by as much as 100 metres) was, naturally, to push the course of the river west. In fact within a few years the Euphrates had shifted so far west that it apparently departed from its bed, no longer flowing past the temple complex of E-sagil. Neriglissar was obliged to coax it back (I R 67, i 41-ii 5, restored after Güterbock, *ZA* 40, p. 290):

¹⁴*purattu nār ḥe-gál-lam* *ša iš-tu bi-na-a-ti-šu i-te-e* *é.sag.íl šu-te-šu-ru mu-ú-šu ga-ap-šu-tim i-na pa-le-e šār ma-aḥ-ri mu-ú-šu a-na i-te-e* *é.sag.íl is-su-ú i-re-e-qu a-na sa-a-bu ia-ti a-ša-ar-šu la-bi-ri aš-te-'e-ma ma-la-ak mé-e-šu ki-ma la-bi-ri-im-ma a-na i-te-e* *é.sag.íl uš-te-te-ši-ir*

As for the Euphrates, the river of abundance, whose mighty waters had been channelled alongside E-sagil since its creation, but in the reign of a former king had withdrawn from beside E-sagil and had receded too far for (easy) fetching, I sought out its ancient bed and directed the course of its waters alongside E-sagil as of old.

One wonders at the extent of the flooding that must have accompanied the river's excursion into west Babylon, a disaster which naturally went unreported. The well-intentioned Nebuchadnezzar, with his mighty river fortress (but, so it seems, unfinished west bank), may well have caused a flood every bit as devastating to the western part of the city as the deliberate inundation of the malicious Sennacherib. But this was not the only effect of Nebuchadnezzar's new fortification. Extending far into the river beyond the former bank, it left a triangle of dead water caught between its southern corner and the bank. This gap was filled by Nabonidus, whose large new quay wall, a proper fortification rather than a simple embankment wall, ran from the bridge (if not further south)

directly to the bastion's south-west corner, following a tangent increasingly east of Nabopolassar's and Nebuchadnezzar's original river bank (for the archaeology see Wetzell, *WVDOG* 48, p. 48ff.; Bergamini, *Mesopotamia* 12, p. 128ff.). Nabonidus' report of this work does not survive, but the construction of the new Arahtu wall is remembered by Berossus, who writes "during his reign the river walls of Babylon were constructed of baked brick and bitumen" (F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* 3C1, p. 393; transl. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus* = *SANE* I/5, p. 28).

In Persian times the Euphrates changed course in major fashion: shifting east, it left its bed below the Summer Palace and entered the city proper between the Ištar Gate and the north-east corner of Imgur-Enlil. From there it flowed south-west through the quarter Newtown, continued across the procession road Ay-ibūr-šabû (in whose path it cut a swathe 150 metres wide), and rejoined the old bed just north of the precinct of E-temen-anki (as described by O.E. Ravn, *Herodotus' Description of Babylon*, p. 61ff.). As Ravn observes, the probable reason for this shift was the cumulative effect of the building works of the Neo-Babylonian kings, whose efforts in rechannelling the river and fortifying its banks may eventually have proved too great a constriction of its waters. After the levelling of the city walls by Darius or by Xerxes the river was given an easier option, denied it while Imgur-Enlil stood intact. Indeed, it has been suggested that this diversion was deliberately engineered by Xerxes in 482 (H. Schmid, *BagM* 12, p. 135, expanding on Böhl, *BiOr* 19, p. 113), a punishment for revolt that has a precedent in Sennacherib's inundation. As has often been observed, this eastern course of the river was the one known to Herodotus, in whose account of the city's topography the palace and temple tower (E-temen-anki) are on opposite banks (I 181). It may also explain how an extract of a topographical or cultic nature on a school tablet from Late Babylonian Sippar comes to describe the temple of Ištar-kakkabi as "adjacent to the Arahtu" (no. 30, 7'). If the context of the extract is Babylon — and this is by no means certain — then this temple of Ištar-kakkabi must be E-anda-saa in Newtown (*Tintir* IV 23), earlier a quarter far removed from the Arahtu.

60 This waterway is, to my knowledge, not attested elsewhere. If the line follows the pattern of its neighbours we expect the hydronym to be accompanied by some description, as Arahtu is followed by the epithet "River of Abundance" and Lībil-ḥengalla by its popular name, "Eastern Canal". Might we expect it to be a "western canal", such as is observed on the clay map fragment, BM 35385 (see the reconstruction, fig. 5, on p. 28)?

With the hydronym compare perhaps the mountain Budug-ḥudug, listed in *Hh* XXII 5 (*MSL* XI, p. 23) and also found in the *lipšur* litanies (Reiner, *JNES* 15, p. 132, 4).

61 Lībil-ḥengalla is well known as a canal of Babylon from the inscriptions of the Chaldaean kings, who also designate it *palag šīt šamši*, this probably being its day-to-day name. Its course was dug out by Nebuchadnezzar II, whose cylinder inscription gives the details (I R 52, no. 4, i 11-ii 12):

^{id}li-bi-il-ḥé-gál pa-al-ga šīt ^ašamši ba-bi-lam^{ki} ša ul-tu u₄-um re-e-qú-tú in-na-mu-ú-ma šī-ih-ḥa-at eperi^{ba} iz-za-an-nu-ú-ma im-lu-ú sa-ki-ki a-ša-ar-ša aš-te-'e-ma ul-tu kišād ^{id}puratti a-di a-a-i-bu-úr-ša-bu-um i-na kupri ù agurri ab-na-a su-uk-ki-ša i-na a-a-i-bu-úr-ša-bu-um su-le-e ká.dingir.ra^{ki} a-na ma-aš-da-ḥa be-lī ra-bi-im ^amarduk ti-tu-úr pa-al-ga ak-šú-úr-ma ú-ša-an-di-il ta-al-la-ak-ti

As for Lībil-ḥengalla, the Eastern Canal of Babylon, which had long since been abandoned, becoming covered over with piles of debris and filled with silt, I sought out its bed and rebuilt its embankments in bitumen and baked brick from the bank of the Euphrates to Ay-ibūr-šabû. On Ay-ibūr-šabû, the Street of Babylon, I constructed a canal bridge for the procession road of the great lord Marduk, and broadened its roadway.

(Cf. Wadi Brisa A vii 54-63; B iv 11-20; etc.) Evidently Nebuchadnezzar's work was confined to the channel west of this bridge, and Neriglissar was obliged to continue where his predecessor had left off (I R 67, ii 6-11):

palag(pa₅) šīt ^ašamši ša šār ma-aḥ-ri ú-ša-aḥ-ru-ma la ib-na-a su-uk-ki-šu palga ú-ša-aḥ-ri-ma i-na ku-up-ri ù a-gur-ri ab-na-a su-uk-ki-šu mé-e nu-uḥ-šu la na-pa-ar-ku-ti ú-ki-in a-na māti

The Eastern Canal, which a previous king had dug out but had not built its embankments, (this) canal I dug out (again) and built its embankments in bitumen and baked brick: thus I provided for the land (a source of) unfailing waters of plenty.

The course of the canal is partly known, for Nebuchadnezzar tells us in another inscription (I R 57, vii 36-46: quoted below in the commentary on V 64) that it ran along the south side of the southern palace. And indeed, bricks from the embankment of the watercourse excavated in that location by Koldewey confirm this location, for they bear, in Aramaic script, the word *lhlh*, clearly an abbreviation of Lībil-ḥengalla (Koldewey, *MDOG* 4, pp. 2 and 13). The mouth of the excavated canal was catered for by gaps of only about 3 metres in the successive quay walls of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar, but away from the river defences the canal's bed was broader, measuring some 9 metres (see Koldewey, *WEB*⁴, p. 50; Bergamini, *Mesopotamia* 12, p. 117 and fig. 71).

From what Neriglissar says, it is clear that Lībil-ḥengalla was an important irrigation canal, taking water from the Euphrates through the eastern part of Babylon to the farmed land beyond. Shortly after passing under the bridge of Ay-ibūr-šabû it would have had to enter the quarter of Newtown, where it is perhaps the canal on whose bank stood the temple of Bēlet-Eanna, E-kituš-girzal, the eastern landmark of this quarter (see IV 22 and V 95, and commentary). An earlier name of this canal may have been Tutu-ḥengal, dug by Sīn-muballit (as recorded in his thirteenth year-name, mu ^{id}.⁴tu.tu.ḥé.gál mu.un.ba.al: Ungnad, *RIA* II, p. 167, 95), and known to have been in Newtown from a legal document from the reign of Samsuiluna, which calls it by an abbreviated name (é.dù.a ša uru^{ki}.gibil^{ki} ^autu.è gú ^{id}tu.tu: *VS* XXII 4, 1-3).

Lībil-ḥengalla perhaps left the city just north of the Zababa Gate, where a narrow outlet was provided in the city wall for the passage of a waterway (Bergamini, *Mesopotamia* 12, pp. 120 and 134, fig. 75). Somewhere beyond the city walls Lībil-ḥengalla would then very probably have run into the Bānītu Canal, which flowed between Babylon and Kiš (itself well attested in Neo- and Late Babylonian documents: see Unger, *Babylon*, p. 97ff., and above, on V 50). On the question of the identification of Lībil-ḥengalla and the “King’s Ditch” of a clay map fragment (as Unger, *Babylon*, p. 101f.), see above, p. 355.

62 The street shares its name with a deity, ⁴*i-šem-mi-še’-a-šū*, who appears in the offering calendar of Babylon followed by Allatu and Ninlil of Borsippa (*BRM* IV 25, 35 // *SBH* VII, 15 (var.: -šā): offerings on 10th Kislimu). We take the object of *išemme* as the transitive participle of *še’ū*, “to seek”, with *AHW*, p. 1223a, for “seeker” fits the context better than the alternative *šē’u*, “neighbour” (as Gurney, *Iraq* 36, p. 45): the idea is that the god will listen to, and grant, the prayer of one who takes pains to seek him out. With *sūqu rapšu* compare the parallel *sūqu qatnu* in the following line, and the commentary below.

63 This street occurred in a line of *Ludlul* III, but now survives only in the commentary, which explains it as the “Narrow Street” ([*ku-n*]u-uš-kād-ru = *sū-qī qat-nu*: *BWL*, p. 56, o), probably a direct quotation from the present line. There were many “narrow streets” in Babylon, of course, and *sūqu qatnu* appears commonly in late deeds as a property boundary (*VS* V 32, 4; 38, 7, 13 and 15; 39, 11; and passim). But in the present line *sūqu qatnu* probably appears as the everyday name of *Kunuš-kadru*, which is thus the “Narrow Street” par excellence: cf. the following line, where the epithet “Street of Babylon” is certainly the popular name of *Ay-ibūr-šabū*. Probably *Išemme-šē’āšu* and *Kunuš-kadru*, the “Wide” and the “Narrow Street”, go together as a pair. Indeed, *Kunuš-kadru* is also the name of a minor deity, who first appears in the Old Babylonian period in the personal name *Kunuš-kadru-gamil* (attested in two legal documents from Susa: *MDP* 22 106, 15; cf. 94, 15). He became one of the attendants of the god *Aššur* in E-šarra at *Aššur*, featuring in the *tākultu* rituals (⁴*ku-nu-uš-kad-ru*, *III R* 66 = Menzel, *AT* II, no. 54, i 28; *STT* 88 = *ibid.*, no. 58, i 33; *KAR* 214 = *ibid.*, no. 61, i 20), and listed in the *Götteradressbuch* as one of the gods “in the cella” of *Aššur* (⁴*gūr-kād-ri*, *KAV* 42 = *ibid.*, no. 64, i 11). According to a text which gives details of the duties of cultic personnel in E-šarra, one of the temple’s gates was named after this god (*bāb* ⁴*gūr-kād-ri*: Ebeling, *SVAT*, p. 24, VAT 13718 = Menzel, *AT* II, no. 22, ii 20); the gate appears again in the prayer *KAR* 122 as one of the entrances to *Aššur*’s cella, *é.ḥur.sa[g.(gal).kur.kur.ra]*, through which *Tašmētum* must pass to intercede for *Aššurbanipal* (rev. 7: *bāb* ⁴*gūr*^{us}-*k[ād-ri]*, following *pa-pa-ḥu ina e-r[e-bi-ki...]*). Elsewhere *Kunuš-kadru* is connected with the same temple’s Gate of the Firmament (Shrine List of E-šarra, no. 21, rev. 23’).

64 The identification of *Ay-ibūr-šabū*, the “Street of Babylon”, with the great paved road excavated by the German expedition (for a report see Koldewey, *WEB*⁴, Chapter 8), and which they found to lead south through the mound of Qasr, from the *Ištar* Gate along the east side of the southern palace, is assured by the inscription found on many of the limestone slabs retrieved from the road’s pavement (*WVDOG* 2, p. 1-3, ll. 3-5 = *VAB* IV, p. 198, Nbk 30):

su-le-e ba-bi-lu^{k1} a-na ša-da-ḥa be-li rabī⁴ marduk ina libitti aban šadī ú-ban-na-a tal-la-ak-ti

I (Nebuchadnezzar) beautified the roadway of the Street of Babylon with slabs of stone for the procession of the great lord Marduk.

The course of this street along the east side of the palace area is verified by the same king in longer inscriptions, in which he uses *Ay-ibūr-šabū* to define one of the four sides of his father’s palace (*I R* 57, vii 36-46):

ekallu bīt ta-ab-ra-a-ti ni-ši ma-ar-ka-sa māti ku-um-mu el-lam at-ma-ni, šar-ru-ti i-na er-se-ti ká.dingir.ra^{k1} ša qé-re-eb bābili(ká.dingir.ra)^{k1} iš-tu im-gur-⁴en-lil a-di li-bi-il-ḥé-gál-la pa-al-ga šīt⁴ šamši iš-tu kišād¹⁴ puratti a-di a-a-i-bur-ša-bu-ù

The palace (called) “House of the Wonder of the People”, the bond of the land, the pure abode, the royal apartment, (located) in the quarter Ka-dingirra in Babylon, (and stretching) from *Imgur-Enlil* to *Lībil-ḥengalla*, the Eastern Canal, and from the bank of the Euphrates to *Ay-ibūr-šabū*, (had become weak).

(Cf. *VS* I 38, ii 8-13.) A similar passage occurs in a cylinder inscription of *Neriglissar*, where the palace is described thus (*I R* 67, ii 15-18):

ekallu mu-ša-bu šar-ru-ti-ia ša er-se-ti ká.dingir.ra^{k1} ša qé-re-eb ba-bi-lam^{k1} iš-tu a-a-i-bu-úr-ša-bu-um su-le-e bābili(ká.dingir.ra)^{k1} a-di ki-ša-du¹⁴ puratti

The palace, my royal seat, which is in the quarter Ka-dingirra, in Babylon, (and stretches) from *Ay-ibūr-šabū*, the Street of Babylon, to the bank of the Euphrates, (was collapsing).

Nebuchadnezzar’s slab inscription, the first of the passages cited above, explains that the “Street of Babylon” was used for the processions of Marduk, and elsewhere he gives it the epithet *ú-ru-uḥ a-ki-ti*, “road to the Akītu (Temple)” (*Bahija Khalil*, *Sumer* 41, p. 35, 48). In another inscription, which gives details of his work on the *Lībil-ḥengalla* canal, the same king describes building a bridge over the canal “on *Ay-ibūr-šabū*, the Street of Babylon, for the procession road of the great lord Marduk” (*I R* 52, no. 4, quoted above, p. 357). Marduk’s Processional Way was naturally, in religious matters, the most important street of Babylon, and the kings of the Chaldaean dynasty did not fail to lavish attention on it. As Nebuchadnezzar II records in the East India House Inscription, his father, Nabopolassar, began the work (*I R* 55, v 12-20):

iš-tu du₆.kù ki.nam.tar.tar.re.e.dè pa-ra-ak ši-ma-a-ti a-di a-a-i-bur-ša-bu-um su-le-e bābili(ká.dingir.ra)^{k1} mi-iḫ-ra-at ká.sikil!(NIN) in libitti^{na4} tur-mi-na-bàn-da ma-aš-da-ḥa bēli rabī⁴ marduk ú-ba-an-na-a ta-al-lak-ti

From Du-ku Ki-namtartarrede, the Dais of Destinies, to Ay-ibūr-šabū, the Street of Babylon, opposite Ka-sikilla, (Nabopolassar) beautified the roadway, the procession-way of the great lord Marduk, with slabs of breccia.

Nabopolassar's efforts were thus confined to the initial section of the Processional Way, leading from the Dais of Destinies in E-sagil (for Du-ku see above, the commentary on II 17') to Ka-sikilla, probably the main entrance to the precinct of E-sagil (see below, the commentary on the E-sagil Tablet, line 15), at which point, evidently, Marduk's procession joined Ay-ibūr-šabū. The continuation of Nabopolassar's work, from Ka-sikilla to the Istar Gate, was taken in hand by his son (I R 56, v 38-54):

a-a-<i>-bu-ur-ša-bu-um su-le-e bābili(ká.dingir.ra)^{k1} a-na ma-aš-da-ḥa bēli rabī⁴ marduk ta-am-la-a za-aq-ru ú-ma-al-li-ma i-na libitti^{na4} tur-mi-na-bàn-da ú libitti^{na4} ši-ti-iq šadiⁱ a-a-i-bu-ur-ša-bu-ú iš-tu ká.sikil.la a-di iš₈-tár-sa-ki-pa-at-te-e-bi-ša a-na ma-aš-da-ḥa i-lu-ti-šu ú-da-am-mi-iq-ma it-ti ša a-bi i-pú-šu e-es-ni-iq-ma ú-ba-an-na-a ta-al-la-ak-ti

(On) Ay-ibūr-šabū, the Street of Babylon, I made a massive infilling for the procession-way of the great lord Marduk, and embellished it with slabs of breccia and mountain quarry-stone, from Ka-sikilla to Istar-sākipat-tēbīša, for his divine procession-way; I joined it with the part my father had treated, and beautified its roadway.

Oddly enough, in his Wadi Brisa inscription Nebuchadnezzar refers to this same stretch of the Processional Way, from the Istar Gate to Ka-sikilla, as Istar-lamassi-ummānīšu. This, in *Tintir*, is the Street of the Istar Gate, through which the Processional Way passed, and it would appear that at least the northern section of the Processional Way went by two names (on this see further V 70 and commentary).

The "massive infilling" of the Processional Way led to such an increase in its elevation that Nebuchadnezzar had no alternative but to raise to a comparable level much of the street's surroundings. As he himself records, the twin gateways of the Istar Gate were now too low because of the new height of the Street of Babylon (I R 56, v 55-vi 21: quoted above, p. 339). The same inscription reveals that Nebuchadnezzar was obliged to rebuild Nabopolassar's palace, not only because its foundations had been weakened by floods, but also because its gates, too, were now well below street level (I R 57, vii 51-56):

i-na me-e mi-lum i-ši-id-sa i-ni-iš-ma i-na ta-am-le-e su-le-e bābili(ká.dingir.ra)^{k1} ša ekalli ša-a-tim iš-ta-ap-pi-la bābātu-ša

Its foundations had become weak on account of the flood waters, and the gates of that palace had become too low through the infilling of the Street of Babylon.

Given this sequence of rebuilding operations, it is plain that the filling and repaving of Ay-ibūr-šabū, and, no doubt, also the construction of the canal bridge together with the attendant clearing of the Libil-ḥengalla (for this work, see above, on V 61), preceded the reconstruction of the Istar Gate and the southern palace. It may also have ante-dated the rebuilding of E-maḥ, the temple of Bēlet-ilī (Ninmaḥ), which stood (and now stands again, reconstructed by the Iraqi Directorate of Antiquities) just inside the Istar Gate, across the Processional Way from the southern palace (for the rebuilding of this temple by Nebuchadnezzar II, see the commentary on IV 18).

The sole mention of Ay-ibūr-šabū outside *Tintir* and royal inscriptions is in a fragment of a ritual tablet from Kuyunjik, text no. 41 (82-3-23, 100, l. 1').

65 The restoration of this broken line is conjectural; cf. the name of the throne-dais *Ṭāb šillašu* (V 44). The reference is to Marduk in his role of protector of those who cannot protect themselves. The word *ulālu* is a synonym of *enšu*, "weakling" (TCS IV, p. 213, 51: commentary on *Šumma izbu*), and of *dunnamū*, "simpleton" (*Malku* IV 47-48 = *LTBA* II 1, xii 78-79). It occurs as one of many words for people of lowly estate, or in distressed circumstances (see Lambert in *BWL*, p. 18¹).

65-66 The order of these lines is reversed in MS A.

66 The first part of the name of this street is the kind of rhetorical question found in certain personal names (e.g. in Old Akkadian, Mannum-kī-Šulgi, "Who is like Šulgi?": cf. Stamm, *Namengabung*, pp. 84f., 237f.), but it is not clear how the broken second half of the line can be tied in with what precedes it; indeed, MS A seems not to have room for more than *ki-'i* [^aamar.utu].

67 According to Nebuchadnezzar II's Wadi Brisa inscription, this street, described as the "wide street, thoroughfare of Nabû", that is, the Processional Way of Nabû, was, like the Processional Way of Marduk, built up with a "massive infilling", and embellished with "bitumen and baked brick" (the relevant passage, A vii 43-53, is quoted below in the commentary on V 70, as also is a brick of Nebuchadnezzar which commemorates the same work). That the Street of the Uraš Gate should be named after Nabû is, of course, accountable to the fact that Nabû's procession from Borsippa entered the city by this gate (see p. 337). Four Late Babylonian contracts deal with properties along the "thoroughfare" (*mūtaqu*) of Nabû and Nanāy, and this is probably the procession street of the present line. While three of them describe the street as *sūqu lā ašē*, "cul-de-sac" (*VS* V 64, 2-3; 78, 2-3; 84, 2), another refers to it as *sūqu rapšu*, "a wide street" (*ibid.*, 82, 2). As Unger explained (*Babylon*, p. 110), the part of Nabû's Processional Way which is a cul-de-sac must be its final stretch, leading only to Nabû's entrance into E-sagil (this being, as the Wadi Brisa inscription notes, the terminus for Nabû-dayyān nišīšu). Nearer the Uraš

Gate, where the steet would be a popular as well as a religious thoroughfare, leading to the roads to Borsippa and Dilbat, it would no doubt fit the description "wide street".

Nabû is not commonly described, as in the name of his procession street, as a judge, but it is not unknown for him to exercise such a function. In a prayer he is the "judge who advises (the gods) his fathers" ([*d*]a-a-a-nu ma-li-ki abb^{mes}-šû, Durand, *Documents cunéiformes* I, pl. 122, no. 341, obv. 7), while in the cylinder inscription of Nabû-šuma-imbî, a governor of Borsippa in the eighth century, he is "judge of the gods" ([*da*]yyān (di.ku₂) il^{mes}, Lambert, *JAOS* 88, p. 125, i 10). No doubt *da-i-nu di-ni[m]*, "who passes judgement", is also an epithet of his in the fragmentary Nabû hymn BM 47910 (Lambert, *Matouš Festschrift* II, p. 80, 3').

68 The Street of the Zababa Gate no doubt took the Kiš road from the Zababa Gate to the centre of the city. It is aptly named, for Zababa is a god of battle, described by Nebuchadnezzar II as the "lord whose weapon cannot be withstood, whose battle is mighty" (*za-ba₄-ba₄ be-li ša kak-ka-šu la im-mah-ḥa-ar qā-bal-šu da-nūm*: PBS XV 79, iii 86-87). His position as warlike god par excellence is reflected in the syncretistic list BM 47406, where *za-ba₄-ba₄* = *marduk ša ta-ḥa-zi* (CT 24 50, obv. 5).

69 As noted above (p. 339) the insistence of previous editors on reading *abul gi-[iṣ-šu]* at the end of this line is based on a misreading of MS A, which has, in fact, *abul* ^aam[ar.utu] (the only other surviving source for the line's end is MS t: *abul* ^a[...]).

While this street is named after Marduk because it served the Marduk Gate, we must note the possibility that it was used as a procession road of Nergal, who may have arrived at the Marduk Gate on his way from Kutha. The Marduk Gate marked the boundary between the adjacent quarters of Kullab and TE.E^{ki} (see V 96-97), and in Neo- and Late Babylonian times deeds attest to the existence of a street called the "thoroughfare of Nergal of Joy", which passed through both quarters (*mūtaq Nergal ša ḥadē*: references collected by Unger, *Babylon*, p. 113, to which add CT 55 179, 3, and 51 80 = Nemet-Nejat, *LBFP*, p. 87; with Nergal *ša ḥadē* cf. the god list CT 24 41, ix 70, where is listed *u.gur ša ri-ša-ti*, "Nergal of Jubilation"). It may be that Nergal's procession, the goal of which may have been the temple of Lugalirra (perhaps in Kullab: see p. 223), made use of the Street of the Marduk Gate, and thus that the "thoroughfare of Nergal of Joy" is another name for Marduk-rē'i-mātīšu.

70 Nebuchadnezzar II's work on this street, and on the Street of the Uraš Gate (V 67), is told in the Wadi Brisa inscription (A vii 43-53):

ištu ^aištar(inanna)-sa-ki-pat-te-e-bi-šû a-di ká.sikil.lu ^aištar-^alamassi-ummānī^{mes}-šû
sūqu rapšu(sila.dagal.la) *mu-taq bēli rabī* ^amarduk *ištu ik-kib-šû-na-ka-ar a-di né-reb*
^anabû é.sag.íl ^anabû-dayyān-ni-ši-šû *sūqu rapšu mu-taq mār rubē* ^ana[bû] *tam-la-a zaq-*
ru ú-ma-ll[i] 'i-na ku-up-ru ú a-gu[r-rī] ú-da-me-eq [tal-lak-ta]

From Ištar-sākipat-tēbīšu to Ka-sikilla, Ištar-lamassi-ummānīšu, the wide street, the thoroughfare of the great lord Marduk; (and) from Ikkibšu-nakar to Nabû's entrance into E-sagil, Nabû-dayyān-ni-šīšu, the wide street, the thoroughfare of the Son of the Prince, Nabû, (on these stretches of road) I made a massive infilling, and embellished [their roadway] with bitumen and baked brick.

The same construction work is also the subject of a brick inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, according to which Nabopolassar began the task of repaving the two streets (Koldewey, *WEB*⁴, p. 54, fig. 37 = Weissbach, *MDOG* 9, p. 11f.):

^anabû-kudurrī-ú-šur šār ká.dingir.ra^{ki} za-ni-in é.sag.íl {ù è} ù é.zi.da mār ^anabû-apla-ú-šur šār [ká.dingir.ra^{ki}] su-qa-a-ti ba-bi-lam^{ki} ma-al-da-ḥa ^anabû ù ^amarduk bēl^{mes}-e-a ša ^anabû-apla-ú-šur šār ká.dingir.ra^{ki} abu ba-n[u]-ú-a i-na kupri ù agurri ú-da-am-mi-iq ta-al-la-ak-ti ia-ti en-qu mu-ut-né-en-nu-ú pa-liḥ bēlu-ti-[šû-nu] e-li kupri ù agurri tam-la-a dan-nu i-na eperī^{ha} el-lu-ti ú-ma-al-li i-na kupri ù agurri ki-ma me-ti-qu ša-qí-i ú-dan-nin qē-reb-ši-in ^anabû ù ^amarduk i-na su-qa-a-ti ši-na-a-ti ḥa-di-iš i-na ša-da-ḥi-ku-un dam-qā-tu-ú-a li-iš-šak-nu šap-ti-ku-un ba-la-aṭ u₄-um ru-qu-ti ṭab ši-ri 'ḥu-ud lib'-bi [i]-na ma-ḥa-ri-ku-nu qer-reb-bu-uš-šû-nu a-ta-lu-ku lu-la-ab-bi-ir a-na da-ra-a-ti

I, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who provides for E-sagil and E-zida, son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon — as for the streets of Babylon, the procession roads of my lords Nabû and Marduk, of which Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, my father who begot me, had embellished the roadways with bitumen and baked brick, I myself, being wise and virtuous, and revering their lordship, made a mighty infilling of clean earth on top of the bitumen and baked brick. I reinforced them on the inside with (more) bitumen and baked brick, like a high causeway. O Nabû and Marduk, when you joyfully go in procession along those streets, may blessings for me be on your lips, and may I, in ever walking along them before you, (thus) prolong for eternity (my) life of long days, good health and happiness!

(Cf. also a newly published inscription, Bahija Khalil, *Sumer* 41, p. 35, according to which Nebuchadnezzar's work took place in stages: the first two raised both streets by 6 and then 18 cubits, a third elevated Ištar-lamassi-ummānīšu only by a further 17, giving a total rise for Marduk's procession road of 41 cubits, about 20 m.) As the prayer which concludes the brick reveals, the Processional Ways were not only special to their divine travellers, but also to the king who accompanied the gods in procession. In Late Babylonian contracts one comes across the expression *mūtaq ili u šarri*, "thoroughfare of god and king", describing streets which were evidently used as procession roads (in Babylon see, e.g., VS V 96, 5; in Kiš, Borsippa and Uruk see CAD M/2, p. 298, for references).

The passage of the Wadi Brisa inscription quoted in the preceding paragraphs demonstrates that Nebuchadnezzar considered the procession roads of Nabû and Mar-

duk to be the principal religious streets of the city. The procession road of Nabû led from the Uraš Gate, Ikkibšu-nakar, to Nabû's entrance into E-sagil, and is named as Nabu-dayyān-nišišu, this being, in *Tintir*, the Street of the Uraš Gate (see V 67 and commentary). The procession road of Marduk is called, in the Wadi Brisa inscription, Ištar-lamassi-ummānīšu, which according to the present line is also known as the Street of the Ištar Gate. Its termini are stated by Nebuchadnezzar to be the Ištar Gate, Ištar-sākipat-tēbiša, and Ka-sikilla. As documented in the commentary on V 64, this same stretch of road is also known, in inscriptions of the same king, as Ay-ibūr-šabû. In Neo-Babylonian times, then, the procession road of Marduk, along its entire length from the E-sagil temple complex (where Ka-sikilla was located) to the city walls, could be known by either of two names. At some earlier time, however, there was probably a distinction between Ay-ibūr-šabû and Ištar-lamassi-ummānīšu, for the present text lists them separately. One might suppose that when *Tintir* was compiled the Processional Way of Marduk was less of a whole, and that at the city centre it was known as Ay-ibūr-šabû, the Street of Babylon, while the less ancient stretch nearer the city wall was called Ištar-lamassi-ummānīšu, Street of the Ištar Gate. Perhaps only when Nabopolassar and his successor rebuilt the Processional Way along its entire stretch, giving it, one might imagine, a uniformity of appearance which it did not possess in earlier times, did the distinction between the two names become blurred, resulting in their synonymous usage by Nebuchadnezzar (cf. Unger, *Babylon*, p. 111).

71 The name of the street which led to the Enlil Gate is again appropriate: Enlil, as a long-standing King of the Gods, is also responsible for the selection and approval of mortal kings. "His kingship" is that which he confers on Babylon and its ruler, the kingship of the land. There may also be an allusion to the transfer of divine kingship from Enlil to Marduk as it is symbolized in the Creation Epic, where Enlil relinquishes his royal title Bēl-mātāti, "Lord of the Lands", to confirm the supremacy of his successor (*Enūma eliš* VII 136). The southern terminus of Enlil's street was probably his temple, Enamtila, in the quarter Kumar (IV 34).

72 The name of this street, which led not to a "Sin Gate" (so Unger, but see the commentary on V 54) but to the King's Gate, makes an allusion to the fact that Sin, the moon, is *bēl agē*, "lord of the crown", an epithet attested for him from the Middle Babylonian period (in royal inscriptions and literary texts: see the references collected by CAD A/1, p. 154f.). Sennacherib gave the Sin Gate of Nineveh an almost identical name: *ananna-ru mu-kin* (var. *na-šir*) *agē be-lu-ti-ia*, "The Moon is the Establisher/Protector of my Lordly Crown" (CT 26 32, 91 // Thompson, *Iraq* 7, p. 90, 28).

MS A's *nam.lugal.la-šû* for *bēlūtīšu* is evidently dittography from the previous line.

73 The street's name probably makes a play on the word *mušazninu*, which is a possible form from *zanānu*, "to rain", and *zanānu*, "to provision". Adad is a god who can do

both: as one who supervises irrigation (*gû-gal ša-me-e û er-se-tim*, "canal inspector of heaven and underworld": CH xxvii 65-66), and accordingly brings fertility to arable land, Adad can be said to provide food for the country; as a storm-god he brings what little rain falls in the land. A famous example of paronomasia involving the same words occurs in the story of the Deluge, in the ambiguous phrases with which Ut-napišti must warn the people of the imminent catastrophe (Gilgameš XI 46-47; 87 and 90).

For the suggested route of Adad's street see the commentary on V 99.

74 A "wide street of the Šamaš Gate" (*šila.dagal ká.gal ʿutu*) occurs in a royal inscription, perhaps of Nabonidus (CT 37 21, BM 38346, rev. 1), but it is arguable whether the topographical context is Babylon (see above, on V 56).

Šamaš, who daily travels the limits of the earth, is a god especially able to afford protection to an army on the march, for no matter how remote the campaign nothing is beyond his sight (cf. TCL III 416: Sargon; Ball, *PSBA* 11, p. 124f., iii 19-22: Nebuchadnezzar II).

75 Cf. the three throne-daises called Kurub-lišme in V 15-17. This name is perhaps that of a minor deity, comparable with Išemme-šē'āšu and Kunuš-kadru, and perhaps others among the streets of II. 62-66. As it stands the second half of the line is probably corrupt, and would appear to be lacking in MS A, where *ku-ru-u[b]* occupies the entire first half of the line, and [*liš-me-(ka)*] alone is expected in the second.

76 This street may be named after the last king of the First Isin Dynasty, who may have exercised a brief control over Babylon (see above, on IV 38). Hallo and Landberger's objection that the street cannot refer to this king because the name is written without personal or divine determinative (*JNES* 18, p. 58⁴⁴) may be valid for an Old Babylonian text but cannot be upheld in the late period, especially in the present text: in the lists of daises and streets in *Tintir* V determinatives are commonly omitted, particularly in the case of minor divine figures (Lūmur-dīnšu, Ukkumu, Išemme-šē'āšu, Kunuš-kadru).

77 The Akkadian reading is provided by *Lu* Excerpt II 115 (*MSL* XII, p. 107): *e.sir ka.limmu.ba = su-qi er-bet-ti*.

78 For *sebettu* see the article of Jean, *RA* 21, p. 93ff., who equates them with the seven sons of Enmešarra. There may, however, be more than one Divine Heptad. One set are gods of war, invoked by Esarhaddon in the curse section of the treaty with Tyre (Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 109, iv 5: *se-bet-te ilū^{mes} qar-du-te ina ʿis^{is}kakkē^{mes} šū-nu [...]-ku-nu liš-kun*, "May the Divine Heptad, the warlike gods, bring about your [(demise)] with their weapons"), and by the same king in the introduction to a building inscription (*ibid.*, p. 79, 12: *sebettu(imin.bi) ilū^{mes} qar-du-ti ta-me-ḥu til-pa-nu u uš-ši [ša i]i-bu-šū-nu tam-ḥa-ru ša-āš-mu*, "the Divine Heptad, the warlike gods who grasp bow and arrow, whose onslaught

is battle and combat"). In the Erra Epic they become agents of Erra, god of war and pestilence, created for him by Anu and given to him to serve as his "fierce weapons" (^g*is*³*kakk*^{mes} *ez-zu-ti*: see I 28-44; for the Sebettu in the poem of Erra, see now Bottéro, *Annuaire*, École pratique des hautes études, IV^e Section (1977-78), pp. 111 and 154).

In astronomical texts a Divine Heptad appears in the guise of the Pleiades (Astrolabe B: *KAV* 218, A i 12 and 19).

79 The Divine Twins may here be Lugalirra and Meslamtaea, who are found so named in an apotropaic ritual (*BBR* no. 42, 2 = Gurney, *AAA* 22, p. 62: [én ^a*lugal-ir₉-ra* ^a*mes-lam-ti*]a-è-a ^a*māšu*(*maš.tab.ba*) *ilū^{mes}* *ki-lal-la-an*). Like the Sebettu of the preceding line, Lugalirra and Meslamtaea are gods of warlike propensities, belonging to the court of gods around Nergal, and are thus probably to be identified with the Divine Twins who are associated with death and destruction in omen apodoses (e.g. *Afo* 22, p. 60, 42-43).

Two sets of Divine Twins are found as constellations in the star lists. These are the Greater Twins, Lugalirra and Meslamtaea (secondarily explained as *Sin* and Nergal in one text, and probably to be identified with our Castor and Pollux: Gössmann, *ŠL* IV/2, no. 268); and the Lesser Twins, Alammuš and Ningublaga (explained as ^a*igi.du* and Ningublaga):

<i>mul.maš.tab.ba gal.gal.la</i>	= ^a <i>lugal-ir₉-ra</i> u ^a <i>mes-lam-ta-è-a</i> ^a <i>sîn</i> u ^a <i>nergal</i> (u.gur)
<i>mul.maš.tab.ba tur.tur</i>	= ^a <i>alammuš</i> u ^a <i>nin-gublaga</i> ^a <i>igi.du</i> u ^a <i>nin-gublaga</i> (<i>V R</i> 46, no. 1, obv. 4-7)
[<i>mul</i>]. ^a <i>maš.tab.ba</i> gal.gal	= ^a <i>lugal-ir₉-ra</i> u ^a <i>mes-lam-ta-è-a</i>
[<i>mul</i> . ^a <i>maš.tab.b</i>]a tur.tur	= ^a <i>alammuš</i> u ^a <i>nin-gublaga</i> (<i>CT</i> 33 1, i 5-6)

Another astrological text, the explanatory list K 2067, contrives to make the number of constellations of divine pairs up to the mystic number of seven (*CT* 26 45, 11-15):

<i>mul.maš.tab.ba gal.gal</i>
<i>mul.maš.tab.ba tur.tur</i>
<i>mul.maš.tab.ba šā ina meḥret^{et}</i> <i>mul.sipa.zi. <an> .na izzazzu^{zu}</i>
<i>mul.nin.šar mul.ēr.ra.gal</i>
<i>mul.^ašullat mul.ḥaniš</i>
<i>mul.šar.ur₄ ^ašār.gaz</i>
<i>mul.zi.ba.an.na</i>
7 <i>ma-a-šū</i>

The Greater Twins, the Lesser Twins, the Twins who are stationed opposite Orion, Ninšar and Erragal, Šullat and Ḥaniš, Šarur and Šargaz, and Libra: 7 (sets of) Twins.

80 Understanding the beginning of this line seems also to have been a problem for the ancients, and it would appear corrupt. There is a proliferation of variant readings, where it seems the various copyists have tried to edit some sense into it. MS r is not familiar with other sources' *tāssu/tāšu* and tries the altogether different *tar-ba-as-s[u?]*, "its fold". We have provisionally understood *ḥu-ud-da* as *ḥuddi*, II/1 impt. of *ḥadû*. Forms from *ḥaṭātu*, "to excavate" (cf. *ḥu-ut-ta-a-ma*, its I/1 impt. in *CT* 34 32, 67: Nabonidus), and *ḥuddudu*, "to cut deep", are not impossible, and are perhaps what MS A (*ḥu-DU-UD*) has in mind, but give no obviously better sense.

81 The street's name refers to Marduk's extraordinary hearing ability. The designation of this, the last street of the list, as the Street of Marduk suggests that it formed part of his procession road, otherwise known as *Ay-ibūr-šabû* and *Ištar-lamassi-ummānīšu*, q.v.

82 This line begins the section which summarizes the sacred and topographical features of Babylon. The statistics presented in this section do not always agree with the foregoing lists, and this is a problem which is discussed above, p. 13. The 43 *maḥāzu*'s of this line, however, are clearly the 43 temples listed in Tablet IV, a correlation which was first demonstrated by Moran, *AnBi* 12, p. 257f.

84 This line summarizes the topographical features of the city, listed in full in ll. 49-81 of this tablet (see further p. 13). *kirḥu* is a word which first appears in north Mesopotamia in the Old Babylonian period and then at Nuzi. There used apparently to denote a fortified inner town or citadel, it came to be a literary word for "city wall", as found here and in the synonym list *Malku* I, where it is listed along with other such words (A.D. Kilmer, *JAOS* 83, p. 428f., 236-239b):

<i>ki-ir-ḥu</i>	= <i>du-u-ru</i>
<i>a-maḥ-ḥu</i>	= MIN
<i>e-ma-ri</i>	= MIN
<i>ku-uš-ḥa-ru</i>	= MIN
<i>a-du-uš-šū</i>	= MIN
<i>a-du-ú</i>	= MIN
<i>šul-ḥu-ú</i>	= MIN

85 The figures of this line reflect a tradition in which the gods of heaven numbered 300 and the gods of underworld, 600. This tradition is also found in the litany *SBH* 50, rev.

24-25 and duplicates (cited by Falkenstein, *AS* 16, p. 130), where both sets of gods are called Anunnaki (composite text, *SBH* IV, 155-58):

^aa.nun.na an.na mu.uš.iá.bi
^aa-nun-na-ki šá šamê 5 šu-ši
^aa.nun.na ki.a mu.uš.u.bi
^aa-nun-na-ki šá eršetim^{tim} né-e-er-šú

Closer to the present line as regards terminology is a line interpolated into the Creation Epic (*Enūma eliš* VI 69):

5.giš ^ai-gi-gi šá šá-ma-[m]i u giš.u šá apsi [k]alu-šú-nu paḥ-ru

The 300 Igigi of heaven and the 600 of Apsû were all assembled.

Here the 600 gods of the Apsû are certainly the Anunnaki, who are often written ^agis.u (i.e. "the 600 gods"): in the later periods the Anunnaki dwelt below the earth, while the Igigi resided in heaven (on the numbers and place of the two sets of gods see Kienast, *AS* 16, p. 142ff., and *RIA* V, p. 40ff.). A separate tradition is maintained in the Creation Epic according to which Marduk divides the gods, in this case the 600 Anunnaki, equally between the domain of Anu, the heavens, and the underworld (VI 39-44), a division whereby, of course, 300 reside in each.

The throne-daises of the Igigi and Anunnaki are perhaps simply the sanctuaries E-dur-kuga and E-ka-gula, which, while appearing in the temple list (IV 28-29), are nevertheless described in exactly these terms. The numbers given in the present line are perhaps only theological allusions rather than practical statistics. Shrines of the Igigi and Anunnaki are also known in E-sagil (II 17-18 and 25).

86-88 This section deals with minor shrines, none of which is listed in the extant text. However, the tradition in which Babylon is well equipped with outdoor shrines of Ištar and "stations" of Lugalirra and Meslamtaea — as well as being a meeting place for the Igigi and Anunnaki (cf. the previous line) — is also found in an inscription of Nabopolassar. The passage describes the city and its wall, Imgur-Enlil, in terms which very probably allude to *Tintir* V 85-86 (al-Rawi, *Iraq* 47, p. 10, ii 13-17):

tarbašu šum-du-lu ša ^ai-gi₄-gi₄ ki-sal-lu pal-ka-a ša ^aa-nun-na-ki mé-let ša-ma-mi sim-mi-lat ga-an-šir na-an-za-az ^alugal-ir₉-ra ù ^ames-lam-ta-è ib-rat šá ^aištar šar-rat ra-bi-tim

Spacious fold of the Igigi, roomy courtyard of the Anunnaki, place of ascent to heaven and stair down to Ganšir (the entrance to Hades), station of Lugalirra and Meslamtaea, outdoor shrine of the great queen Ištar.

Some, if not all, of the cultic structures summarized in these lines of *Tintir* were, one imagines, very probably to be found on street corners or in the gates of temples, and were

perhaps the places of worship of the populace, who were barred entry to the grander sanctuaries. The designation ub.lil.lá, literally "niche in the open air", itself suggests an outdoor shrine. That the public worshipped at such places is suggested by a Sumerian proverb in which a man complains that his womenfolk are letting him starve, his sister being at the ub.lil.lá and his mother at the river (washing laundry, one supposes; the proverb reads nin₉.mu ub.lil.lá nam.me.a ama.mu id.da nam.ga.me.àm šagar.da ba.ug₇.e.dè.en.e.še, E.I. Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs*, Collection I 142). These open air shrines (Akk. *ibratu*) apparently comprised two main parts, the *ibratu* itself, that is, the shrine as a whole, and its *nēmedu*, the pedestal on which the representation of the deity would be placed: this is shown by passages of *Šurpu* which invoke the curse of the "shrine and its seat" (III 83, *ib-re-ti ù nē-me-di-šá*; VIII 48, *ib-ra-tum ù nē-me-di-šá*). In the commentary on the same text these two items are explained as the "throne-daises of Babylon" (*ma-a parakkū^{mes} šá ká.dingir^{ki} [šū-nu]*: *KAR* 94, 56), and this supports the idea that such shrines were to be found in public places, for it is known that cultic "throne-daises" were located at temple gates and other accessible spots throughout the city (see above, p. 12). That Ištar was particularly worshipped at open-air shrines can be seen not only by their great number (they outnumber the throne-daises of Marduk by more than three to one) but in addition by her title "Lady of the Open-Air Shrine" (*CT* 24 33, v 35 // *KAV* 145, 3: ^anin^{be-let} *ib-ra[t-ti]*). Both considerations speak for the great popularity enjoyed by this universally revered goddess among ordinary folk, who took no part in the 'official' temple cults.

The *manzāzu* of a god is the standing-place of his statue. This could either be a temporary location (as in the Anu Temple ritual from Uruk, where the images of the gods are arranged "at their stations" before Anu and Antu: Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, p. 72, obv. 18), or it could be a permanent fixture, a socle or pedestal supporting a divine statue, and as such could be found inside a temple, at its gate, or elsewhere (a little topographical information on *manzāzu*'s in E-sagil can be gleaned from *Tintir* II 25'-34'; apart from those and the "stations" of the present lines one may also note the shrines of the *Asakku*-Demon listed in *KAR* 142, obv. ii 1-10, quoted above, p. 285, which are described both as *parakkū^{mes}* and as *KUR.gub^{mes} = manzāzū(ki!.gub)^{mes}*?, and located mainly at temple gates). The *manzāzu* thus serves much the same purpose as the *šubtu* or *nēmedu* (strictly the 'sitting-place' of a god: see above, p. 10). We can only speculate as to the locations of the large numbers of "stations" in the present summary. *CAD* M/1, p. 235, states that the *manzāzu*'s of Lugalirra and Meslamtaea listed here were "on the processional street", without giving further evidence. The writer cannot verify this, but one might imagine the Street of the Divine Twins (V 79) to have been embellished in this way, just as the Street of the Divine Heptad might be supposed to be the site of the 12 *manzāzu*'s listed for these gods in line 87.

As to the gods whose statues occupied these many *manzāzu*'s, it is interesting to observe that none of them is particularly well-known as a cultic figure, either at Babylon or elsewhere. What distinguishes them is, on the one hand, a demonic character (*Kūbu*,

Ilu-lemnu and Rābiš-āli), or, on the other, an astral association (Lugalirra and Meslamtaea being the Greater Twins, the Sebettu being the Pleiades (see above, on V 78 and 79), and the Rainbow Star being identified with Absinnu, part of Virgo, or with Venus: *CAD* M/1, p. 231f.). If these *manzāzu*'s were, like the *parakku*'s, distributed throughout the city in places to which the public had access, this may indicate that the worship of demonic and astral figures was rather more a feature of everyday religious life than the cultic literature of the 'official' state religion would have us believe. In this regard we may note the surprising popularity in the second millennium of Kūbu, the deified stillborn child and a demon thus associated with childbirth (see Römer, *Festschrift Böhl*, p. 310ff.; Lambert, *RIA* VI, p. 265). This popularity, to which is witness a large number of theophoric personal names compounded with the name of this demon as the divine element, is reflected in the 'official' cult only at Aššur (in the Middle Assyrian ritual, *KAR* 154 = Menzel, *AT* II, no. 2, rev. 10'-11'; in the metrological tablet Assur 19763 = Weidner, *Afo* 8, p. 43, rev. 7'; and in the Götteradressbuch, *KAV* 42, obv. ii 4 and 9 = *ibid.*, no. 64, 55 and 60. All three texts associate Kūbu with the double temple of Anu and Adad).

Lugalirra and Meslamtaea occur again as a pair in Babylon in the shrine list of E-rab-ri, in which they occupy a *šubtu* by the name of E-melam-ḥuš (no. 12, K 2107+6086, rev. iii 15'). The Archive of Mystic Heptads describes Meslamtaea as "Nergal of Babylon" (*KAR* 142, rev. iii 28: *mes-lam-ta-è-a* = *u.gur ša tin.tir^{ki}*), but such theological speculation need not reflect cultic actuality. However, it appears that a cult of Lugalirra was established at Babylon in the late period. *Tintir* makes no mention of his sanctuary, but a temple of Lugalirra appears among those of the quarter Kullab in the Late Babylonian administrative tablet, no. 38 (BM 77433, 13), and in a Neo-Babylonian letter, where it is the area of origin of the family of a man freed from service and dedicated to Bēl (*ABL* 877, obv. 11). Both documents write the divine name *lugal-ir-ra*, an orthography which also appears in *Tintir* IV 33 (MS i) in the name of the quarter Bāb-Lugalirra. In addition, the *lugal-AN-ra* of MS y in the present line is more convincingly an error for *lugal-ir-ra* than for *lugal-ir₉-ra*. Indeed, the former orthography is an established variant writing of the divine name, with which one may compare the Emesal form *umun.ir.ra* (on this and other writings which argue for a name Lugalirra against Lugalirra, see now Lambert, *RIA* VII, p. 143). The writing *lugal-ir-ra* draws attention to an interpretation of the divine name Lugalirra as "King Erra". Both Lugalirra and Erra belonged to Nergal's circle, and were at times identified with him. But whether the former was "King Erra" by origin, or only later through etymological speculation, is unclear. Lugalirra's temple at Babylon was perhaps the terminus of the "thoroughfare of Nergal of Joy", a street also absent from *Tintir* (on which see p. 362).

89-90 This bilingual line, which with the following one seems to serve as an introduction to the section listing the quarters of the city, accords Babylon a traditional epithet of the kind collected in Tablet I. With the Sumerian compare the phrase (ki).SA₇.ALAM, which

has been comprehensively documented by Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 68f. Noting the correspondence of SA₇.ALAM to *nabnītu* and *bunnannū* in lexical and bilingual texts, Sjöberg came to the conclusion that ki.SA₇.ALAM "means 'place where something has been made (created) and given its distinctive or identifying features'." Against this view, which is in line with the general consensus of opinion, is the idea put forward by Landsberger, in *WO* 3, p. 77, that the phrase means "hervorstechende Platz". Especially revealing, however, is the use of the phrase in the Collection of Sumerian Temple Hymns to describe the city of Keš (*TCS* III, p. 22, 87: *kēš^{ki} uru₁₂ SA₇.ALAM an.ki*, "O Keš, artfully-built, the birth-(place) of heaven and underworld" — on *uru₁₂(EN)* = *naklu* see the commentary below on line 2' of the Nippur Temple List, no. 19 — note SA₇.ALAM used without *ki* but nevertheless describing a locality, as in the present line). Keš, being a city of Ninḥursag, the Mother Goddess, is naturally a place where creation takes place. The use of the epithet SA₇.ALAM for Keš is paralleled by a title of the Mother Goddess, "Lady of Birth" (ama *nin.tu nin.SA₇.ALAM.ma*, *TCS* III, p. 46, 500; cf. in Akkadian the epithet *bēlet nabnīti*, used of Bēlet-ilī by Sennacherib and Esarhaddon: *OIP* 2, p. 117, 3; Wiseman, *Vassal Treaties* 437). ki.SA₇.ALAM is found describing a temple of Ninisinna in a hymn to that goddess from Old Babylonian Nippur (*SRT* 6, iii 16 and 24 // 7, 27 and 35), while in the mythological introduction to the Sumerian dispute of Laḥar and Ašnan it is an epithet used of Du-kuga, a cosmological location where the gods were imagined to dwell, at the point in the story when the Anunnaki invent the two protagonists for their greater eating pleasure (Alster and Vanstiphout, *Acta Sum* 9, p. 16, 26-27): *u₄.ba ki.SA₇.ALAM dingir.re.e.ne.kam é.bi du₆.kù.ga laḥar ašnan.bi mu.un.sa₇.eš.ām*, "Then, in the birth-place of the gods, in that house, Du-kuga, they made Laḥar and Ašnan grow" (for a later interpretation of these lines in an incantation, see below). Here the "birth-place" of the gods is perhaps both the place where they were created (by An, earlier in the story), and the place where they themselves create.

If we are justified in assuming that SA₇.ALAM in the Sumerian half of the present line is to be understood as ki.SA₇.ALAM, "birth-place", as in the Collection of Sumerian Temple Hymns, the line stands parallel to I 30, where Babylon is the "creator of god and man" (see further the commentary, ad loc.)

Turning to the Akkadian translation of the present line we note that SA₇.ALAM corresponds to *bunnannū*, "face". This is an equation well known in lexical texts, alongside SA₇.ALAM = *nabnītu*, "creation" (*MSL* XVI, p. 50, *Nabnītu* I 1-2; Goetze, *JAOS* 65, p. 225, 68-69 = *Diri* VI E 87-88; *Igituḥ* I 397-98). Babylon as "face of the great gods" makes no good sense, of course, and it may be that the Sumerian has been translated mechanically without regard to meaning. However, there does appear to be some evidence that *bunnannū* developed a secondary meaning, perhaps through its association with SA₇.ALAM and *nabnītu*, in which it has less to do with created form ("face", "appearance") than with the means by which this came into existence ("growth"). Accordingly Sargon II describes the gardens of Dūr-Šarrukēn as *bu-un-na-an-*

né-e āli-šú (TCL III, 223 + KAH II 141) where the word refers to the fact that things grow there (against CAD's "features of his city" which is a trick of English: B, p. 318). A closer parallel to the present line is found in *Utukkū lemnūtu*, which quotes and translates the lines of Laḥar and Ašnan cited earlier (CT 16 14, iv 28-31):

[u₄.b]a.a ki.SA₇.ALAM^{BI} dingir.re.e.ne.meš
i-nu-šú a-šar bu-un-na-an-né-e šá il^{meš} šú-nu
é.bi du₆.kù.ga laḥar ašnan mu.un.si.eš.àm
ina bi-ti du₆-kù-ga šá laḥ-ra MIN du-uš-šú-ú

Here again "face" is obviously not what is meant by *bunnannū*, and whether or not this translator is also guilty of mechanical translation one is inclined to translate it as if it were *nabnūtu*, thus agreeing with our earlier translation:

At that time they were at the place of creation of the gods,
in the house of Du-kuga, which was teeming with ewes and grain.

The obscure gloss BI on SA₇.ALAM in the above passage is also present in MS r of the present line, and rather advises us against a reading uktin or ulutim (so the glosses in *Diri* VI E 87-88). A third passage where the meaning "creation" is desirable for *bunnannū* is in the explanatory temple list no. 3 (BM 34850, rev. 13'), where *bīt bunnannē* and *bīt balāti* translate the temple name E-namtila, "House of Life", or "House which Gives Life" (the connection between nam.ti.la and *bunnannū* is also made in the hymn KAR 109, in the same context: see further the commentary on the temple list).

91 This line does not refer to the city quarter Eridu (as Gurney thought, *Iraq* 36, p. 47), for that is the subject of the next line, now completely restored. Eridu is here the name of Babylon, for which see I 21 and the commentary thereon. The line thus forms, with the preceding bilingual line, a couplet of a literary flavour.

92 The quarter Eridu is the religious centre of Babylon, the site of E-sagil and the other temples listed in *Tintir* IV 1-14 (the topography is discussed above, p. 23). The quarter is not wholly given over to religious buildings, however, for housing lots are attested in Eridu in a dowry tablet from the reign of Cyrus (Kohler-Peiser, *Rechtsl.*, p. 14f., BM 77345 (84-2-11, 79), obv. 6: 14 gi^{meš} i-na eršetⁱ eri-du₁₀^{k1} (coll.; this is Unger's *ir-ḫ^{k1}*, *Babylon*, p. 83), and in a loan contract in which a property near the Market Gate is put forward as security (VS IV 21, 6-7: é ... šá eršetⁱ eri-du₁₀^{k1(RA)} šá ká ganba; Nbk).

The landmarks which define the quarter of Eridu are given here as the Grand Gate (*abulmāḫu*: the reading follows MSL XIII, p. 228, *Kagal* I 2, where ká.gal./abul.maḫ = *a-bu-ul-maḫ*) is the first in a list of the city gates of Nippur, and the Market Gate (*abul maḫīri*). The Grand Gate of Babylon is also found in the gate list no. 35 (79-7-8, 291, i 6'), as the first of the gates of Babylon. The Market Gate is known as *abul maḫīri* in the

topographical fragment no. 11 (BM 41138, 3'), perhaps as the location of a shrine; in the Religious Chronicle (Grayson, *ABC*, p. 133, i 13, in broken context); and in an unpublished literary text (BM 47530, 11, courtesy W.G. Lambert). In deeds and contracts it goes by the name *bāb maḫīri* (ká ganba/*ma-ḫi-ri*: VS IV 21, 7, quoted above; CT 55 179, 1; Strassmaier, *Nbn* 238, 2; 239, 2). As well as the Grand Gates of Babylon and Nippur, there was also one of the same name at Ur (Kramer, *AS* 12, 213; Gadd, *Iraq* 22, p. 159, *passim*). A Market Gate is also attested at Kutha, where it gave its name to a city quarter (BM 92716 (82-5-22, 184), 3: *eršetⁱ* ká.gal ganba šá qé-reb gú-du₈-a^{k1}; unpub.), and at Uruk (TCL XIII 146, 30; YOS VII 191, 17: ká ganba), also as a quarter (*BRM* II 24, 15; 54, 2; *AnOr* 8 62, 4).

Given the central location of the quarter of which they are the limits, it is clear that the Grand and Market Gates of Babylon are no longer to be sought on the city wall (speculation in this regard by Gurney, *Iraq* 36, p. 50ff., and the writer, *Sumer* 35, p. 230, ante-dated the decisive discovery of MS p, in which source alone is preserved the complete name of the city quarter). That these two gates lay well inside the city wall, close to the centre, can perhaps be explained by supposing them to be relics of an earlier city wall of smaller compass than Imgur-Enlil, such as, no doubt, those built by the ancestors of Hammurapi (see p. 343). The sites of such gates would probably have been remembered even after the gates themselves had disappeared, especially if they had first given their names to the areas in their immediate vicinity (a common development in ancient Mesopotamia). As we have seen above, the Market Gate did survive into the Late Babylonian period, although by this time *bāb maḫīri* had probably become the name of a locality within the quarter Eridu, rather than a physical structure. The Grand Gate, which is not mentioned in late deeds and contracts, may have disappeared entirely by this time, however. This would help to explain away the corruption of ká.gal.maḫ in several sources of *Tintir*-to ká.gal é.maḫ (see the apparatus); this might be understood to refer to the main gate of Bēlet-ilī's temple (IV 18), but from a topographical point of view identification of the Grand Gate with a gate of E-maḫ is impossible: the border between Eridu and Ka-dingirra (of which the Grand Gate defines the rough position) is to be sought well south of E-maḫ (one may note in passing that Nippur's ká.gal.maḫ is also corrupted, on occasion, to ká.gal é.maḫ: McEwan, *ROMCT* II 34, 1; *BE* X, p. 69). Further confusion appears in line 93, where one source (F, from Kuyunjik) has the Grand Gate instead of the Market Gate. But whatever the status of the two gates in the late period, if we are right to suppose that they originally belonged to an early wall, then the Grand Gate would have served the road north to Sippar and beyond, and the Market Gate the road south to Dilbat.

93 As noted in the introduction (p. 25), the location of this quarter is decided by its temples (IV 19-20), both of which are excavated, and by its association with the Uraš Gate, the southern city gate of east Babylon (V 49). Additional evidence, placing the

quarter of Šuanna on the bank of the Euphrates, comes from a land sale of Persian times, which deals with a plot of land in Šuanna whose south side is bordered by a "narrow street descending to the river" (*su-ú-qu qatnu mu-rad nāri*: V R 68, no. 2 = Strassmaier, *Cyrus* 345, 15); and an unpublished astronomical diary mentioning "the quarter Šuanna on the river bank" (*eršet šu-an-na ina kišād nāri*: BM 37456, 5).

The various writings of the name of the quarter here and in IV 20 (*šu-an-na*, *šu-ma-an* and *tin.tir^{ki}*: see the apparatus) indicate that the two quarters known to Unger as Tintir and Šuanna turn out to be one and the same (so already Gurney, *RA* 69, p. 95). Though this might seem hard to accept we would draw attention to the lexical tradition in which *tin.tir^{ki}* is explained as both Bābilu and Šuanna (*Diri* IV 89 (var.); *Hh* XXI/4 30; *Erimḫuš* V 26; Ashmolean 1924-877, iv 5: all quoted above, on I 1). The writing *šu-ma-an* is more than an idiosyncrasy of the very poorly written exercise tablet (gg) on which it is found in this line, for the quarter's name is written *šu-ma-an* and *šu-ma-(an)-nu* in late deeds (see below). A parallel orthography is *ku-mar/-ma-ri* for the quarter which we call Kumar, but is strictly Kuar(a) (V 100; on the orthographic development which saw the consonantal glide written as /m/ see p. 338f.). The loss of the final vowel of Šuanna evident in the late writing *šu-ma-an* is supported by the 'Graeco-Babylonian' MS c (I 4 and 6), but conversely one should be aware of the orthography *šu-an-nu-ú* in the Seleucid *Erimḫuš* tablet (p. 237), although this probably exhibits a scholarly appreciation of linguistics and may not reflect the late pronunciation accurately for that reason.

The origin of the toponym Šuanna, which is, of course, also a name of Babylon attested from the twelfth century, is uncertain, as is its relation to the Sumerian stock phrase *šu.an.na* (in Akkadian *ša emūqāšu šaqā*, "whose might is exalted"): on these questions see further the commentary on I 4. Neither of the two temple cults which had their home in Šuanna, those of Ninurta and Išhara, has, as far as we know, a history of great antiquity at Babylon, and this may suggest that settlement of the quarter took place in a comparatively recent period. It was, perhaps, one of those quarters outside an early city wall, the growth of which resulted from overspill of the growing population in the middle Old Babylonian period (cf. p. 19).

In land sales and other documents from the Neo- and Late Babylonian periods the quarter Šuanna is particularly well attested: *eršet^{ti} tin.tir^{ki} šā qé-reb tin.tir^{ki}*, Weidner-Weissbach, *Afo* 16, p. 46, Bab 14338 = Jakob-Rost, *FB* 12, p. 53, 2 and 11 (Esarh.); *é.šā.tūr.ra šā qé-reb šu-an-na^{ki}*, Strassmaier, *Nbk* 247, 7; contract dated in [*šu-a*]n-na^{ki}, *Nbn* 643, 13; *eršet^{ti} šu-an-na^{ki} šā qé-reb tin.tir^{ki}*, *Cyrus* 345 = V R 68, no. 2, 2; *eršet^{ti} šu-an-na šā qé-reb tin.tir^{ki}*, *VS* V 38, 1 (Cyrus); *eršet^{ti} tin.tir^{ki}*, Strassmaier, *Darius* 379, 4 and 5; *eršet^{ti} šu-ma-an^{ki} šā qé-reb E^{ki}*, *ibid.* 435, 1 (cf. Joannès, *NABU* 1989/54); *é.šā.tūr bīt a[š-h]a-r[a] šā qé-reb šu-an-na*, Peiser, *BV* 107 = BM 77424, 10-11 (coll.; Darius); *eršet^{ti} šu-ma-an-nu^{ki}*, Moore, *NBDM* 2, 1 (Artax.); *eršet^{ti} šu-an-na^{ki}*, *ibid.* 14, 1 (Artax.); *eršet^{ti} tin.tir^{ki} šā qé-reb E^{ki}*, BM 47469, 1 (unpub.; Philip); *eršet^{ti}(MU) šu-ma-an šā qé-reb E^{ki}*, BM 32170 (unpub.) + 32537 (*CT* 49 107), obv. 2 (Seleucid Era 37); *eršet^{ti} tin.tir^{ki} šā qé-reb E^{ki}*, *CT* 49 130, 1 (Seleucid Era 73); and, with dates broken:

eršet^{ti} tin.tir^{ki} šā qé-reb [bābili^{ki}], Le Gac, *Babyloniaca* 3, p. 66, 20; [*eršet^{ti} šu-ma-nu šā q[er-ba bābili^{ki}]*, *CT* 57 678, 1; *šu-an-n[a ...]*, VAT 2064, 2 (Unger, *Babylon*, p. 81; coll.). Note too that Nabopolassar in his foundation cylinders describes the temple of Ninurta as *qé-reb šu-an-na^{ki}* (see above, on IV 19), which probably refers to the quarter rather than the city as a whole.

94 While we have favoured transcribing the name of this quarter as Ka-dingirra rather than as Bābilu, this retention of the Sumerian is a device employed to avoid confusion between the name of the quarter and the name of the city, and is not based on any clear and unambiguous indication that Ka-dingirra is in fact the correct pronunciation. On the writing *kā.dingir.ra^{ki}* as a logogram for Bābilu, and later as a name of Babylon, see the commentary on I 22.

This quarter is the most explored part of all Babylon. All its four temples (IV 15-18) have been excavated, as also has the southern palace, which is located in the quarter Ka-dingirra by Nebuchadnezzar II and Neriglissar (I R 57, vii 36-46, and 67, ii 15-18, both quoted above, p. 359; note also the former king's brick inscription, I R 52, no. 6, reporting the site of the palace as *i-na er-se-et kā.dingir.ra^{ki} šā qé-reb ba-bi-lam^{ki}*: line 3). For the topography of the quarter see further p. 25f.

A single reference to the city quarter outside the royal inscriptions and the present text is found in a fragmentary Late Babylonian field plan (Nemet-Nejat, *LBFP*, p. 73, no. 16, rev. 1: [*bū*]u *ép-šū eršet^{ti} kā.dingir.ra[a]*). The paucity of evidence from legal and commercial documents is something of a surprise, for the quarter included areas of dense housing with a history going back to the Old Babylonian period, and, no doubt, beyond (on the archaeology of the private houses in the mound Merkes see Reuther, *WVDOG* 47, p. 41ff.; but some of the excavated area may not have been in Ka-dingirra but in Newtown).

95 For the general position of Newtown east and slightly south of the Ištar Gate see further p. 26. Its western limit is given here as the Ištar Gate, which is also the northern limit of Ka-dingirra. The use of this landmark in the present line is not exact, for the temple E-mah, situated a short distance inside the Ištar Gate, but certainly east of it, was in Ka-dingirra nevertheless. The true border between Ka-dingirra and Newtown was thus somewhat east of the Ištar Gate. The city gate is no doubt used as the limiting point in the text because it was such a well-known landmark, and because the compiler of *Tintir* apparently prefers to use the city gates, wherever possible, as such points. The new text material bears out Gurney's argument that Newtown was a district of the eastern city (*Iraq* 36, p. 52); previously Newtown was considered a name for the entire western part of Babylon (Unger, *Babylon*, p. 80f.). The eastern limit for the quarter, the temple of Bēlet-Eanna "on the canal bank", is E-kituš-girzal, one of three temples listed for Newtown in IV 21-23. It reappears in the next line as the western limit of Kullab.

The quarter of Newtown is unusually well documented in the extant sources. An archive of Old Babylonian commercial documents excavated by Koldewey's expedition in the mound Merkes (on the borders of Ka-dingirra and Newtown) makes frequent mention of a quarter called *ālu eššum šīt šamšim*, "Newtown in the east" (VS XXII; full documentation of this toponym is given by Klengel, 'Die östliche Neustadt Babylons in Texten altbabylonischer Zeit', *Diakonoff Festschrift*, p. 169ff.: it is mentioned in documents from the reigns of Samsuiluna, Ammiditana and Ammišaduqa). We imagine the middle and later Old Babylonian period to have been a time of great expansion for the city of Babylon (as discussed above, p. 15). This expansion undoubtedly took place on both sides of the river, for the evidence shows that there was a long-established settlement west as well as east of the Euphrates even in the early Old Babylonian period. In view of this it is no surprise that a new quarter on the east side of town, caused by overspill from the old town centre, and perhaps outside the city walls at first, should acquire the name "Newtown in the east".

Newtown is next mentioned at the turn of the millennium, having lost its directional qualification (perhaps because the new quarters of the western city had been given other names, i.e. Tuba and Bāb-Lugalirra?), in Nabû-apla-iddina's stone tablet which records the re-establishment in E-babbarra at Sippar of the cult of Šamaš. The temple is endowed with a garden plot in Newtown (*eršet^{et} uru-gibil^{ki} šā qē-reb tin.tir^{ki}*: V R 60 = BBSI 36, ii 11-13, this being, incidentally, the earliest known use of the formula *eršet* (quarter name) *ša qereb Bābili*), the supervision of which is to be the responsibility of the *šangû* of E-babbarra, Ekur-šuma-ušarši (rent on property in the area is still due to Šamaš in the time of Nabopolassar: BM 49680, obv. 6; unpub.). In documents of the later period *ālu eššu* is a common toponym, by no means confined to Babylon (for a Newtown in Sippar see Scheil, *Sippar*, p. 27; Strassmaier, *Nbn* 506; 709; *Cyrus* 197). Unambiguous instances of the city quarter of Babylon in deeds and other documents are: Strassmaier, 8th *Orientalist Congress*, no. 5 = San Nicolò, BR 8/7, no. 4, 2: *eršet^{ti} uru-gibil šā qē-reb tin.tir^{ki}* (Esarh.); Ellis, *JCS* 36, p. 61, 4-5 and 11-12: *eršet^{ti} uru-gibil šā qē-reb tin.tir^{ki}* (Sši); BM 49680, 3-4: *eršet^{ti} uru-gibil šā q[ē-reb] tin.tir^{ki}* (unpub.; Nbp); Strassmaier, *Nbk* 247, 12-13 // 416, 4-5: *é.ki.tuš.gir₁₇.zal bīt bēlet-é-an-na šā kišād palgi šā uru-gibil šā qē-reb tin.tir^{ki}* (Nbk); Nemet-Nejat, *LBFP*, p. 92, rev. 4-5, read: *bītu* (ras.) *ab-tu e[ršet^{ti}]ⁱ uru-gibil šā qē-[re]b E^{ki}* (coll.; Darius); BM 92717, 2: *eršet^{ti} uru-gibil pi-ḥa-ta tin.tir^{ki}* (unpub.; Darius). In V R 67, no. 1, 2, read *id! eš-šu* (the New Canal, outside the Enlil Gate: cf. Unger, *Babylon*, p. 104).

96 For the general position of Kullab see p. 26. Its four temples are listed in IV 24-27, the most famous being E-gišnu-gal of Šin. That temples of Lugalbanda and Pisangunuk are located here suggests that the quarter's name is deliberately borrowed from the toponymy of Uruk, in which city the cults of these gods originated (on Kullab of Uruk see Falkenstein, *Topographie*, p. 32ff., and note mention of *eršet^{ti} kul-la-bi šā qē-reb unug^{ki}* in a deed from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II: YOS XVII 322, 2).

In Neo-Babylonian deeds and documents the quarter appears as *eršet^{ti} kul-aba^{ki} šā qē-reb tin.tir^{ki}* [1], Strassmaier, 8th *Orientalist Congress*, no. 8 = San Nicolò, BR 8/7, no. 23, 1-2 (Ššu); *eršet^{ti} kul-la-bi^{ki} šā qē-reb ká.dingir¹.[ra^{ki}]*, VS V 5, 2 (Kan); *eršet^{ti} kul-aba^{ki} šā qē-reb tin.tir^{ki}*, Weissbach, *BMisc.*, pl. 15, no. 2 = San Nicolò, BR 8/7, no. 32, 2 (Nbk); the last of these mentions (line 9) a *sūqu rap!-šā mu!-taq nergal šā ḥa-de-e*, the procession road of Nergal, which is perhaps to be connected with the Street of the Marduk Gate (V 69; cf. above, ad loc.), and passed also through TE.E^{ki} (see below).

97 The text of this line has only come to light with the finding of MSS Fop, and does not appear in Gurney's edition, which accordingly contains only 103 lines against our 104. The reading of the toponym written TE.E^{ki} was given in the school tablet no. 53 (Ashmolean 1924-877, iv 10: pl. 53), but unfortunately the right-hand sub-column is broken away at the crucial point. It is, of course, possible that this lexical entry should be restored [ŠU], which would thus demand a transcription Tê. Another possibility is that TE.E^{ki} should be read Kasīri: this is a quarter of the city known only from a contract of the Persian period (Strassmaier, *Dar* 275, 4: *er-še-tu₄ ka-si-i-ri šā qer-bi tin.tir^{ki}*). Through it, as through Kullab and TE.E^{ki}, passed the "thoroughfare of Nergal of Joy" (ibid., 2-3), and thus, if it is not the reading of TE.E^{ki}, Kasīri is to be located in the same neighbourhood.

For the Zababa Gate see V 50 and the commentary; for the dais which determines the quarter's western limit see V 20. This latter landmark probably lay between TE.E^{ki} and the city centre (Eridu), and is marked thus provisionally on the sketch map of the city (fig. 4 on p. 24). The reference to the Zababa Gate gives a south-eastern position for the quarter (cf. p. 26).

In land scale contracts and other documents from the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods TE.E^{ki} is frequently attested: *eršet^{ti} TE.E šā qē-reb tin.ti[r^{ki}]*, BE VIII/1 7 = San Nicolò, BR 8/7, no. 29, 2 (Nbp); *eršet^{ti} TE.E^{ki} šā qē-re-eb ká.dingir.ra^{ki}*, Strassmaier, *Nbk* 4, 1-2; *er-še-ti TE.E^{ki} šā qē-er-ba ká.dingir.ra^{ki}*, *Nbk* 164, 1-2; *er-še-ti TE.E^{ki} šā qē-er-ba ba-bi-[lam^{ki}]*, Sack, *Amēl-Marduk*, no. 22, 2; *er-še-ti TE.E^{ki} šā qē-reb ba-a-bi-i-lu^{ki}*, Strassmaier, *Camb* 423, 1-2; *eršet^u TE!(URU).E^{ki} šā qē-reb tin.tir^{ki}*, Strassmaier, *Liverpool* 18, 2-3 (Camb); *eršet^{ti} TE.E^{ki} ... ina ká.dingir^{meš}*, *Dar* 379, 5-9; *eršet^{ti} T[E.E^{ki} šā qereb t]in.tir^{ki}*, BM 55383, 1-2 (unpub.). Both tablets from the reign of Cambyses deal with plots abutting the "thoroughfare of Nergal of Joy", for which see further above, and the commentary on the previous line.

98 The line summarizes the preceding six. The use of *ālu* here and in line 103 as a term for a city quarter is exceptional, and perhaps an indication of the text's age, for the conventional word used in the first millennium, from the reign of Nabû-apla-iddina at least (see above, on V 95), is *eršet^u*.

The word *bal-ri* is read phonetically rather than logographically (i.e. as *ebertu*) on account of the writings *ba-al-ri*, *ba-la-ri* and *ba-la-ar* in the same context in inscriptions of

Nebuchadnezzar II (see below). Outside *Tintir* references to Babylon's *balri šīt šamši* and *balri ereb šamši* begin with Nabû-apla-iddina. In his stone tablet recording grants to the temple of Šamaš at Sippar, the king describes how a fired clay plaque depicting the image of Šamaš was found "across the Euphrates, on the West Bank (of the city)" (*ina e-ber-ti^{1a} pu-rat-ti šā bal-ri^{1a} utu.šū.a*: V R 60 = *BBS* 36, iii 22-24; on this find see above, p. 328). The "West Bank" of Babylon is next found in the Religious Chronicle (Grayson, *ABC*, p. 134ff., ii 6 and 22, iii 12: *bal-ri^{1a} utu.šū.a*). In a later century Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar II built a moat wall around Imgur-Enlil, the city wall, on the "West Bank" (*bal-ri^{1a} utu.šū.a*: *PBS* XV 79, ii 12; *CT* 34 20, 35; 37 12, 31-32; Ball, *PSBA* 10, p. 368f., ii 6), while the former king's Imgur-Enlil enclosed the "East Bank" (*bal-ri^{1a} utu.ē*: al-Rawi, *Iraq* 47, p. 10, ii 41). The Arahtu quay walls of the Chaldaean kings are likewise described as being on the "East Bank" of the city (*bal-ri^{1a} utu.ē(a)*: *CT* 37 12, 30-32; *PBS* XV 79, ii 13; Wadi Brisa B v 27; Ball, *PSBA* 10, p. 368f., ii 8; no. 63, BM 138172, 3': see p. 354). Nebuchadnezzar's long fortification, the outer wall which stretched from the Summer Palace to a point downstream of the Uraš Gate, is said to enclose Babylon on its "East Bank" (*bal-ri^{1a} utu.ē(a)*: Ball, *PSBA* 10, p. 368f., ii 28; *PBS* XV 79, ii 42-43; *CT* 37 14, 47; V R 34, ii 15; *ba-la-ri^{1a} utu.ē*: *VS* I 40, i 15; Moldenke, *JAOS* 16, p. 73, i 14; BM 33074 (79-2-1, 1) = *AOAT* 4/I, Nbk Cyl. II/5, i 13; *ba-la-ar^{1a} utu.ē*: I R 65, ii 6; *ba-al-ri^{1a} utu.ē*: Winckler, *ZA* 2, p. 125 = McGee, *BA* III, p. 550f., i 15). In a summary of his religious works in Babylon, the same king briefly lists the temples he rebuilt: "E-maḥ, the temple of Ninmaḥ, E-niggidar-kalamma-summa, the temple of Nabû of the *ḥarû*, E-ḥursag-sikilla, the temple of Ninkarraka, and E-gišnu-gal, the temple of Šin, on the East Bank" (*bal-ri^{1a} utu.ē(a)*), "and E-namḥe, the temple of Adad, E-diku-kalamma, the temple of Šamaš, and E-kituš-garza, the temple of Bēlet-Eanna, on the West Bank" (*bal-ri^{1a} utu.šū.a*: *CT* 37 13f., 41-43). Both sides of the city appear in the metrological text no. 15 (BM 54634, obv. 10'-12') and again in the Diadochi Chronicle (as restored by Grayson, *ABC*, p. 117, rev. 2). However, these designations are by no means unique to Babylon, and can no doubt be used of any city or territory dissected by a river. From a deed of the Seleucid Era which deals with a plot in the "District of the Šamaš Gate, on the East Bank, which is in Borsippa" (*eršet^{1a} abul^{1a} šāmaš bal-ri^{1a} utu.ē.a šā qē-reb bār-sipa^{1a}*: *CT* 49 137, 1-2), we note that that city was also divided into two "Banks".

99 The writing of the name of the quarter in MS y, a very erratic source, is probably corrupt (see the apparatus). The only other MS which survives at this point (p), though damaged, certainly disagrees with y after the first sign; but as the more reliable source the traces of p are included in the composite transliteration. The only certainty at present is that the name begins with *nu*. The quarter does not appear in Tablet IV, evidently having no temples sited within its bounds.

Of the two gates which define the limits of this quarter, the Adad Gate is a known gate on Imgur-Enlil (V 55), while the Akus Gate appears in the line after the present one as a

point limiting the quarter Kumar: it thus lay on the edge of both quarters, presumably on their mutual boundary. The Akus Gate takes its name from a town in the vicinity of Babylon which flourished in the Old Babylonian period (see Unger, *RIA* I, p. 66; Finkelstein, *JCS* 9, p. 329; Groneberg, *RGTC* III, p. 9f.; Charpin, *RA* 72, p. 19f.). In the introduction we suggest that it was perhaps a relic of an earlier city wall, through which passed the procession road of Adad on its way to E-namḥe in Kumar, a road served in *Tintir*'s era by the Adad Gate (for this, and the topography in general, see p. 27f.).

100 Gurney's supposition in *Iraq* 36, p. 49, that *ḪA.A* in this line is to be understood as the quarter Kumar (or better, Kuara) is now proved correct by the newly found MS p, which gives as one of the quarter's points of reference the temple *é.nam.ti.la*, the sanctuary of Enlil known to be in Kumar from *Tintir* IV 34-40. MS y's variant *é.nam.til* was previously misinterpreted as "mortuary temple" and such like (*é.nam.úš*: Unger, *Babylon*, p. 237, I 4; Gurney, *Iraq* 36, p. 47, 99). As Landsberger noted (*ZA* 41, p. 297¹), moreover, this line's *ēš.maḥ* is none other than the E-ēš-maḥ of Ea, another temple of Kumar (IV 35 and commentary).

The reading of *ḪA.A*^(kl) has been the subject of much comment (most notably Jacobsen, *AS* 11, p. 88¹²⁶; I.J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, p. 94ff.; Gurney, *Iraq* 36, p. 49; see also the recent discussions of Heimpel, *RIA* VI, p. 256f., and Steinkeller, *JCS* 32, p. 27ff.). The pertinent sources for the reading of *ḪA.A*^{kl}, also written *A.ḪA*^{kl}, are lexical texts, bilinguals and a gloss. The lexical texts have a tradition of a group of three toponyms written thus, and this goes back to the Old Babylonian forerunners of *Hh* XXI and other lists of the same period (*MSL* XI, p. 102, Nippur Forerunner 181-83: *A.ḪA*^{kl}, *A.ḪA*^{kl}, *ḪA.A*^{kl}; p. 60, i 26-28, p. 131, iii 21-23, p. 139, ii 3'-5', p. 141, ii 2-4: *ḪA.A*^{kl}, *ḪA.A*^{kl}, *ḪA.A*^{kl}). In bilingual lexical lists readings are provided for this group of three:

[<i>ḪA</i>]. <i>A</i> ^{kl}	=	'ku ^{1a} -[ma ^{1a} -ri]
<i>ḪA.A</i> ^{kl}	=	'tu ^{1a} -[ba]
<i>ḪA.A</i> ^{kl}	=	ku-[ú-a-ra]

Goetze, *JCS* 7, p. 29, Proto-*Diri* vi 5'-7'

[<i>ku-ma</i>]-r ^{1a}	=	<i>A.ḪA</i> ^{kl}	a-a ku-[ú-a ki-ki]	=	ŠU
[<i>tu</i>]-ba	=	<i>A.ḪA</i> ^{kl}	MIN [MIN MI]N	=	ŠU
[<i>k</i>]u-ú-a-ra	=	<i>A.ḪA</i> ^{kl}	[MIN MIN MI]N	=	ŠU

Diri III 202-04 (cf. Gelb, op. cit.; Steinkeller, loc. cit.)

[<i>A.ḪA</i> . . . ^{kl}]	=	[ŠU-ma]
[<i>A.ḪA</i> ^{tu} -ba.kl]	=	ŠU-ma
[<i>ḪA.A</i> ^{ku-(u)} -ia-ri.kl]	=	ŠU-ma

MSL XI, p. 19, *Hh* XXI/11, 1-3

Four bilingual passages are relevant: one in the incantation series *Utukkū lemnūtu*, A.ĤA^{ki} = *ku-ma-ri* (CT 16 6, 239-40; coll. Geller, *UHF*, p. 13); two in litanies, A.ĤA^{ki} = *ku-u₈-a-ra* (Macmillan, *BA* V, p. 675, 25-26 // *SBH* 80, 8-9) and 'A'.ĤA^{ki} = *ku-mar* (CT 51 105, obv. 21-22); and finally in a hymn to Nanāy, in which the Sumerian is lost but the Akkadian reads *ku-a-ra* (Reiner, *JNES* 33, p. 226, 24). The gloss ^{uru}A.ĤA^{tu-ba.ki} occurs in the god list CT 25 14, 30.

The evidence suggests that, in the late period at least, the group of three toponyms written ĤA.A^{ki} or A.ĤA^{ki} were understood to be Kumar, Tuba (both also quarters of Babylon) and Kuara (the city of Asalluḫi in south Sumer, closely associated with Eridu). The most ancient of these is undoubtedly the last named, for which Jacobsen has shown the writing ĤA.A^{ki} to be 'phonetic', i.e. ku₆.a^{ki} (= kua(r), *AS* 11, p. 88¹²⁶; cf. p. 70⁵). Kumar, the quarter of Babylon, is probably to be seen as a variant of this name, borrowed at some stage to designate the area of the city in which was a cult-centre of Ea (E-eš-maḫ), by analogy with the naming of Kullab (see above, on V 96), or taken over as a result of the syncretism of Asalluḫi and Marduk. The middle /m/ in the quarter name would then be an orthographic, rather than a phonetic, development (cf. above, p. 338f.); but, if Proto-*Diri* is correctly restored above, one might argue for the existence of a separate toponym Kumari (for this and Tuba are unlikely, in the period of that text, already to refer to quarters of Babylon, which, with the exception of Newtown, do not appear until the late period), to whose influence the middle /m/ might equally be owed. On the toponym Tuba see further the commentary below on V 102.

The importance of the quarter Kumar as a religious centre is shown by IV 34-40, which lists seven temples sited within its bounds. For the antiquity and topography of Kumar see above, p. 16f. and p. 27f. The quarter was known to Nebuchadnezzar II, who refers to E-namḫe as "in Kumar" (*lib-ba ku-ma-ri*^{ki}: Ball, *PSBA* 10, p. 368f., i 48; V R 34, ii 8). Neo-Babylonian legal and commercial documents also refer to it: unambiguous writings are *TCL* XII 19, 1-2: *erṣeti^{ti} ku-ma-ru^{ki} šá qé-reb tin.tir^{ki}* (Nbp; note a property in ll. 6-7 belonging to a son of Nabû-nāšir-apli, the *šangû* of E-namtila, Enlil's temple in Kumar); *ibid.*, 43, 4: *eršet ku-ma-ri šá qé-reb ba-bi-lum^{ki}* (Nbk; note in l. 48 a witness from the family of the *šangû* of Adad, whose cult-centre was E-namḫe in Kumar); *YOS* XVII 303, 1-2 (coll. p. 83): *erṣeti^{ti} ku-ma-ru šá qé-reb ká.dingir.ra^{ki}* (Nbk). A document which deals with land in *erṣeti^{ti} A.ĤA^{ki} šá qé-reb tin.tir^{ki}* (Strassmaier, 8th *Orientalist Congress*, no. 6 = San Nicolò *BR* 8/7, no. 20, 2; from the time of Aššurbanipal's siege of Babylon, as a short postscript indicates: Ššu 20 = 648 B.C.) could refer either to Kumar or to Tuba.

101 For the topography of the quarter and its temples (IV 31-33) see above, p. 29.

While the quarter's eastern limit is clear enough, the western point of reference is a little obscure. One ancient editor writes ^{si}GIM for ^{si}span (y), another inserts *bāb* between *ša* and *bīt* (z): evidently there was some confusion in the matter of the "Navel of the Bow". One might suppose the Navel of the Bow of Bēlet-Ninua's temple — or its gate —

to be some architectural feature, but such would not be expected as the limit of a city quarter. Better suited to serve as a landmark in this respect would be something of rather greater significance, and we wonder whether this is not an early attestation of the 'Bow Land' common in later documents, especially those of the Persian period. The quarter is not attested outside *Tintir*. On Lugalirra in Babylon see above, p. 370. Lugalirra Gate was also the name of a quarter of OB Uruk (see Falkenstein, *BagM* 2, p. 45f.).

102 The quarter Tuba is well known on account of its appearance in the clay map fragment BM 35385, rev. (CT 22 49, new copy on pl. 28). This fragment is from near the top of a large four-columned tablet (looking at the reverse), this being confirmed by the curvature of the remaining piece. The original map can thus be reconstructed as our fig. 5 (on p. 28), with west at the top of the tablet's reverse, and east at the bottom. The writing on the map (the labels *abul* ^a*šamaš* and *tu-ba^{ki}* survive) lies parallel to the city wall, and not to the top of the tablet, and the winding watercourse depicted in a series of right-angle bends cannot be the Euphrates, but must be some other watercourse (perhaps that of V 60? cf. above, ad loc.). On the topography of Tuba see further p. 27. Its three temples are listed in IV 41-43.

The writing of the quarter's name is phonetic in the present line (note the variant *tu-bi*), as in the clay map fragment. In the extant sources for IV 43 it is also written A.ĤA^{ki} and KU-*ba* (see the apparatus). A.ĤA^{ki} as a sign-group to be read Tuba, among other toponyms, is documented in the commentary on V 100. The writing KU-*ba* also appears in the Late Babylonian administrative tablet no. 38 (BM 77433, 26, as the location of a temple of Nabû, E-šiddu-kišarra), and thus appears to be an established orthography. We suspect that it derives from a confusion with the homophonic Sumerian word, *tū(g).ba* (note the gloss *tu-ba* on ME = *nalbašu* in *MSL* XIV, pp. 188, *Ea* I 240 (var.); 128, i 23), which is common enough in lexical texts to be well known to late scribes: one might thus transliterate *tu₉-ba*.

A.ĤA^{ki} is known in the Old Babylonian period not only from the lexical lists (see above, on V 100) but also as a cult-centre of a goddess ^aMUŠ-A.ĤA^{ki} in epistolary greetings (CT 43 51, 3; 54, 4), where it can probably be read Tuba. If so, however, it is unlikely that this place, or the Tuba of the lists, is already the quarter of Babylon. Steinkeller (*JCS* 32, p. 30f.) concludes that the names of at least two towns (quite apart from ĤA.A^{ki} = Kuara) were written A.ĤA^{ki} in the Ur III period. One of these is to be located near Uruk, and is now known to be the Tiwa of the Sargonic period (as established by the variants A.ĤA^{ki} and *ti-wa^{ki}* in texts of Narām-Sîn: see Kutscher, *ZA* 76, p. 2, no. 1 and note 3). The other Steinkeller suggests as a part of Babylon, but it must be objected that the quarters of Babylon did not acquire their names, so far as we know, till a later period (see p. 19f.). Tiwa had already developed into Tuba by the OB period, as Proto-*Diri* demonstrates (see p. 379), and we propose that its name was borrowed at a later date to be a quarter of Babylon, just as the names of better-known cities like Kullab and Kuara were also borrowed (cf. above, on IV 41).

For a reference to a quarter A.HA^{ki} (either Kumar or Tuba) in a Neo-Babylonian land sale, see the commentary on the previous line.

103 This line summarizes the previous four (cf. V 98 and commentary).

104 The section on city quarters ends, as it began, with a literary flavour, which harks back to the hymnal vocabulary of Tablet I.

Explanations of the Ceremonial Names of the Temples of Babylon

Rm 788 (no. 2)

1 This explanation of the name of Marduk's temple is a conventional one, being found also in the E-sagil Commentary (no. 5, l. 2) and the Assyrian Temple List (no. 20, GAB 181). For the image of the temple with "raised head" (sag.il) see above, on *Tintir* IV 1.

2-3 Cf. the same explanations in no. 3, BM 34850, obv. 3' and 7'.

4 On rab ri.ri as a stock Sumerian phrase corresponding to Akk. *rappu lā'itū* see above, on *Tintir* IV 4, as also for another interpretation similar to that of the present line, where rab is the object of ri.ri, and not its subject.

catch-line This recalls the similar phrase often found in *Tintir* II, describing a shrine as the "seat of X on which Y sits" (see p. 93⁶), but the second divine name is absent in the present line, and the similarity is apparently coincidental.

colophon Perhaps emend MIN to *māri(a)!*? In the final line several restorations are possible, among them [^msi-lu-ku u ^man-ti-'-ku-su] *šarrū*^{mes} and [^mar-ša-ka-a šār] *šarrū*^{mes}.

BM 34850 (no. 3)

obv. 1' The derivation of *mukappit* from the temple name relies on the existence of the common late orthography é.sag.gil, which provides an opportunity to interpret the last sign (gil = LAGAB) in the light of the equation LAGAB = *kup-pu-tú* (as found in an astrological commentary: Weidner, *Afo* 14, pl. 7, i 12). Alternatively one might read here 'mu-kab'-b[il], "which honours", in which case the derivation might be either through the name's second or through its third syllable: ^{sa}-^{ag}sag = *kab-tu* in *Idu* I 113 (cf. *MSL* XVI, p. 81, *Nabnītu* IV 118); and kur₄/gur₄(LAGAB) is commonly equated with *kabtu* in the lexical and bilingual texts (references collected by *CAD* K, p. 25f.). This kind of involved

'etymology', utilising the various values of a sign, is characteristic of Babylonian scholarship in the late period.

2' *nibītu* derives from sa(g), a homophone of sa₄ = *nabū*; cf. sa₄.an.na = *nibīt šamē*, *Tintir* I 7. Perhaps restore at the end of the line [^aa-nim u ^aen-lil], with the E-sagil Commentary (no. 5, l. 29).

3' Cf. no. 2, Rm 788, obv. 2.

4' *nabnītu* is probably extracted from tem(en), the etymologist having in mind the near homophone dīm = *banū*. For the allusion to the city and temple as cosmological "birth-places", see above, on *Tintir* I 30 and V 89-90.

5' *bukru* could be considered loosely synonymous with *nabnītu* in the latter's sense of "something created", and consequently its appearance here might also rest on the similarity of tem(en) to dīm; but it may also be that the etymologist sees teme(n) as *dumu*.

6' The final interpretation of the name of Babylon's ziqqurra derives from the breakdown of teme(n) into ti (*leqū*) and me (*paršu*). For the idiom *parša leqū* see *CAD* L, p. 145.

7' Cf. no. 2, Rm 788, obv. 3.

8' The etymologist breaks kar into ka (*pū*) and ár (*nādu*). We take *mutta'idu* as passive in meaning, as it must be when used as an epithet of Ninurta in the incantation *KAR* 83, rev. i 8.

9' Here kar is understood as ki (*ašru*) and ár (*tanittu*).

10' On the "shackle that constrains" see the commentary on *Tintir* IV 4.

11'-12' The derivation of the verbs *raḥāšu* (ra and ri.ri) and *rasāpu* (ra) is clear. The extraction of *binūtu* from the temple name probably called for 'phonetic adjustment' of ra(b) or ri to rú, bearing in mind that both rú and dù are acceptable values of GAG = *banū* (cf. *MSL* XVI, p. 108, *Nabnītu* VII 121-22; for ^rrú = *ba-nu-u* see further the commentaries on the names of Marduk: Bottéro, *Finkelstein Memorial Volume*, p. 6ff., lines 2, 97, 116 and 135). The derivation of *nēbiru* is obscure.

rev. 1' The traces demand something rather more convoluted than no. 4's straightforward interpretation of the name as *bīt nabbīti* (BM 34927, 20). *ina libbīšu* is obviously derived from *šā*. At the line's end, given the presence of penultimate *da*, we might expect a stative form from a verb whose first radical is /d/ or /t/. None springs to mind that is easily obtained from *šā.sur.ra* except *šamû*, "to weave" (*MSL* XIV, p. 350, A III/6 111: *sur* = [t]a-mu-u šā tūg), which gives no immediate good sense. Between *libbīšu* and *da 'šā-sur*¹-[ru] is not impossible.

2' The name of the temple is split into *ûru* (*našāru*), *nam* (*šimtu*) and *na* (evidently *nišû*; cf. *na-na* = *amēlu*, *MSL* III, p. 120, S^b I 275; XIV, p. 359, Ea IV 108; or *nu* = *ni-šu?*, *ibid.*, p. 126, Proto-A 725).

3' The same literal explanation appears in no. 4, BM 34927, 22. Cf. the commentary on *Tintir* IV 22.

4' For the idiom, and the cosmology involved, see the commentary on *Tintir* IV 23.

5'-6' The two explanations for the temple name in its twin orthographies are also known to the composer of the syncretistic hymn *KAR* 109, who honours his goddess in Ur thus (obv. 8):

[*ina*] é.kiš.nu.gál (unpub. var.: é.giš.nu₁₁.gal) *na-ši-rat kiš-šat niš^{mes} nu-úr šamê^e rabûti^m[es]*

In E-kišnugal/E-gišnu-gal she protects all the people, she is the light of the great heavens.

In the first explanation the Sumerian is reduced to *giš.nu₁₁* (*nûru*; for the reading of *ŠIR* as *nu₁₁*, UD.GAL.NUN orthography for *nu* (cf. above, p. 320), see the glosses in *MSL* IV, p. 30, Emesal Voc. III 33: [mu.ⁿ]u₁₁ = *giš.nu₁₁* = *nu-û-ru*; and XIV, p. 511, A VIII/4 93-94, *nu-u₁₁.giš-nu₁₁.ŠIR.GIŠ* = *nu-[û-rum]*); to *giš* (for *šamû*, as in the phrase *giš.lam*, synonymous with *an.ki*: see the commentary below on no. 18, the Nippur Compendium, i 1-10'; note also *ge-es giš* = *šā-mu-û* in the list II R 50, iii(!) 22); and to *gal* (*rabû*). In the second explanation *kiš* equates with *kiššatu*, *nu* with *nišû* (see above, commentary on line 2), and *gál* with *našāru*.

7' For *me ur₄.ur₄* = *parši hamāmu* see the commentary on *Tintir* IV 30.

8' The temple name is restored, like those in other lines, from *Tintir* IV but as it stands it does not give obvious sense. It may be that the translation of the present line is a literal one, since it is a phrase that accords with notion of the temple fixing the divine

regulations; if so, *Tintir*'s é.úr.gub.ba is a 'phonetic' rendering of a name *é.ur₅.gub.ba, for *gub* = *kunnu* and *ur₅* = *têrtu* (see the glossed lexical entry *uzu₅ur₅.ušúš* = *ter-tum šā uzu*: CT 18 49, i 24).

11' Another temple of the same name, perhaps in Dinikti, is the subject of similar etymologizing in the syncretistic hymn *KAR* 109, in which the goddess is accordingly extolled (rev. 8):

ina é.nun.maḥ ši-rat ru-bé-e ra-bi-tu ma-al-ki

In E-nun-maḥ she is exalted among princes, she is the greatest of rulers.

13'-14' The connection between *nam.ti.la* and *bunnannû* is also demonstrated in *KAR* 109, whose composer explores the etymological possibilities offered by the temple name in his celebration of the universal character of his goddess (obv. 18):

ina é.nam.ti.la bu-na-né-e šar-ḥat i-nam-din bul-tu

In E-namtila she is majestic of feature, she grants vitality.

For *bunnannû* as a synonym of *nabnîtu* in both its nuances (the act of creation as well as something created) see the commentary on *Tintir* V 89-90.

BM 34927 (no. 4)

19 As noted above (*Tintir* IV 19 and commentary), Ninurta's temple can be either "House which Extirminates the Mountains" (é.ḥur.sag.til.la) or "House, Mountain which Gives Life" (é.ḥur.sag.ti.la); neither translation is adopted in the present text, whose approach is perhaps more speculative. As restored (in the translation only) the Akkadian interpretation links the temple name to the idea of the temple as agent of justice, rescuing the innocent but punishing the transgressor (see further, p. 250).

21 The equation of *na* and *manzāzu* is largely confined to extispicy and lexical texts, but also finds its way into scholarly literature in explanations of the names of Marduk (*Enûma eliš* VII 15-17, and its commentary, Bottéro, *Finkelstein Memorial Volume*, p. 7, 17). For the restoration, which relies on the equation of *ûru* and *naklu*, see p. 278, *ki.ûru.kù.ga* = *ašru ellu naklu* (quoting a ritual), and further the commentary on no. 20, the Nippur Temple List, line 2', which discusses *uru₁₂(ÛR)*, *uru₁₆(EN)* and *u₁₈.ru* in equation with *naklu*. The original meaning of the temple name is probably connected with the city epithet *Uru-nanam*, a name of Nippur (see further, p. 316).

22 The translation agrees with that of no. 3, BM 34850, rev. 3'.

23 One idiomatic translation of the phrase *an.da.sá.a* is *šamê šanānu*, with *šamû* as the direct object of the verb (see no. 3, BM 34850, rev. 4', and the commentary on *Tintir* IV 23), but the traces of the present line do not admit such a translation in this instance. *itti* looks very much like mechanical translation, of course, but is used elsewhere to introduce an indirect object after the reflexive *šitnunu* (examples are cited in *AHW*, p. 1161, s.v. *šanānu* Gt.1; note also the phrase *šamāmī ana šitnuni*, "to rival the heavens", in Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions: *BE* I 84, i 37; *WVDOG* 59, p. 46, no. 3, 24-25; both quoted above, p. 319).

The E-sagil Commentary (no. 5)

1 For the syntax of *našā rēši* (lit.: "raised of head") see now Groneberg, *FAOS* 14/I, p. 89.

2 The same explanation of the temple name is given in no. 2, Rm 788, obv. 1, and the Assyrian Temple List (no. 20, GAB 181).

3-4 The restoration of *ág* for *narāmu* follows ll. 19-20, where *ág* in the same position gives *rāmu*; for *ág* without *ki* and used in this manner see also the lexical texts, especially an Amarna vocabulary (Knudtzon, *EA* 351, 11-12):

^{a-sá}ág = [ra-a]-mu
[na-ra]-mu

^agil is a name of Marduk in *Enūma eliš* VII 78.

5-6 The restoration of *é.sag* ("first house") = *ekallu* ("palace") has no lexical support, but looks unavoidable. Note, however, that in the syncretistic hymn to Ištar, whose composer was an inveterate etymological interpreter of Sumerian temple names, *é.sag.íl* is explained as *ekal ilī* (line known only from unpublished BM duplicates of *KAR* 109+343, courtesy W.G. Lambert). If this explanation has an 'etymological' background then it must rely on the equivalence of *é.sag* and *ekallu* (íl thus being understood for il, i.e. dingir, as often in the present text). "Palace of the Gods" is elsewhere a common epithet of E-sagil (e.g. Borger, *Esarh.*, pp. 13, 29; 21, 47; 22, 19; etc.; Streck, *VAB* VII, p. 280, 12: read *ekal ilī*^{mes}; IV R² 59, no. 2, rev. 25: prayer; Ebeling, *AGH*, p. 68, rev. 5).

7-8 Köcher's proposed restorations of *sá.ág* in the temple name and commentary presuppose a deliberate misreading by the etymologist of *de.ēm* (= *dīm* = *ba-nu-u*, *MSL* IV, p. 34, Emesal Voc. III 75) to suit his purpose. While such contrivance is not impossible (a similar device in this text is the reinterpretation of *gil* as *kur₄* = *kur* =

Enlil in ll. 29-30), the present restoration has the advantage of simplicity. That *sa₇* is strictly *banû*, "to grow", not *banû*, "to create", is no objection, since in this kind of text the Sumerian equivalents of homophonous Akkadian words are quite interchangeable; another example of this device is found in the commentaries on the names of Marduk, where the equation ^{ma-a}ma₄(MÚ) = *ba-nu-u* (*MSL* XIV, p. 453, *Ea* VII iv 27'; p. 468, *A* VII/4 116) is probably the justification for *ma* = *ba-nu-ú* in the commentary on ^agilim.ma as *ba-nu-u eršetim^{tim} e-liš mē^{mes}*, "the builder of Earth on top of the waters" (*Enūma eliš* VII 83; commentary: Bottéro, *Finkelstein Memorial Volume*, p. 8).

For the temple as a place which "creates" gods, see the commentary on E-kar-zaginna (*Tintir* IV 3), where the renovation of divine statues was carried out, and compare also *Tintir* I 30 and commentary.

9-10 *ša*, which can be read *sa₁₉*, presumably derives from the second syllable of the temple name. Its equation with *isratu* is not elsewhere attested. *is-ra-tum* is explained as *ta-mir-tú*, "arable land", in K 13866, 6 (quoted in *AHW*, p. 389, s.v. *isratu*), and probably again in another unpublished commentary (of *Enūma eliš*, *isratu* = *ta* [...], courtesy Lambert). It occurs in agriculture context in *Enūma eliš* VII 1, where it parallels *mēreštu*, and in the fable of Nissaba and Wheat (*BWL*, p. 169, i 7). *ki.il* for *kil* is perhaps variation for its own sake.

11-12 With *sag* = *šubtu*, *ašābu*, compare again the hymn *KAR* 109+343, obv. 9 (restored after unpublished duplicates, courtesy Lambert), where *šu-bat-sa gaš-rat*, explaining the goddess' character in E-sagil, is probably derived etymologically from the temple name, after the convention of that text (i.e. *sag* = *šubtu*, as here, and (g)íl for *gil* = *ga-aš-[ru]*, V R 16, ii 71: group voc.).

The equation of *gi* and *rubû* probably relies on the common lexical entry ^{se-e}gi₇(EG1) = *rubû* (e.g. *MSL* XIV, p. 185, *Ea* I 177).

For ^agil as a name of Marduk see above, on ll. 3-4. On the writing of Marduk's name in l. 12, and other such phonetic writings, see W. Sommerfeld, *Der Aufstieg Marduks*, p. 7ff., and the review of Lambert, *BSOAS* 47, p. 6ff., where the implications of these phonetic orthographies for the pronunciation of the divine name are discussed.

13-14 The obtrusive -an- in the temple name, which forces the reading of *SAG* as *sa₁₂*, is not picked up in the interlinear commentary and would seem unnecessary, being redundant for the purposes of both phonetics and etymology. But over-elaborate orthographies and occasional lapses in consistency between the text and its commentary are features of the work as a whole. With *sag/sa₁₂* = *šarru* compare the lexical entry ^{sag}sag₄(LUGAL) = *šar-rum* (*MSL* XIV, p. 450, *Ea* VII ii 13'; p. 462, *A* VII/2 67). For the idea of the city and temple as sources of kingship, see the commentary on *Tintir* I 34.

15-16 For sa = *šarūru* in a lexical text see VAT 14266, ii 15 (*Idu*: cited in *AHw*, p. 1193). On the temple as a building that “bears radiance” see *Tintir* II 15 and commentary.

17-18 The intrusion of -an- into the temple name again demands the reading sa₁₂ (as in ll. 11-12). *ašarēdu* is properly equated with sag.kal, but appears opposite sag alone in *Lu* Excerpt II 223 (*MSL* XII, p. 110) and *Idu* I 114 (quoted *CAD* A/2, p. 416).

19-20 ág is a variant for ak = *epēsu* in the Emesal dialect (*MSL* XVI, p. 108, *Nabnītu* VII 125-26). gi = *epēšu* perhaps relies on the near homophone ^{ki-i}ki = *e-pe-šu(m)*, *MSL* XIV, p. 476, *Ea* VIII 24; p. 490, *A* VIII/1 53. The commentary’s third equation agrees with the lexical text *CT* 12 29, BM 38226 iii 22: gi = *kul-la-[tum]*; gi = *kittu* needs no comment, and for ág = *rāmu* see above, on ll. 3-4.

21-22 The trace on the tablet does not support Köcher’s proposed restoration of sag.^{si-i}si = *sapānu* is itself well attested in lexical texts (*S^a*, *Ea* IV and *Idu* II) and bilinguals (see *CAD* S, p. 158), and our suggested breakdown of -sag- in the temple name into si.an is quite legitimate in texts of this kind (the same vowel change is also found in no. 3, BM 34850, obv. 9’, where kar is analysed as ki.ár; cf. also *Tintir* I 4-7, where Šuanna becomes, for etymological expediency, si.an.na, sa.an.na and sa₄.an.na; and note also the similar restoration demanded in ll. 27-28 below).

Inconsistency has crept into this line, ki.il in the temple name being cited in the commentary as gi: perhaps emend the end of the temple name to gi.il, as in l. 19. With gi = *ayyābu* compare below, ll. 31-32, where gú has the same equivalence. For the temple as destroyer of the hostile and wicked, see *Tintir* I 24ff., and commentary.

23-24 With the commentary compare *Lu* Excerpt II 185, where lú.gil.gil = *qar-da-mu* (*MSL* XII, p. 109).

25-30 The restoration rely on the parallels provided by *Tintir* I 5-7, si.an.na = *nūr šamē*, sa.an.na = *markas šamē*, sa₄.an.na = *nibīt šamē* (explanations of Šuanna, the name of Babylon), with which the compiler of the present text was very probably acquainted. For the lexical background see the commentary, ad loc.

With gíl(LAGAB) = *rabū* compare ^{kur}kur₄(LAGAB) = *ra-bu-um* in *MSL* IX, p. 133, 504 (Proto-*A*), and see the note on gíl = *rubū* above, ll. 11-12.

The commentary in l. 30 demonstrates the versatility of the cuneiform syllabary for the purposes of ‘homophonic’ etymology. As elsewhere in this text, two values of LAGAB are utilised: gíl for the phonetics (in *E-sa-gil*) and kur₄ for meaning. kur₄, “noble” (= *kabtu*), is itself an appropriate and well-attested epithet of Enlil, but the commentator also points out the possibilities offered by its homophone, kur, which is “the mountain” Enlil.

31-34 The restoration of the ‘esoteric’ name of E-sagil in these two lines is demanded by the presence of gú and zi in the interlinear commentaries (compare the remarks of Kinnier Wilson, *Iraq* 18, p. 137^s). The name itself is an exact parallel to é.sag.il, for the idioms gú.zi and sag.il are synonymous: for this, and other instances of éš.gú.zi, see further the commentary on *Tintir* IV 1.

35 The word is treated in *MSL* VII, p. 142, *Hh* XI 348-50 (= *LTBA* I 33, v 40-42, coll.):

[^{urudu}]nig.dím.dím = ŠU-u
ep-še-e-[tú]
bu-[un-na-an-nu-u]

(Restorations from *Igituh* I 389-91 = VAT 10270 v 65-67 // 10485+ v 38-40: nig.dím.dím.ma = *n.*, *e.* and *b.*; known to me from citations in *AHw* and *CAD*.) (*šumma*) *nigdimdimmu* is the title of a section of a series of physiognomic omens (Kraus, *MVAG* 40/II, p. 46f.), but while nig.dím.dím.ma does seem here to be a catch-line or title, there is unlikely to be any connection between the omen series and an explanatory text of this kind.

Gate Lists of E-sagil

BM 35046 (no. 6)

1 The restoration of é.umuš.a as the name of Marduk’s cella in E-sagil follows its identification as such in royal inscriptions. Esarhaddon mentions it as the location of a *šubtu* of Tašmētum “who sits inside E-umuša, the cella of Marduk in Babylon” (Borger, *Esarhaddon*, p. 84, 39: quoted above, p. 269). Nebuchadnezzar II refurbished E-umuša in gold, along with the cellae of Zarpanītum (which he calls Ka-ḫilisu) and Nabû (E-zida), and roofed it over with beams of Lebanese cedar overlaid with gold and decorated with precious gems: to him é.umuš.a is *pa-pa-ḫa* ^{en-lil}ilī ^{marduk}, “the cella of Marduk, the Enlil of the gods” (I R 54, ii 43-44; Ball, *PSBA* 10, p. 368f., i 30; and parallel passages); he also describes it as *pa-pa-ḫa* *be-lu-ti-šu*, “the cella of his sovereignty” (I R 51, no. 1, i 17); *pa-pa-ḫa* ^{en-lil-ú-ti-šu}, “the cella of his Enlil-ship” (I R 54, iii 24-25); and *pa-pa-ḫa* *šu-ba-at* *be-lu-ti-šu*, “the cella of the seat of his sovereignty” (I R 65, i 29).

é.umuš.a is listed in the Canonical Temple List with other chapels and temples of Marduk (Pinches, *PSBA* 22, p. 362, K 4374+8377, ii 5 // Sm 277, ii 1). Written é.é.umuš.a it appears in the syncretistic hymn *KAR* 109, obv. 16, after other parts of E-sagil (Ka-silimma, the cella’s gate, and Ka-ḫilisu):

[ina] é.è.umuš.a ^abēlet(nin)-è.umuš.a mu-ša-ba-at(unpub. var.: pat) tē-me

In E-umuša (the goddess is) Bēlet-E-umuša, who proclaims orders.

(Here the poet of the hymn, an accomplished etymologist, analyses the shrine's name as è = šūpū (normally pa.è, but abbreviated as here in CT 11 35, Sm 1300, obv. 41 = *Diri* I; cf. *MSL* XVI, p. 77, *Nabnitu* IV 14), and as umuš = tēmu.) The šēšgallu-priest of E-umuša played a key role in the cultic rites of the New Year Festival in E-sagil (see Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, p. 129ff.).

For the reading of KU as umuš in the ceremonial name E-umuša see the commentary on *Tintir* II 17, which lists a šubtu of the Igigi in E-sagil under the name of E-umuša-Asalluḫi; that shrine, being located in the chapel of Ninurta, is to be distinguished from Marduk's cella.

Apart from E-umuša, the cella of Marduk in E-sagil also goes by the name Ka-sulimma, "Gate of Radiance". This is most probably a variant of Ka-silimma, "Gate of Well-Being", itself the gate of Marduk's cella, and its use as a designation of the cella proper (for references see the commentary on no. 7, BM 38602 // VAT 13817, i 2') can be compared with Nebuchadnezzar's use of the gate name Ka-ḫilisu for Zarpanītum's cella (see below, on ll. 7-8).

Other chapels or cult-rooms of Marduk in E-sagil are probably é.da.di.ḫé.gál and é.u.4.ul, neither of which appears in the lists edited in this book. The available references for é.da.di.ḫé.gál show it to have been a chapel where Marduk and Zarpanītum had the produce of the country ritually lavished on them by the king (Agum-kakrime inscription, V R 33, v 43; Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 90, § 59; *VAB* IV, p. 234, Nbn 3, ii 31; p. 260, Nbn 6 = V R 65, ii 50-51; Ebeling, *AGH*, p. 32, 15; Reisner, *SBH* VIII, v 29-30), and this function is supported by the meaning of its name, é.da.di "of abundance" (note an é.da.di as a source of prebendal temple income in contracts from Old Babylonian Nippur, as found in *OECT* VIII, p. 40; one wonders whether da.di is connected with Akk. tātu, a formal gift denoting homage). Observing what he understood to be a parallel between the Akītu-Temple and é.da.di.ḫé.gál in the two inscriptions of Nabonidus, Unger took the latter to be a name of the former, usually é.siskur (*Babylon*, p. 160). While it is true that royal gifts were heaped on Marduk and Zarpanītum at the Akītu-Temple, specifically on the 10th of Nisannu (so Nabonidus' Istanbul Stele, Messerschmidt, *MVAG* 1/I, p. 80ff., col. ix), the close association of é.da.di.ḫé.gál with the cella of Marduk and Ka-sulimma in the Agum-kakrime inscription is probably a better argument for its location in E-sagil. Whether it should be understood as a chapel or chamber in its own right, or merely as an appellation for Marduk's cella in the context of the presentation of royal gifts, is a moot point.

é.u.4.ul, "House of Ancient Days", is perhaps to be restored in the list of chapels and temples of Marduk in the Canonical Temple List (Pinches, *PSBA* 22, p. 362, K 4374+8377, ii 4), but outside that text it is found only in the rituals of the Babylonian

New Year Festival: note in particular the description of Marduk in that text as ^abēl-mātāti a-sib é.u.4.ul (Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, p. 130, 29; cf. p. 134, 230-31 and 242, p. 135, 253, and, in broken context, p. 131, 66 and 77). Whether we should understand é.u.4.ul as a name of Marduk's cella, or, again, as a separate chamber elsewhere in E-sagil, is also uncertain. What is clear, however, is that Marduk unquestionably possessed permanent shrines and chapels in E-sagil that were entirely distinct from E-umuša, his cella. Among these are several šubtu's listed in *Tintir* II and a number of cultic throne-daises. Chief of these is perhaps the Dais of Destinies, Du-ku Ki-namtartarrede, in Ubšu-ukkinna, occupied by Marduk on the 8th and 11th days of Nisannu (see *Tintir* II 17' and commentary; for other "seats" and daises see also II 30 and 10' of the same text, and line 31 of the present list, and the commentary on these lines). The šubtu's of Marduk and other gods in E-umuša itself are probably those listed in *Tintir* II 1-6 (see p. 268).

The location of Marduk's principal cella in E-sagil is undoubtedly in the little-explored complex of rooms behind the west front of the great courtyard of the main building, as indicated by the discovery there of a very large monumental gateway giving access to a wide ante-room (on the archaeology see Wetzell, *WVDOG* 59, p. 7f.). The dimensions of the cella and its ante-rooms, together with those of — probably — his throne, are given in a poorly preserved section of the metrological tablet no. 14 (VAT 9961 + 10335, 27-36).

2-5 The reasons for the restoration of the names of the four main gates of E-sagil in these lines are given in the introduction to the gate lists. Also reproduced there are the lists of such gates which occur in the E-sagil Tablet and an inscription of Neriglissar, and a list of these and other gates of the E-sagil temple complex extracted from *Ludlul* IV. The identification of Ka-Utu-e, Ka-Lamma-(a)rabi, Ka-ḫegal and Ka-ude-babbar with, respectively, the monumental gates of the east, north, west and south fronts of the main building is made on p. 87.

ká.4utu.è of E-sagil (+ final -a in the E-sagil Tablet, and written ká.4utu.u.4.è in *Ludlul* IV) occurs outside the present lists, and the texts cited in the introduction, only in *Tintir* II 37', which, as we restore it, makes mention of the room immediately inside this gate: ašruk[kati šá k]á.4utu.è (on ašrukkatu as the "lobby" inside a gateway see the commentary on no. 14, VAT 9961 + 10335, 5). This room must be identified with the excavators' Room 19, which filled the entire space between the east gate and the courtyard of the main building. As the east gate Ka-Utu-e led to the temple's Eastern Annexe, a large but little-explored extension which probably housed Ubšu-ukkinna and other cultic chambers. Reconstructions of the temple and its ground-plan by archaeologists suggest that Ka-Utu-e gave access to and from the annexe's main courtyard, no doubt taking into account the unlikelihood of such a monumental gate, at the centre of an elaborately symmetrical facade, being obscured by any contiguity with the structure of the annexe. And indeed, in list no. 7, i 8', Ka-Utu-e is restored as the name of the gate "which opens on to the Lower Court". On the Lower Court as the courtyard of the Eastern Annexe see the commentary on i 5' of that text.

The meaning of the name of E-sagil's north gate, *ká.ḏamma(a/ar).ra.bi* is obscure, on account of the final element, which neither Weissbach (*WVDOG* 59, p. 63³) nor Landsberger (*ZA* 41, p. 297) could explain. The composer of *Ludlul IV*, who charts the spiritual progress of his worshipper according to the meaning of this and other gates, records his adoption by a *lamassu* in Ka-Lamma-(a)rabi (*BWL*, p. 60, 80: *la-mas-si iṭ-ṭe-ḥ[a-a]*, "my guardian angel drew near [me]"), thus making use of ḏamma, but apparently ignoring the implications of the final element; perhaps he too did not understand it.

According to the second gate list, text no. 7, Ka-Lamma-(a)rabi is the ceremonial name of *bāb Bēltiya*, "Gate of My Lady" (BM 38602 // VAT 13817, i 9'). The metrological tablet no. 14 shows that Ka-Lamma-(a)rabi was adjacent to the complex of rooms around Zarpanitum's cella, in the northern part of the building (VAT 9961 + 10335, 10-13), and it would accordingly be a gate of E-sagil much used by "My Lady" Zarpanitum. This is confirmed by the Istanbul stele of Nabonidus, which reports the renovation of the "Gate of Bēltiya, on the procession way of Zarpanitum" (Messerschmidt, *MVAG* 1/I, p. 79, viii 38-39: *bāb ḏbēlti(gašan)-ia šā maš-da-ḥu ḏzar-pa-ni-tum*). A further reference to Zarpanitum's use of this gate in ritual procession comes from the ritual tablet of the Divine Love Lyrics, where Bēltiya (ḏgašan) is said to pass through *bāb ḏbēlti(gašan)-iā* on her way to the garden (Lambert, *Love Lyrics*, p. 104, ii 12). The same gate is probably the "Entrance Gate of Bēltiya" mentioned with other gates of E-sagil in tablets from the archive of the Arsacid banker Raḥimēsu (*BRM* I 99, 25 // *CT* 49 150, 22; 155, 3: *bāb erēb(ku₄) ḏbēlti(gašan)-iā*). The ceremonial name of the north gate of E-sagil occurs also in a Seleucid chronicle, Grayson, *ABC*, p. 123, rev. 3 (read, with photograph on pl. 19, [ká.ḏamma.ra.bi); in the parallel to the Wadi Brisa inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II, who plated the doors of [ká.ḏamma.a.ra.bi and *ká.u₆.de.babbar* with silver (BM 45619, ii 19': George, *RA* 82, p. 145); and in two rituals, no. 40 (BM 38293, 4' and 18') and the Kislimu ritual tablet (BM 32206+, iii 39 and iv 31: G. Çağrgan, *The Babylonian Festivals*, Birmingham Ph.D. 1976, unpublished).

A gate of the same name in E-zida, Nabû's temple in Borsippa, is mentioned in an inscription of Aššurbanipal (Thompson, *PEA*, pl. 14, ii 4; cf. Nassouhi, *AfK* 2, p. 98, i 5), along with another gate, described as *bāb ši-it ḏšamši*^{si} (cf. *ká.ḏutu.ē* in E-sagil), and *ká.ē.zi.da*.

ká.ḥé.gál, as demonstrated in the introduction to the gate lists, is probably the west gate of E-sagil, thus lying behind the cella of Marduk (cf. no. 7, BM 38602 // VAT 13817, i 10', and commentary, where *kutal Bēltiya*, "behind My Lord", is suggested as the explanation of the gate — the line is damaged in the originals). Aside from the gate lists and the texts quoted in the introduction, the ceremonial name of this gate occurs in the ritual fragment no. 40 (BM 38293, 17' and 19', context broken) and in a metrological tablet now in New York, 86-11-102, where it appears in connection with a gate or doorway of a well-house (see p. 279). In *Ludlul IV* the poet, according to his wonted

practice, makes use of the gate's name to illustrate the restoration to favour of his worshipper (*BWL*, p. 60, 79):

[*ina* k]á.ḥé.gál ḥé-gál-la in-n[a-ad-na]

In Ka-ḥegal abundance was bestowed [on me.]

ká.u₆.de.babbar(ra) is the last of the main gates of E-sagil in the gate lists, the E-sagil Tablet and Neriglissar's inscription (see p. 85f.). As is noted in the introduction, the gate appears again in the metrological tablet no. 14, written *ká.ḏUD.ē.babbar.ra* (VAT 9961 + 10335, 6), in connection with its lobby (*ašrukkatu*), there said to measure 8 cubits wide. The same lobby is found in *Tintir* II 40-41, as the location for *šubtu*'s of Dagān and Bēlet-ilī. According to the unpublished Kislimu ritual tablet, *ká.u₆!(É).de.babbar* lay on the route of a procession from E-kar-zaginna, the temple of Ea, into the main building of E-sagil (see p. 303). Nebuchadnezzar plated the doors of Ka-ude-babbar with silver (text cited above under Ka-Lamma-(a)rabi).

Our translation of Ka-ude-babbar(ra) understands *u₆.de* as *tabrātu* (an equivalence well attested in bilingual texts, e.g. a litany in Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc.*, p. 108, 7-8; a proverb in *BWL*, p. 237, 9 // *STVC* 3, iii 9), and babbar as *namru*. The idea of a building inspiring wonder among its beholders is a conventional one, particularly in the inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian and Chaldaean kings (many references are collected in *AHW*, p. 1299, *tabritu*, 3a and 3c). In *Ludlul IV* *ká.u₆.de.babbar.ra* is the place where the sufferer's "omens became intelligible" (*BWL*, p. 60, 84: *id-da-tu-ú-a im-me-ra*), the poet understanding babbar as *namāru*, and then presumably *u₆.de* as *ittu* (either through homophony or through a deliberate re-interpretation of *u₆(IGI+É)* as *giskim(IGI+DUB)*).

6 In the context of gates and gateways **is^{is} tallu* is a wooden lintel, forming the top section of a door-frame, and sometimes overlaid with precious metal (cf. Salonen, *Türen*, p. 56, 'Tragbaum'; see p. 218). That a lintel should have a ceremonial name would be exceptional, but other meanings of *tallu* seem no more suitable.

7 E-dara-anna is also the name of Zarpanitum's cella in the explanatory fragment no. 28 (BM 76887, 8': *papāhi Eru(a)*), and appears as such in the formal lists, the Canonical Temple List (Sm 277, obv. ii 10: [é].dāra.an.na = *bīt ḏz[ar-pa-ni-tum]*, unpub., courtesy Moran) and no. 39 (K 8382, rev. i a 1: 'é.dāra.an.na' = *bīt ḏzar-pa-ni-tū*). In addition, it occurs often among sanctuaries of Babylon and Borsippa in the standard enumerations of the temples of Babylonia which are a feature of laments and litanies (many references are given by Ebeling, *RIA* II, p. 266; see also Kutscher, *YNER* 6, pp. 111 and 136; Black, *Acta Sum* 7, p. 41).

Zarpanitum's cella is also known by the name of its gate, Ka-ḥilisū, for which see the commentary on the next line. As such it was decorated in gold by Nebuchadnezzar II, along with the cellae of Marduk and Nabû. Here was a bed for Marduk and Zarpanitum,

and probably also the *šubtu*'s listed in *Tintir* II 7-11, first among them E-ḫal-anki, the seat of Zarpanītum herself (see p. 268).

From the metrological tablet no. 14 (VAT 9961+10335, 10-13) it is clear that the complex of rooms and the courtyard ancillary to Zarpanītum's cella (known as the Chapel of Bēltiya and the Court of the Chapel of Bēltiya) lay between the central courtyard of E-sagil's main building (Court of Bēl, or Upper Court) and its north gate, Ka-Lamma-(a)rabi, the Gate of Bēltiya. A courtyard, numbered '5' on Wetzel's plan (fig. 6 on p. 86), and attendant chambers have indeed been partially excavated in this part of E-sagil, but none of the rooms is identifiable with the cella of Zarpanītum, and this should therefore be sought in the temple's unexplored north-west corner, beyond the west side of courtyard '5'. The Court of Bēltiya is mentioned again in the present text (ll. 33-34), and perhaps in *Tintir* II 19 (cf. the commentary, ad loc.).

8 The gate of E-dara-anna is better attested than the cella it led to. In royal inscriptions Ka-ḫilisu even replaces E-dara-anna as the cella's name. Aššurbanipal describes it as the "bed-chamber of Zarpanītum", with reference to a bed of Marduk and Zarpanītum which he had placed in the cella, and paraphrases the ceremonial name *ká.ḫi.li.sù* in Akkadian as "(Gate) sprinkled with luxury" (*ina* *ká.ḫi.li.sù m*)*aš-tak* *⁴zar-pa-ni-tum ša ku-uz-bu sa-al-ḫu*: Thompson, *PEA*, pl. 14, i 52-53 // Millard, *Iraq* 30, p. 108, ii 6'-7'). The cella and its gate were refurbished in gold by Nebuchadnezzar II; for him Ka-ḫilisu is the "abode of Zarpanītum" (*šu-ba-at* *⁴zar-pa-ni-tum*: V R 34, i 49; Ball, *PSBA* 10, p. 368f., i 31), her cella (*pa-pa-ḫi* *⁴z.*, CT 37 7, i 32), as well as its gate (*ká.ḫi.li.sù bāb pa-pa-ḫa* *⁴z.*, *PBS* XV 79, i 32). As Aššurbanipal had done before him, Nebuchadnezzar explains the name of the gate in Akkadian (Wadi Brisa A iii 43-46 // B i 11*-14*):

ká.ḫi.li.sù 'bāb' ku-uz-bu za-a-nu ša-ri-ri ú-za-in-ma bīta a-na ⁴zar-pa-ni-tum be-el-ti-ia (var.: [ni]n-ia) *lu-le-e uš-ma-lu*

Ka-ḫilisu, the Gate decorated with luxury, I decorated with red gold, filling the chapel with beauty for My Lady Zarpanītum.

(Cf. I R 65, i 31-33; 54, ii 51.) In the syncretistic hymn *KAR* 109, Ka-ḫilisu appears with other parts of E-sagil (E-umuša, Marduk's cella, and Ka-silimma, its gate), and its name is etymologically analysed in the epithets with which the poet honours his goddess (obv. 15):

[*ina*] *ká.ḫi.li.sù ku-uz-ba ul-la-ḫat bu-na-me* (unpub. var.: *bu-na-ma*) *za-'na-at*

In Ka-ḫilisu she is adorned with luxury, she is ornate as to her appearance.

In an unpublished ritual of E-sagil there is again mention of *ká.ḫi.li.sù ba-ab ku-uz-bu za-'nu*, "Ka-ḫilisu, the Gate decorated with luxury" (K 3446+8830, rev. 17, courtesy W.G. Lambert), in connection with rites concerning the divine entourage of Zarpanītum.

According to *Ludlul* IV, this gate is where the redeemed worshipper "kissed the feet of Zarpanītum" (*BWL*, p. 60, 90: *še-ep ⁴zar-pa-ni-tum an-na-šiq*). A variant writing for *ká.ḫi.li.sù* in *Ludlul* is *ká.ḫi.li.gar* (VAT 9442, 90: *BWL*, pl. 18, MS u), with which compare in an Assyrian literary text *é.ḫi.li.gar bēt ḫa-du-ti-ia*, "E-ḫiligar, chapel of my delight" (George, *SAAB* 1, p. 32, 5; and p. 33f. for the reading *é.ḫi.li.gar* in *STT* 366, 1).

The portent list *CT* 29 49, 33, records the sighting of a demon in a potstand in *ká.ḫi.li.sù*; while the Religious Chronicle notes ominous movement of a *kāribu* figure at the right of what can probably be restored as *bāb pa-pa-ḫi [bēlti-i]á ka[mī(bar)]*, "the outer gateway of Bēltiya's cella" (Grayson, *ABC*, p. 138, iii 16, coll.), by which may be meant Ka-ḫilisu, or a gate beyond it: note that there were such figures at the gate of Marduk's cella also (see the commentary below on Ka-silimma: no. 7, BM 38602 // VAT 13817, i 2').

9-13 On the gates of the ziqqurrat temple (*bīt ziqrat*), which are also listed in Nebuchadnezzar II's Wadi Brisa inscription, see the introduction, p. 89f. Ka-nun-abzu can also be found in the ritual fragment no. 40 (BM 38293, 5'; note also mention of the *bīt ziqrat*, wr. *é.u.g.nir*, in 12'-13').

The qualifications "upper" and "lower" in ll. 9-10 agree with *daltu*, not with *bābu*, if we are to believe the parallel entries in no. 7 (BM 38602 // VAT 13817, i 12'-13'). Ka-unir in l. 11 is not to be confused with the gate of the same name in l. 22, which evidently belongs not to the ziqqurrat temple, but to E-tur-kalamma, the sanctuary of Bēlet-Bābili.

The end of the line of summary (l. 13) is obscure. LU can be udu, of course, and sheep in this context suggest the entry of sacrificial animals. What we transliterate as AN? 30 might just be a poor GI, and one wonders then whether udu GI! ^{mes}-i 7 ^{mes} should be understood as a garbled writing of *sebet immerī ginē*, with *nigin* ^{mes} to be construed as part of *paḫāru*, *lamū* or *saḫāru*? With these suggested "7 sheep of the regular offerings" compare the 8 *immerī* (udu.udu) *gi-né-e* offered daily by Nebuchadnezzar II to Nergal and Laš in Kutha (I R 65, ii 36). Temple gates are, naturally enough, just the places where such offerings are collected (as in ll. 24-25 of the present text, where gates are associated with offerings of milk and incense, and in *Tintir* II 43, where a shrine in the gate Ka-maḫ is associated with sacrificial ewes, *aslātu ša niqī*).

14 E-kar-zaginna being the temple of Ea, located in the precinct of E-sagil somewhere near the river bank (see *Tintir* IV 3 and commentary), the name of this gate as the first and, no doubt, principal entrance to that sanctuary is self-explanatory. Ka-kar-zaginna reappears in l. 25 of the present list, introducing gates of the Garden of Apsū, and again in the list no. 7, where it is a gate through which the god Muštēšir-ḫabli enters (BM 38602 // VAT 13817, i 14' and commentary).

15 *ká.gul.la* is attested only here, and it may well stand for *ká.gu.la*, "Great Gate", for

“Gate of Destruction” or “Ruined Gate” is perhaps unlikely as the ceremonial name of a temple gate. A *ká.gu.la* is known as a temple gate of Babylon in the ritual K 3446 + 8830, obv. 19, quoted above, p. 280; and in Nabonidus’ Istanbul stele appears *ká.gu.la bāb kisal.maḥ* (Messerschmidt, *MVAG* 1/I, p. 79, viii 44: passage as a whole quoted below, p. 414). But the *ká.gu.la* of these texts appears to be a gate of E-sagil itself (perhaps the south gate of the Eastern Annexe, the excavators’ Gate H, since Nabonidus describes it as the gate of the Grand Court, which lay to the south of the temple), and this precludes an identification with the gate of the present line, which is one of three in E-kar-zaginna.

In the lines that follow, the “outer gate” (*bābu kamû*) of each temple is followed by the gate “facing the courtyard” (*ša pān kisallî*): the former is presumably the main gate of each temple, the latter an inner gate, giving on to the temple’s inner court. Where another gate is listed, as in l. 14, where Ka-E-kar-zaginna is the “gate of Ea’s temple”, we might understand this as either a second exterior gate or a gate into an inner sanctum. The temple of Bēlet-Bābili, which was provided with two interior courtyards, has apparently two “outer gates” and two gates “facing the courtyard”: see further below, on ll. 19-22.

16 For the name and reading of the gate of the inner court of E-kar-zaginna, see below, *ká.gù.n.a* (l. 25), and the commentary.

17-18 That this pair of gates was situated in the temple of Madānu (E-rab-riri: *Tintir* IV 4) is shown by the parallel lines of the gate list no. 7 (BM 38602 // VAT 13817, i 15'-16'), in which their ceremonial names are translated as *bāb dalîli* and *bābu mupaṭṭir tānîhi*. The emendation to <a>.šēr follows the Kiš variant of *Ludlul* IV 87, in which [*ká.a.š*]ēr. du₃.ḫu.du is a restoration obligatory by reason of spacing (*OECT* XI 48, rev. 2'); a.šēr can be placed alongside a.še.er as a writing of the Emesal form of a.nir = *tānîhu*. As with other gates of the E-sagil temple complex, *Ludlul* IV uses the ceremonial names of Madānu’s gates to illustrate the worshipper’s salvation (*BWL*, p. 60, 86-87):

ina ká.ka.tar.ra iš-ta-la pi-ia
ina ká.a.še.er.duḫ.ù.da up-ta-ṭa-ra ta-ni-ḫi

In Ka-katarra my mouth enquired,
 in Ka-ašer-duḫuda my woe was dispelled.

The first gate name is broken into *ka (pû)* and *(èn).tar (šālu)*, the second is interpreted straightforwardly.

Gates used by Madānu, which might be either of these listed, are found in ritual tablets: *nē-reb* ⁴di.ku₅, Lambert, *Love Lyrics*, p. 102, i 14; *bāb nē-re-bi* ⁴di.ku₅, K 8878, 13 (unpub.); *bāb e-reb* ⁴di.ku₅, BM 32206+, ii 40 (Kislimu rituals, see p. 293; the gate to Madānu’s cella also appears in this text, iv 30: *bāb pa-pa-ḫi* [*š*]á ⁴di.ku₅). A similarly

named gate is mentioned in documents from the archive of the Arsacid banker, Raḫimēsu, along with other gates of the E-sagil complex, but it is a gate of the temple of Bēlet-Bābili: *bāb erēb*(ku₄) ⁴di.ku₅ é.tūr.kalam.ma (*BRM* I 99, 26 // *CT* 49 150, 23).

19-22 These four gates seem all to belong to the temple of Bēlet-Bābili (Ištar of Babylon), the famous and important sanctuary of E-tur-kalamma, close to E-sagil (*Tintir* IV 8 and commentary). The existence of two outer gates and two inner gates for this temple is perhaps to be explained by the consideration that E-tur-kalamma was provided with two interior courtyards, an Upper Court and a Lower Court (see p. 307). This is also an indication that Bēlet-Bābili’s sanctuary was a substantial edifice. However, none of its gates figures in the gate list no. 7, nor even in *Ludlul* IV. A gate called *k[á.du]mu.nun.n[a] é.sag.gil* occurs in a document of the Arsacid banker Raḫimēsu (*CT* 49 155, 8) and also in astronomical diaries, where *ká.dumu.nun.na šá é.sag.gil/i[l]* is a location for sacrifice (BM 35447, 8; *LBAT* 403 + 404 + 405, rev. 18; 436, 23', courtesy Hunger; cf. Pinches, *Old Testament*³, p. 484). This can only be the gate of our l. 19 if these texts are using E-sagil in its broadest sense, that is, as a name for the entire complex of temples in the centre of Babylon. It was suggested earlier (p. 308) that *ká.dumu.nun.na*, on account of its name, may connect E-tur-kalamma and Sîn’s temple, E-nitenna. One may restore *ká.é.tūr.[ka-lam.ma]* in an unpublished ritual of Babylon (K 8878, 16). The meaning of its description in the present text as *bāb paṭār(i) kamî* is ambiguous: given the alternation in the list between *bābu kamû* and *bābšu ša pān kisallî*, one might expect this gate to be an outer gate (*bābu kamû*) of E-tur-kalamma (as presumed above), giving access to an interior courtyard of the temple via the gate of line 22. However, the parallelism between *bāb paṭār(i) kamî* here and the description of Babylon as *āl kidinni pāṭir(i) kasî* (*Tintir* I 48) cannot be denied, and one wonders whether Ka-E-tur-kalamma had some special significance in the obtaining of sanctuary in Babylon by refugees (on this aspect of the *kidinnu* privilege see above, p. 265). More difficult to construe is the ceremonial name of the second of Bēlet-Bābili’s gates, and there may be a textual corruption present: cf. *ká.è.a.ni.šè.túm.ma* at Kiš (text no. 23, 11'). A Ka-unir is already listed in this text as the south gate of E-temen-anki, the ziqqurrat temple (l. 11); obviously this is a different gate, but how it acquired its name is puzzling. Was there a small tower attached to E-tur-kalamma?

23 This line begins a new section of the list, in which the ceremonial name of each gate follows an explanation of its location or function. If the Entrance Gate of Nabû and Bēlet-Bābili implies a pairing of the two deities in a ceremonial procession (and a fragment of such a ritual may be K 8742 (unpub., courtesy W.G. Lambert), in which Nabû visits E-tur-kalamma), then this gate is otherwise unattested. On the other hand this may be a fuller name of the gate Nebuchadnezzar II calls the Entrance Gate of Nabû, the terminus of his procession road (*nēreb Nabû E-sagil*, Wadi Brisa A vii 48,

quoted above, p. 362), probably the main entrance into the temple complex from the south, and quite possibly also used by Bēlet-Bābili.

24 This is the west gate of the ziqqurrat temple, already listed in l. 12. Milk as an offering for the table of Marduk and Zarpanitum is recorded by Nebuchadnezzar II (I R 65, i 20); it is also one of the ingredients of Anu's morning meal in Uruk (Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, p. 75, 4). Several ceremonial names of temples and shrines also vouch for the place of dairy products in the meals of the gods: note in particular é.ga.i.nun.ḥé.du., "House Suited for Milk and Ghee", and é.ga.i.nun.šár.šár, "House where Milk and Ghee Proliferate" (for references see *Tintir* II 6 and commentary; cf. also text no. 23, 12' and commentary).

25 This gate of Ea's temple is also listed in l. 14. The connection of the *rabbānē* with gardeners and gardening is implicit in ll. 14-16 of the ritual tablet of the Divine Love Lyrics (as noted by Lambert, *Love Lyrics*, p. 106). Here they are responsible for offerings of *riqqu*, an incense of vegetable origin (see Thompson, *DAB*, p. 335ff.), and one wonders whether it is they who supervise the cultivation of aromatic plants for use in the cult (if only as part of their temple duties: on *rabbānē*, "noblemen", see now Zadok, *RA* 77, p. 189f.). That such cultivation existed can be inferred from the mention in late documents of a "garden of juniper bushes surrounding E-ḫursag-sikilla, the temple of Gula" (*BRM* I 99, 26-27 // *CT* 49 105, 23-24, quoted above, p. 306). Such a garden may have been the Garden of Apsū, part of Ea's temple (mentioned in the next three lines, and also in inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Aššurbanipal: see p. 302f.).

26-27 Like Ka-E-kar-zaginna of the preceding line, the two gates which open on to the Garden of Apsū are to be connected with the temple of Ea (see above, *Tintir* IV 3 and commentary, for E-kar-zaginna as the "Gate of Apsū"). The gardens of this temple played some part in the ritual renovation and 'bringing to life' of divine statues by means of the *mīs pī* and *pīt pī* ceremonies, and it is to this function that the additional explanation of l. 27 refers. The location of E-kar-zaginna and its garden on the river bank (p. 302) offers a practical justification for the name of Ka-Id, "Gate of the River God", but there may also be a cosmological allusion, for Apsū, Ea's domain, is the source of all rivers.

28 This gate is not attested elsewhere, but is presumably another gate of, or near, the Garden of Apsū.

For a résumé of the literature on *tarahḫu* and *kalakku* and the connection between them, see Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 4 (commentary on iv 22). In Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions both are to do with the preparation of a cleared site prior to the commencement of rebuilding, whether the construction in question be a temple, a

palace or a city wall. The *tarahḫu* and *kalakku* were ritually 'consecrated' by the sprinkling over them of sumptuous libations of beer, wines, oils, fats, honey and other luxury items, as also was the mud-plaster facing (*šallaru*) of the newly-built walls (for the *tarahḫu* so treated see Borger, *Esar.*, p. 4, 19-22; p. 20, Ep. 20; Weidner, *Afo* 13, p. 206, 7-8: Asb; V R 64, ii 5-6: Nbk; for *kalakku* see Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 62, vi 37; *Afo* 18, p. 113, 16; *VAB* VII, p. 86, x 83-84: Asb; *KAH* II 129, 4: Sîn-šarra-iškun).

In the Old Babylonian period, however, *tarahḫu* and *kalakku* are found in the context of digging canals and irrigation channels (see the references cited by *CAD* K, p. 62, s.v. *kalakku* A, 1a-b; *AHw*, p. 423, *kalakku* I, 1; p. 1324, *tarahḫu*, 1). One wonders whether in our line *tarahḫu* and *kalakku* are the dikes and ditches of the channels which irrigate the Garden of Apsū, especially since "canals" (*palgu*) are a feature of E-kar-zaginna's garden of which Esarhaddon makes particular mention (see the passage quoted on p. 302).

29 The ceremonial name of the gate is shared with the gate of E-zida at Borsippa, through which passed Nabû's procession to and from the Babylonian New Year Festival (I R 54, iii 46; *CT* 37 10, ii 4-8; *VAB* IV, p. 298, Nbk 51, 4). A *ká.gùn.a* is also mentioned alongside a Dais of Destinies (*parak šīmāti^{mes}*), a Gate of Mār-āli (*bāb ʿdumu-uru*) and a Court of the Lamentation Priests (*tūr ʿūgala^{mes}*) in a fragment probably from a ritual tablet, no. 42 (K 3655), but whether the topographical context is Babylon or Borsippa is not clear.

The gate of the present line may be the same as the *bāb e-reb ʿgu-la* in *ABL* 877, obv. 16, where it is a landmark for the ancestral home of a manumitted slave, and in the unpublished Kislimu ritual tablet, BM 32206+, i 38, in which it is a gate near E-sagil. No indication is given by the list as to the exact location of this gate of Gula, but it is probable that it was the principal gate of her temple Egal-maḫ (better known as E-ḫursag-sikilla: see the commentary on *Tintir* IV 5), which was situated close to E-sagil.

Sum. *gùn* is equivalent to Akk. *barāmu*, *barmu*, *burrumu* and *birmu*, which have to do with variegated colouring, particularly with regard to dyed cloth, animal markings and the colour of eyes (see *CAD* B, s.v.). With *gùn* describing a gate compare *MSL* VI, p. 23, *Hh* V 214, ^{s18}ig.igi.gùn.gùn.nu = *uq-qu-tu*, explained in *Hg* as *da-lat bir-mu*, "door with multi-coloured trim" (von Weiher, *SpTU* II 53, iv 15).

30 The ceremonial name of the gate is emended in the light of é.sag.dil.an.na.^{s18}gidru.tuku, the temple of Papsukkal near E-sagil (*Tintir* IV 10). The temple evidently doubles as a repository for royal property, perhaps that destined to provision the cults of E-sagil and the adjacent temples.

31 We understand the designation "of the courtyard" to refer to a chapel immediately accessible from a courtyard, rather than actually in it — this in contrast to those cultic chambers whose ante-rooms provided them with greater seclusion. The phrase is also

used of Gula's chapel in the following line, and of Nabû's cella in E-sagil in the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II (see p. 281f.; note further chapels of Ninurta and Marduk *ša kisalli* in Uruk: Pohl, *AnOr* 9 20, 50; 28, obv. 11; 23, 10; 26, 2).

Given that the last two of the four cultic throne-dais described in this section of the list are situated in or near the cella of Bēltiya-Zarpanītum in E-sagil, it seems likely that the first two dais of the list, those in the chapels of Ninurta and Gula "of the courtyard", are also to be sought in Marduk's temple. A chapel of Ninurta in E-sagil is known from *Tintir* II 17, which lists therein a *šubtu* of the Igigi under the ceremonial name of E-umuša-Asalluḫi, and in the following line, if it is correctly restored, a *šubtu* of the Anunnaki called E-abzu-Asalluḫi (one wonders whether these names reflect the presence in the same chapel of the dais of Asarre: see p. 273). The question is then, which courtyard of E-sagil is referred to in the phrase *ša kisalli*? Several courtyards of the temple are known by name, both inside it (Court of Bēl, or Upper Court; Court of Bēltiya, also known as the Court of the Chapel of Bēltiya; Lower Court), and outside (Grand Court; Court of Ištar and Zababa). It is probably significant that no specification of the courtyard in question is thought necessary: evidently its identity is obvious to the reader. Now the courtyard of E-sagil is the central courtyard of the main building, known as the Court of Bēl or Upper Court (see further the commentary on text no. 7, BM 38602 // VAT 13817, i 5'), and probably we should seek the chapels of Ninurta, Gula and Nabû "of the courtyard" in rooms directly adjacent to this central court.

Beyond the description of the chapel of Ninurta as *ša kisalli*, the present line gives us further useful information. The dais of Asarre, it says, is against the chapel's north wall, opposite a gateway — so this gateway must be in the south wall. The gateway can be readily imagined as leading to the courtyard which gives the chapel its name, and this courtyard must consequently be sought south of the chapel, and the chapel north of the courtyard. The north wall of the central courtyard of the main building of E-sagil was excavated by the German expedition, and was found to be pierced by three gateways (Gates j, k and l: see fig. 6), as were the other three walls of the courtyard. Gate l gave immediate access to a chamber measuring 15.55 metres long by 6.25 metres wide, the long axis being parallel to the courtyard wall (Room 12: Wetzel, *WVDOG* 59, p. 9; to Koldewey this was Cella 'C': *WVDOG* 15, p. 41ff.). At the back of this chamber, inset in its north wall directly opposite the gateway to the courtyard, was a niche, and in front of this niche a dais of brick, coated in bitumen (photograph: *WVDOG* 15, p. 42, fig. 61). The bitumen bore the imprint of the ornately carved pieces of a wooden throne which had once stood on the dais (ibid., p. 43f., and fig. 62). Because he found that this throne was decorated with, among other things, figures holding water vases, Koldewey assumed that the throne and its chamber belonged to Ea, god of Apsû (indeed, he identified the room with the sanctuary of Serapis visited by Alexander's generals as he lay on his death-bed, as described in Arrian, *Anabasis* VII; but the identification of Ea and Serapis is generally dismissed today — for recent literature see the footnote of J.R. Hamilton in de

Sélincourt (trans.), Arrian, *The Campaigns of Alexander*, 1971, p. 393¹⁰⁸ — and the excavator's romantic notion is no longer tenable). In fact the impression of the *mušhuššu* of Marduk was also found in the bitumen, and water-carrying figurines are not a preserve of Ea, being found as a feature of a throne of Marduk described by Aššurbanipal (an inscription republished by R.D. Barnett, Gadd and Figulla, *Iraq* 12, p. 40f.; note the detail given in ll. 26 and 30, of the throne's legs: *lamassāte*(^{r.d}lamma)^{meš} *mēmeš* *i-lab-bu-ni*, "water-(lines) encircle the *lamassu*-figurines"). So the throne might well belong to Marduk. In conclusion, it would seem that the dais on which this throne rested is very probably the *parak Asarre* of our list, and Room 12 accordingly the "chapel of Ninurta of the courtyard".

On Asarre as a name of Marduk see above, p. 248, and *Enūma eliš* VII 1.

32 The Chapel of Gula "of the courtyard" is not attested elsewhere, but *šubtu*'s of this goddess in the Upper and Lower Courts of E-sagil are listed in *Tintir* II 12-13.

33 On *a/elallu*, a "brownish limestone native to the mountains north of Assyria", see *CAD* E, p. 74f. That the text remarks on the material of which the throne-dais is made, can be put down to the probability that use of stone was exceptional, even in sacred contexts. The dais excavated in Room 12 of E-sagil was constructed of baked brick and bitumen, as were those in the cellae of other excavated temples of Babylon. The significance of the use of this particular stone is that it had magic properties: Esarhaddon, who carved a *mušhuššu* in it, calls it the "stone of speaking and hearing", i.e. one that improves communications between man and god (Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 85, 50; cf. Lambert, *AnSt* 30, p. 82).

The Court of Bēltiya, also known as the Court of the Chapel of Bēltiya, is the courtyard near Zarpanītum's cella, somewhere between the north gate of E-sagil (Ka-Lamma-(a)rabi) and the central courtyard (Court of Bēl); see above, p. 394. On the problems attending the identification of Zarpanītum's courtyard and the excavators' Hof 5, see the commentary below on the metrological text, no. 14 (VAT 9961 + 10335, 11). Unfortunately the courtyard's west side, where we should expect to find the limestone dais, was not fully explored.

34 A *šubtu* of Nissaba, which may or may not have occupied this dais, is listed in *Tintir* II 12'.

BM 38602, col. i // VAT 13817, col. i (no. 7)

2' *ká.silim.ma* is restored here on the basis of *Ludlul* IV and *KAR* 109. In *Ludlul* IV it occurs twice: once to illustrate the worshipper's redemption (*BWL*, p. 60, 81: [*ina*

k]á.silim.ma *šul-ma-na ap-pa-l[is]*, “In Ka-silimma I discovered favour”), and again, coupled with Ka-ḫilisu, the gate of Zarpanītum’s cella, as the place where he came face to face with the godhead (89: *ina ká.silim.ma it-ti 4marduk an-na-mir*, “In Ka-silimma I met with Marduk”), a meeting which would have taken place as the worshipper stood in the cella’s gateway opposite the divine throne. The two gates Ka-ḫilisu and Ka-silimma are also paired in the syncretistic hymn, *KAR* 109, where they fall between E-sagil, the name of Marduk’s temple as a whole, and E-umuša, his cella within. As is the nature of the hymn, the epithets of the goddess to whom it is addressed reflect the Sumerian ceremonial name (obv. 14):

ina ká.silim.ma ka-bat(unpub. var.: *bit*)-*ti an-šár be-let taš-me-e u sa-li-me*

In Ka-silimma she is the honoured one of Anšar, the lady of divine grace and friendship.

The gate’s name is used of Marduk’s cella itself in a fragmentary inscription of Marduk-zākir-šumi I (Frayne and Grayson, *ARRIM* 6, p. 17, 8’: *ká.silim.ma pa-paḥ 4bēl*). A *ká.silim.ma* also appears in a tiny Kuyunjik fragment, no. 61 (K 18013, 5’: pl. 55).

A variant name of Ka-silimma is *ká.su.lim.ma*, “Gate of Radiance”. This name is found in a text which celebrates Marduk’s return from Elam in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I, where it refers to Marduk’s cella as a whole (IV *R*² 20, no. 1, 19-20):

ká.su.lim nam.lugal.la.bi.šē é.šā.sig.ga pirig.gá ba.ni.īb.si.sá.e me.li ár.i.i
ká.su.lim pa-paḥ be-lu-ti-šú im-me-ra ma-li ri-šá-a-ti

Ka-sulimma, his lordly cella, became radiant and full of jubilation.

It is also known from the explanatory fragment no. 28, where it occurs with shrines of Babylon and Borsippa and is explained as *bāb šalummati*, “Gate of Radiance” (BM 76887, 3’); and from the Agum-kakrime inscription, in a description of the restoration of the cult of Marduk following a refurbishing of his temple (V *R* 33, v 37-42):

[*an*]a *ká.su.lim.ma pa-pa-ḥa-at 4marduk lu ú-še-rib-šu-nu-ti ni-ga-ti-šú-nu ra-ba-a-ti lu-ú e-pu-uš*

I brought (the gods) into Ka-sulimma (and) the cellae of Marduk, and performed their magnificent festivals.

The gate of Marduk’s cella was the location of *kāribu*-figures: the income from offerings made to them was a prebend in the Persian period (*VS* IV 69, 7: *4ka-rib bāb pa-pa-ḥu 4marduk*; V 87 || 88, 2-3: *4ka-ri-bi šá 4pa-pa-ḥu 4m.*; VI 129, 2-3: *4ka-ri-bi ina é.sag.íl bīt 4m.*; Peiser, *BV* 91, 6 and 9-10 (coll.): *4ka-ri-bi šá pa-pa-ḥa-ḥu 4m.*). Such figures are known from the Religious Chronicle to have stood also at the gate of Zarpanītum’s cella in E-sagil (see above, p. 395). The “Gate of My Lord” mentioned in the same chronicle is hardly the gate of Marduk’s cella (Grayson, *ABC*, p. 137, iii 3: *bāb bēli-ī[a]*), for the text

records the sighting and killing there of a deer. Perhaps some exterior gate of Marduk’s temple — or its precinct — is meant.

Weissbach, *WVDOG* 59, p. 72, identified Ka-sulimma with the monumental gateway in the centre of the west side of the central courtyard (the excavators’ Gate h), which leads to the outer ante-room of Marduk’s cella (Room 18). Gate h, however, the most impressively built of all the courtyard gates, is probably the gate referred to in line 5’ of the present list as the “great gate of the Court of Bēl”, and this would preclude its identification with Ka-sulimma, the gate of Marduk’s cella. Ka-sulimma (or Ka-silimma) is most probably the innermost gate of those behind Gate h, between the last ante-room and the ‘holy of holies’ itself (for the reconstruction of Marduk’s cella and its adjacent chambers, see the metrological tablet no. 14, VAT 9961 + 10335, 28-36, and the commentary).

3’ Ka-ḫilisu, the gate of Zarpanītum’s cella, is treated above, p. 394f. For Erua as a name of Zarpanītum see the commentary on *Tintir* V 37.

4’ The *gadalalū* or *gadalū* is a curtain or drape lifted from the images of Marduk and Zarpanītum as the first ritual act of the day during the New Year Festival (Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, pp. 149, 3; 151, 218; 153, 287; it is there written ¹⁰*gada.lal*). This cella may have been named after such ceremonies. However, one may note that a well-known *pa-pāḥu* of the temple is that of Nabû (see above, *Tintir* II 2’ and commentary), and it is not impossible that our scribe has misread a broken *4muati* on the damaged original as *gada.lal*. The *pa-pāḥu* of Nabû commonly follows those of Marduk and Zarpanītum in inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II (the sequence is E-umuša, Ka-ḫilisu and E-zida: see p. 281f.).

5’ From the description of this gate in the second sub-column, we suspect that it was the largest of the gates of the central courtyard of E-sagil (the Court of Bēl: see below), and would thus identify it with the excavator’s Gate h in the centre of the courtyard’s west side, which led to the ante-rooms of Marduk’s cella. As noted in the introduction to the gate lists, this important processional gate is probably the one ceremonially named in the E-sagil Tablet as *ká.gal*, “Great Gate”, and so the description of it as *bābu rabū* in the present line may have more than just architectural significance. A gate of this ceremonial name in E-sagil is also mentioned in the unpublished ritual tablets K 8742, ii 8, and K 3446 + 8830, obv. 19 (the latter passage quoted above, p. 280), in the company of *ká.im.limmu.ba*, “Gate of the Four Winds”, and *ká.gu.la*, “Large Gate”, and in the context, probably, of a royal procession into the temple. However, as we remarked in our brief discussion of the topography of the relevant passage of K 3446 + 8830, two of the shrines there mentioned are known to belong in Ka-maḥ (so *Tintir* II 42-43), and if *ká.gal* is their entrance (as seems likely from the context), then it must be seen as an interior gateway of Ka-maḥ (the excavators’ Gate F: see p. 87 and the commentary below on l. 7’) rather than as Gate h. It may be, of course, that more than one interior gateway of

E-sagil bore the ceremonial name *ká.gal*. In this regard it is worth mentioning that it is improbable that the common designation *bābu rabû* always refers to the same gate of the temple (gates of E-sagil are so called in *Tintir* II 36', *bābi rabî*¹⁹; in the continuation of the present list, l. 19', *bābu rabû*⁴, whose ceremonial name is certainly not *ká.gal*; in administrative documents of the Parthian period, *BRM* I 99, 25 // *CT* 49 150, 22, *bābi rabî*¹, with other gates of the E-sagil temple complex; in the fragment no. 32, *BM* 74167, 3', *bābu rabû*⁴; and in the unpublished rituals of the month Kislimu, *BM* 32206+, iii 31, *bābi rabî*¹). But of course, as this evidence itself shows, the equation of *ká.gal* (ceremonial name) and *bābu rabû* (common name) taken for granted in the present line does not always hold true, and for the moment the number and location of gates called *ká.gal* or *bābu rabû* must remain a matter for speculation.

The Court of Bēl is also known from the metrological text no. 14, in which its length is given as 77 cubits (VAT 9961+10335, 8: *kisallu ša Bēl*), thus tallying with the longer dimension of the main building's central courtyard (see further the commentary, ad loc.). Two ritual tablets also mention it: in the unpublished Kislimu rituals a procession is described which passes into E-sagil at Ka-ude-babbar, the south gate, and proceeds through the Court of Bēl (kisal⁴en) to the gates of the cellae of Bēl and Bēltiya (Marduk and Zarpanitum; the passage is noted above, p. 303); a fragment in private ownership, dealing with rites of the first day of the Babylonian New Year Festival, mentions the *kisallu ša bēl* (line 3; the piece is edited in G. Çağırman, *The Babylonian Festivals*, Birmingham Ph.D. 1976, unpublished, p. 1f.).

The central courtyard of the main building is also referred to as the Upper Court, a designation found in *Tintir* II 39' (*kisalli elēnî*¹) and in a letter from Urad-aḥḥēšu, superintendent of works, to Esarhaddon or Aššurbanipal, where *kisal-lu e-le-nu-u* is the courtyard of E-sagil in the part of the temple "where Bēl and Bēltiya live" (*ABL* 119, obv. 12-14), and rebuilt by him "together with its chapels" (*a-di ekurrâte*^{mes-šû}). These chapels are probably those described as *ša kisalli* in other texts (see above, the commentary on no. 6, *BM* 35046, 31-32). Urad-aḥḥēšu mentions a Lower Court in the same letter, rebuilt together with its chapels and a cella of Tašmētum (obv. 14-15). This is probably the principal courtyard of the Eastern Annexe, which could be expected to be slightly lower than the main building in elevation. It is also mentioned in the present list (line 8'). Allusion to the Upper and Lower Courts of E-sagil is made in *Tintir* II 12-13, with reference to the location of shrines of Gula. A Lower Court appears repeatedly in the fragmentary ritual no. 44.

6' An *arkap/binnu*-door of E-sagil is known from the E-sagil Tablet (line 4: ¹⁸*dalat ar-ka-bi-in-ni*), where it occurs in connection with the Court of Ištar and Zababa, one of the courtyards of the temple precinct. The *arkab/pinnu* door is treated in *Malku* II 172 (von Soden, *ZA* 43, p. 240) and Explicit *Malku* III = *CT* 18 3, v 22, where it is explained as *da-al-tum la qa-ti-tum*, "incomplete door". Such a door only partially closed a doorway, with the result that it did not exclude the elements (Gilgameš VI 34, coll.):

¹⁸*dalat ar-ka-bi-in-ni ša la i-kal-lu-ú šāra u zi-i-qa*

An *arkabinnu*-door, that checks neither breeze nor draught!

If our *bāb arkapinni* is to be identified with the E-sagil Tablet's *dalat arkabinni*, which, as we have said, is connected with a courtyard of the temple precinct, then we should expect it to be one of the exterior gates of the temple, probably one of those in the Eastern Annexe to which we have not been able to assign a ceremonial name (EGH, but note the reservations put forward on p. 417).

7' Given the explanation offered by the second sub-column, one might expect to restore *ká.utu.è(a)* in this line, but the surviving trace of the tail of an oblique wedge, small though it is, will not allow it. The "Gate of the Sunrise" is thus restored in the following line, where its position as the first of the four gates of the main building agrees with Neriglissar's list (p. 85). We have therefore provisionally restored *ká.maḥ* in the present line, with the twofold justification that it fits the available trace and, as one of the gates of the E-sagil Tablet's list, might be expected in the present text. As argued in the introduction to the gate lists, Ka-maḥ should be sought in the Eastern Annexe of E-sagil, where — to judge from its place at the top of the E-sagil Tablet's list — it should be the main entrance. The principal gateway of the annexe — and indeed of the whole temple — was seen by the excavators to be that labelled Gate F (Wetzel, *WDOG* 59, p. 11), the more northerly of the two monumental gates of the annexe's east front. If Gate F is to be Ka-maḥ then there is some support from the present line, which describes our restored [*ká.maḥ*] as *bāb šî šamši*, the "east gate" par excellence, though not itself by ceremonial name the "gate of the sunrise". This consideration, however, is not enough to remove entirely the suspicion that all is not right with a restoration that puts Ka-Utu-e in one column and *bāb šî šamši* in another, but on different lines, even though the traces — such as they are — and topographical considerations appear to speak for it (on the fittingness of *bābu ša ana kisalli šaplî petû* as a description of Ka-Utu-e see above, p. 391). The question is, are the traces of VAT 13817 completely to be trusted, surviving as they do only minutely and on by no means a perfectly written tablet copied from a damaged original? It is principally with this thought in mind that the restoration of the ceremonial names in ll. 7'-8' is made with reservation.

Ka-maḥ is found in *Tintir* II 42-43, where it is the location of shrines of Ea and Nanše; in a Kedor-laomer text (Jeremias, *MVAG* 21, p. 84, 7); in a document from the archive of the Arsacid banker Raḥimēsu (*CT* 49 162, 8-9: *bāb né-[reb DN] ša ká.maḥ*, "entrance gate of [(a god)] in Ka-maḥ"; with this compare an entry in the second section of the present list, where a gate is explained as *né-reb a-nim k[á.maḥ?]*: l. 20'), from which it is evident that Ka-maḥ itself consisted of more than one gateway; and in two unpublished rituals, that of Nisannu (a tablet in private ownership, l. 5: edited by G. Çağırman, *The Babylonian Festivals*, Birmingham Ph.D. 1976, p. 1f.) and that of Kislimu (*BM* 32206+,

ii 5 and iii 32: *ibid.*, p. 86ff.). A gate of the same name was one of the main gates of E-zida at Borsippa (Nassouhi, *AfK* 2, p. 100, i 11: Asb, with *ká.nam.ti.la*; *VAB* IV, p. 199, Nbk 51, 4, with *ká.gun.a*), while a *ká.mah* in the temple of Anu at Uruk is also well known (Falkenstein, *Topographie*, p. 10f.).

8' For *ká.utu.è*, the east gate of the main building of E-sagil and thus contiguous with the Eastern Annexe, see pp. 85ff. and 391. The Lower Court is probably the principal courtyard of the annexe (see above, on l. 5').

9' This is certainly *ká.lamma.ar.ra.bi* (written thus as in another tablet from Aššur, the metrological text no. 14, VAT 9961 + 10335, 13), the partly broken AR of the damaged original of VAT 13817 being misread as RI. On this, the north gate of the main building, close to the cella of Zarpanitum (Bēltiya) whose processional entry it was, see pp. 85ff. and 392.

10' The third of the four gates of the main building in the lists of Neriglissar and the E-sagil Tablet is *ká.hé.gál*, and this, as the trace on BM 38602 confirms, is undoubtedly what was inscribed on the Babylonian original of VAT 13817 (Babylonian *ĤĖ* can look very similar to Assyrian I, of course, even when undamaged). For this, the west gate of E-sagil, see pp. 85ff. and 392f.

Our suggested restoration of the second sub-column as a topographical exposition of the location of Ka-ḫegal relies on the known position of the temple's west gate, behind the complex of chambers surrounding the cella of Marduk. Bēliya, instead of Bēl, is unusual for Marduk, but the name is found, without divine determinative, in the Religious Chronicle (iii 3: quoted above, p. 402).

11' Ka-ude-babbar, in the south front of the main building, is dealt with in the introduction, p. 85ff., and further on p. 393. The explanation that follows the ceremonial name in VAT 13817 is very dubious: *a-ḫi-ia*, "outside", is rare and, in any case, topographically unsuitable; no doubt it is an erroneous reconstruction of that tablet's broken original.

12'-13' For these two gates of E-temen-anki, the ziqqurrat temple, see pp. 89f. and 395.

14' This gate of Ea's temple is also listed in no. 6, BM 35046, 14 and 25. The god Muštēšir-ḫabli, "Provider of Justice for the Wronged", is a divine weapon of Marduk, and as such a member of the court of E-sagil (see the commentary on *Tintir* II 34', and note also his presence in line 8'' of the same Tablet). His description here as *uggallu* (or should we read *pirig-gal-lu*?), "Lion Monster", drives one to wonder whether it is Muštēšir-ḫabli who is depicted in the famous friezes of lions that decorate Marduk's

procession road beyond the Ištar Gate. The presence of this god in cultic processions is also witnessed by the Kislimu rituals (BM 32206+, ii 40, as noted in the commentary cited above).

15'-16' These gates of Madānu's temple, E-rab-riri, are dealt with on p. 396f. The reading in the second gate name (as written in VAT 13817) of DUḫ as duḫu is made in the light of BM 38602's duḫ.ud and other writings of the name with duḫ.ù and duḫ.ḫu (the value *tuḫu* is, in fact, already proposed by Deller, *OrNS* 31, p. 15, 117).

17'-18' šā.abzu is a known cosmological location identified with E-sagil in one tradition of mythology (Meek, *BA* X/1, p. 75, no. 4, 11-12: quoted above, p. 301; *CT* 13 36, 1-2: p. 252). Another cultic chamber of E-sagil whose name alludes to this tradition is *ēš.šā.abzu*, the site of a shrine of Lillu (*Tintir* II 11''). The rooms of the present lines take their place in a list of gates by virtue of the fact that they are *ašrukkatu*'s, that is, rooms just inside a gate: for the nature of the *ašrukkatu* in monumental architecture see the commentary on the metrological text no. 14, VAT 9961 + 10335, 5. The reading of *É.ÚS.GÍD.DA* as *ašlug* relies on the restoration of *PBS* V 106, iv 13 = *Diri* V 285 in *CAD* A/1, p. 450: [*aš-lu-ug*]É.ÚS.GÍD.DA = *áš-lu-uk-ka-tum*. The *ašrukkatu* "between the courtyards of Bēl and Bēltiya" corresponds in terms of the excavated temple to the small chamber named Room 11, which separates the great central courtyard of the main building (the Court of Bēl: see p. 404) from 'Room' 5 (the Court of (the chapel of) Bēltiya: p. 122). It is thus perhaps one of the two narrow chambers whose breadths are listed in no. 14 (VAT 9961 + 10335, 9-10) at 6 cubits each. The explanation of the second listed *ašrukkatu* calls to mind Nebuchadnezzar II's description of the terminus of Nabû's procession road as *nēreb Nabû E-sagil* (Wadi Brisa A vii 48: quoted above, p. 362), but while Nabû is a possible restoration in our l. 18, there were no doubt "entries" of other gods in E-sagil.

19' One might be tempted to restore the ceremonial name as *ká.šā.zu.pād.da*, "Gate Chosen by Šazu", *šā.zu* being, of course, a well-known name of Marduk (e.g. *Enūma eliš* VII 35ff.; III *R* 53, no. 2, obv. 14). The description of this gate in the second sub-column remains provisional in the absence of a better-preserved manuscript, but one may compare this "great gate of E-sagil(?)" with the fourth gate of the preceding section of the list, whose ceremonial name is lost, but which is described as the "great gate of the Court of Bēl" (BM 38602 // VAT 13817, i 5', where we have restored *ká.gál* as the probable ceremonial name). This is unlikely to be the same gate, however — although one cannot rule out the possibility of a gate appearing twice in a list (as in no. 6, BM 35046, 12 and 24, and 14 and 25) — for the definitions "of the Court of Bēl" and "of E-sagil(?)" appear to distinguish between the two "great gates" (references to gates called *bābu rabû* in E-sagil are collected on p. 404). The writer would rather incline to a view that the gates of

this second section of the list — perhaps a later appendage — are not those of the main building of E-sagil but of its Eastern Annexe; verification of this, however, awaits further discovery of text.

20' *bāb tartāmī* is probably to be seen as an Akkadian translation of the lost Sumerian ceremonial name. In the present list such translations are interpolated when required between ceremonial name and topographical explanation, forming, as it were, a third sub-column (as in BM 38602 // VAT 13817, i 15'-16'). With the topographical explanation of this line compare CT 49 162, 8-9 (quoted above, p. 405). Our restoration of *ká.maḥ* relies partly on this comparison and partly on the need for a very short gate name, as dictated by the physical characteristics of the tablet.

22' The final sign of the ceremonial name might be ŠU, but this is a somewhat unlikely ending for a Sumerian gate name. Gates ending in *la*, however, are several: *ká.gu.la* (see p. 396), *ká.nam.ti.la*, *ká.á.sikil.la* (both in the fragmentary list no. 8, BM 76312), and *ká.sikil.la* (see p. 421f.) all spring to mind. On the other hand it may be that the second sub-column's *bāb takbitti muttalli(?)* is to be seen as a translation of the lost Sumerian, in which case none of these gate names comes into consideration for restoration. Otherwise one must seek some cultic association in this description, the gate then being a particular point on ritual processions where homage was paid to Marduk (for *muttallu* as an epithet of the god of E-sagil see BE I 85, iv 5 // WVDOG 59, p. 46, no. 5, 7: Nbk; Ebeling, *ArOr* 17/I, p. 183, 11; STC I, p. 205, K 3351, 1: hymns; von Soden, *Iraq* 31, p. 85, 20: prayer; Lambert, *Afo* 17, p. 312, 7: Marduk's Address). The question of whether the second sub-column is a translation or a cultic description affects the understanding of l. 23': if it is the former then that line's "east gate" would be a topographical definition of *bāb takbitti muttalli(?)*, occupying an indented second line on its own; if it is the latter, "east gate" would explain a new gate.

BM 76312 (no. 8)

1' The "Gate of Life" is also found among other gates of E-sagil in *Ludlul* IV (*BWL*, p. 60, 82: *ina ká.nam.ti.la ba-la-tu am-ma-ḥi-ir*, "In Ka-namtila I was given life"). A gate of the same name existed in E-zida at Borsippa, according to an inscription of Aššurbanipal (Nassouhi, *Afk* 2, p. 100, i 11).

2' For *ká.ḥé.gál* see pp. 85ff. and 392f.

3' This is probably the same gate as *Ludlul*'s *ká.a.sikil.la*, "Gate of Pure Water", where the worshipper "was sprinkled with the water (*a*) of cleansing (*sikil*)" (*BWL*, p. 60, 88:

me-e te-lil-te as-sa-li-iḥ). Compare also the name of the *šubtu* of the gods Nādin-mê-qātī and Mukīl-mê-balāṭi, *é.a.sikil.la* (*Tintir* II 37). It may be that Ka-a-sikilla is the gate of this shrine.

4' Perhaps a summary of the foregoing list. For the Grand Court, which was part of the precinct of E-sagil, probably to the temple's south, see the E-sagil Tablet (no. 13), ll. 1-7 and commentary.

5' On Ubšu-ukkinna see *Tintir* II 16' and commentary.

7' A "Dais of Akkade" seems a little unlikely: perhaps emend to *bára* < "MÜŠ" > -*a-kà-dè^{k1}*, since Bēlet-Akkade is a goddess resident in Babylon (see *Tintir* IV 16).

8' Cultic throne-daises of Marduk were not confined to E-sagil but scattered throughout Babylon: see p. 12.

Names and Locations of Cultic Daises

BM 34878 // 77236 (no. 9)

2' The damaged sign following GA is not a well-written NI but in the context it is difficult to exclude the probability of *gar₁₀*(GA.NI), if only because no better solution is apparent. A difficulty lies in the fact that *lildu* (**lišdu*) does not occur in this period except in the lexical texts (*Hh* XXIV 91, *Ea* IV 32 and 72, *S^b* I 84: all quoted in *CAD* L, p. 215). However, the use of such food in the cult is no surprise: for dairy products as cultic offerings see the gate list no. 6, BM 35046, 24 and commentary.

3' The temple of Ningišzida, listed under the ceremonial name of *é.gu.za.lá.maḥ* in *Tintir* IV 13, was situated in Eridu, the central quarter of Babylon.

4' *šid* is probably to be read as some part of the verb *manû*, but the broken context precludes an exact reading.

The dais of Lūmur-dīnšu, a minor deity of Marduk's court, is listed in *Tintir* V 28.

The traces in BM 34878 are difficult to reconcile with the duplicate text: one expects at the beginning of the line the remains of *lu-mur-di-in-šú*; what follows should be the name of a second dais of the gate of Ningišzida's temple, since the text makes it clear that more than one dais was to be found there (l. 3').

5' ⁴*nin-urta* was badly misread by Unger as *bītu el-lu*, "Heiliges Haus", and associated by him with the "Heilige Pforte". He located both on the east front of the perimeter wall of E-temen-anki (*Babylon*, Chapter 19). This position is no longer tenable: not only does the *bītu ellu* not exist, but the gate in question, which we read in Sumerian, Ka-sikilla, appears to have been the main entrance to the precinct of E-sagil, and thus much further south than Unger thought (for Ka-sikilla see the commentary on no. 13, the E-sagil Tablet, l. 15).

E-ḥursag-ti(l)la, the temple of Ninurta in the quarter Šuanna, is listed in *Tintir* IV 19. For the temple as a stage in the rituals of the Divine Love Lyrics, and for other information, see the commentary, ad loc.

6' For *azamû* as an architectural term see the commentary on line 3 of the E-sagil Tablet. Note the variant in BM 77236, *a-za-RE-e*.

8' This dais is also mentioned in no. 41, a Kuyunjik fragment, perhaps of a ritual (82-3-23, 100, l. 4'). The meaning of the dais name is not obvious; *ti-im-lak* (var.: *til-la-ak*) could perhaps be the I/2 imp. of *malāku*, showing exceptional metathesis, while *e-ḫi-is/s/z* perhaps gives best sense as imp. of *nehēsu*: one might then translate "Be advised: withdraw!", a cautionary phrase which might conceivably be the name of a minor deity of Marduk's court.

9' The penultimate sign of the line, *al*, precedes an erasure. Unger's reading of it as ²¹sig par is imaginative but wrong. Landsberger also understood the phrase following *nadû* as further topographical description, reading *īštu ad-ri al-ku(?)* (*ZA* 41, p. 295³), but the appearance of *adru*, "threshing-floor", outside an Assyrian context is unexpected. We prefer to take *ta-AD-DAL-al*(emend to *lak!?)*-*ku* as the first half of the dais name, although it defies easy parsing and may be corrupt. Perhaps, in similar vein to the stern warning probably to be construed in the previous shrine name, one might understand *tattallak qardammu*, "You must go hence, O rogue!" This would tie in with the traditional notion of the sacred place that denies entry to evil.

10'-13' The Bīt Qulê occurs repeatedly in the ritual tablet of the Divine Love Lyrics of Marduk and a goddess who appears variously as Zarpanitum and Bēlet-Bābili (Lambert, *Love Lyrics*, p. 102, i 4; ii 6; p. 104, ii 24; iii 1-3). That the same sanctuary is involved is shown by comparison of the present text with the ritual tablet, ii 1:

ultu bīt si-pit-te-e adi bīt qu-le-e ina pān ⁴ni-nā-a-a-tum izzazza(gub)^{2a}-ma

(The procession will go) from the House of Lament to the Bīt Qulê, (where the goddess) will stand before Nināyitum.

Nināyitum is a goddess also known from inscriptions of Šalmaneser I and Tukultī-Ninurta I found in the temple of Ištar at Aššur, which record the restoration of her chapel (*KAH* II 43, 6-7: *bīt ⁴ni-nu-a-it-ti*; 50, 5: *bīt ⁴nu-na-i-te!*). Her name, "She-of-Nineveh", identifies her with the great goddess Ištar-Ninlil of Nineveh, whose cult-centre at Babylon is E-gišḫur-ankia (but see further Borger, *EAK* I, p. 59f.). Here, however, she is evidently in residence at the Bīt Qulê. The ritual in question takes place in Babylon on an unknown day (but certainly after the 4th) of an unknown month. It is tempting indeed to suppose that it is to the rites which were the context of the Divine Love Lyrics that the present text refers, when it describes the Queen of Heaven as sitting before Nināyitum in the Bīt Qulê on the 7th day of a month whose name is also lost. If so, the protagonist of the above-quoted section of the ritual tablet is the goddess described in the dais list as the Queen of Heaven. This title is an interpretation of (N)inanna, and the goddess is thus Ištar in her aspect as Bēlet-Bābili, "Lady of Babylon". The name of the dais would then imply a syncretism of Ištar and Zarpanitum, which would make the relationship of the two goddesses to each other, and to Marduk, in the Divine Love Lyrics still more involved. Might they form a divine ménage-à-trois, like that of Nabû, Tašmētum and Nanāy in Borsippa?

With the name of the Queen of Heaven's throne-dais compare Iqullū-ilū-ana-Marduk, "The Gods Pay Heed to Marduk", a dais of the city god in *Tintir* V 20 and 97.

14' The Lower Court of E-tur-kalamma, the temple of Bēlet-Bābili is also featured in the Love Lyrics rituals (Lambert, loc. cit., p. 102, i 10; cf. p. 104, iii 22; p. 106, iv 18). There was also an Upper Court there (p. 104, iii 20, *kisalli e-li- <i>*).

BM 38602, col. iii (no. 10)

3' The restoration *a[gurri(sig₄.al.ūr.ra) . . .]* also springs to mind, but brick being a customary and unexceptional building material we are inclined to expect something rarer, perhaps slabs (*libittu*) of some kind of stone. In this regard note a *parakku* of *alallu*-stone in the gate list no. 6 (BM 35046, 33).

5'-6' According to *Tintir* V 86 there were 180 *ibratu*'s in Babylon, these being dedicated to Ištar. On *ibratu*, an open-air shrine, and a term almost synonymous with *parakku*, see further, p. 369.

18' This is a dais of Marduk, being listed among other such in *Tintir* V 39.

BM 41138 (no. 11)

3' For the Market Gate see the commentary on *Tintir* V 92.

5' The Ištar Gate is treated in *Tintir* V 52 and commentary.

7' Comparison with the street name Išemme-šē'āšu (listed in *Tintir* V 62) encourages one to emend 𒄩 to 'i, so giving a parallel feminine form of that name, Išemme-šē'issa, "She Hears her (female) Seeker" (šē'itu, "seeker", rather than šē'itu, "neighbour", for reasons put forward in the commentary on the street name). In this regard note the twin dais names, Iqullū-ilū-ana-Marduk (*Tintir* V 20 and 97), and its feminine counterpart, Iqullā-ištarātu-ana-Zarpanītum (in the dais list no. 9, BM 34878 // 77236, 13').

A List of Shrines and Gods in E-rab-riri

K 2107+6086, col. iii (no. 12)

1' The translation of the name relies on the equations $da-al-la\ dalla = šu-pu-ú, ma-am-lum$ (*MSL* XIV, p. 228, *A* I/6 132-33; cf. p. 491, *A* VIII/1 90). $urru$ is provisionally understood as for $uru(n)$, usually written $u_{18}.ru$ or uru_{16} (see Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 62ff.).

4' On the broken original the divine name perhaps read $šul-pa-è-ùtul-a$ or $šul-pa-è-si_4-a$. This is a pair of gods who appear in *An = Anum* II as attendants of Bēlet-ilī in E-maḥ (*CT* 24 13, 52-53 // 25, 102), but elsewhere are equated with Nergal and Sin respectively (in the collection of esoterica, *STT* 400, 2-3: [$šul-pa$]- $si_4-a = a_{30}$, [$šul$]- $pa-ùtul = a_{u.gur}$; and in the Nippur Compendium, no. 18, iv 3-4).

6' Compare the name of Papsukkal's temple (*Tintir* IV 10).

7' For the reading of the divine name $šIM \times A$ see Lambert, *Zikir šumim*, p. 217.

9' Cf. $é.ú.zu$, the shrine of Gula in the Upper Court of E-sagil (*Tintir* II 12, and commentary). Gula's *šubtu* is followed by those of her consort, Pabilsag, and vizier, Urmašum.

17' The shrine name is appropriate to its residents, the divine hairdressers of Zarpanītum (*An = Anum* II: *CT* 24 15, iii 11-12 // 28, iii 66-67). $hi.li$ is an attribute of hairstyle: cf. the dedicatory inscription of Babaninam (Ur III; *CT* 5 2, 12218), where a stone wig for the goddess Lamma is described as $hi.li\ nam.munus.ka.ni$, "her feminine adornment" (line 11). A cultic text from Uruk, which lists items of apparel for the use of the king during *šabāt qāti* ceremonies, names one item of regalia as $hi.li\ inanna$ (Falkenstein, *UVB* 15, p.

40, W 18728, rev. 11'), and it is thought that this is a wig or hair-piece for ritual wear (see further Inanna's Descent, line 18, and the remarks of Falkenstein, *AfO* 14, p. 115f., and Landsberger, *JCS* 5, p. 15).

18'-21' This section is quoted in a text which concerns itself with groups of seven, the Archive of Mystic Heptads (*KAR* 142, obv. ii 21-24):

$qu-du-mu$
 $x [(x)]$
 $dunga$
 $lumha$
 $x [(x) x]$
 $kala.ga.dab.ba$
 $[...]$
 7 dingir.gub.ba^{mes} šá é.r[ab.ri.ri]

Further evidence for the reading of $qu-du-mu$ KUD comes from *MSL* XIV, p. 348, *A* III/5 184-85:

$qu-du-mu$ KUD	= $qu-du-mu$ KUD
$qa-ad-mu$ KUD	= $qu-du-mu$ KUD

Cf. further the gloss $qu-du-ma$ on $qu-du-mu$ KUD as the vizier of Ištarān in the god list *CT* 25 6, 11. For Dunga and Lumha as a pair see the god lists (*An = Anum* II 288-89: *CT* 24 17, 49-53 // 29, 98-100; 43, 120-21 // 25 48, 10-11); the former is patron of musicians, the latter of cult-singers.

22'-31' Madānu's function at Marduk's court is that of chamberlain (*guzalū*; see the commentary on *Tintir* IV 4), but, as his name would indicate, he is also a divine judge, responsible for the correction of the evil elements of mankind. This side of his character is illustrated by the name of his temple, E-rab-riri, "House of the Shackle which Holds in Check", and the name of his shrine in the Grand Court of E-sagil, E-nigerim-nudib, "House which Lets not Evil Pass" (*Tintir* II 31'). The gods listed in the present text as belonging to his entourage appear from their names to have been the instruments of justice at his disposal, and were perhaps his weapons. The three personifications of calamity surviving in ll. 23-25 one would expect as agents of Nergal, but note that Madānu and Nergal indeed stand as a pair in E-sagil (*Tintir* II 31'-32'). For $gil = qardammu$ see line 24 of the E-sagil Commentary (no. 5), and commentary.

35' Merciless Storm is a translation of the divine weapon Ubanuilla: see *Nabnitu* XVI 132 (*MSL* XVI, p. 145): $u_4.ba.nu.il.la = u_4-mu\ la\ pa-du-u$ (cf. Livingstone, *MMEW*, p. 58).

Metrological Texts

The E-sagil Tablet (no. 13)

1-4 The Akkadian reading of *kisal.maḥ* is provided by a Neo-Assyrian bilingual tablet of *Lugale* 495, *kisal.maḥ.e* = *ina ki-sal-ma-ḥi* (van Dijk, *Lugale* II, p. 135, MS j₁); note also the phonetic writing **kisal-ma-ḥi* in the annals of Tukultī-Ninurta II (Schramm, *BiOr* 27, p. 149, 27: in a temple at Aššur?).

As Weissbach has shown (*WVDOG* 59, p. 57), the Grand Court of E-sagil at Babylon, measuring, according to the text, some 103 by 81 metres (line 5, where the length is given as $11\frac{7}{18}$ *nindanu* (simplified) and the breadth as exactly 9, the *nindanu* being the approximate equivalent of 9 metres when measured with the longer cubit-standard), is much too large to have been accommodated inside the main temple building or its Eastern Annexe (the central courtyard of E-sagil is known rather as the Court of Bēl, or Upper Court, that of the annexe, probably as the Lower Court: see p. 404). On the grounds of the ritual of the Babylonian New Year Festival, in which the *šešgallu*-priest of E-umuša stands in the Grand Court (*kisal.maḥ*) on the 4th day of Nisannu, and, facing north, blesses E-sagil (Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc.*, p. 136, 273-75), Weissbach further presumed that this courtyard lay south of the temple buildings, assuming very reasonably that the priest was turned towards the temple when he blessed it. Elsewhere in the New Year rituals, a pit is dug in the Grand Court, for cultic purposes (*ibid.*, p. 146, 456: 5th day).

Apart from the E-sagil Tablet and the New Year rituals, the Grand Court of E-sagil is also mentioned in *Tintir* II 31'-32' as the location of shrines (*manzāzu*) of Nergal and Madānu; in a Kedor-laomer text (Jeremias, *MVAG* 21, p. 84f., 9: *kisal-maḥ-iš*; 36); and in the list no. 8, in connection with gates of the temple (BM 76312, 4'). The doors of the gates of the Grand Court are among those renovated by Nabonidus, as reported in the Istanbul stele (in which *kisal.maḥ* has previously been misread as *é.maḥ*; Messerschmidt, *MVAG* 1/I, p. 78f., viii 31-60, and photograph, Scheil, *RT* 18, pl. 2):

gišdalār^{meš} iṣ-ṣi ša ina bītār^{meš} bīt ilī šamē erṣeti bīt pi-riš-ti ʾmarduk u ʾzar-pa-ni-tum u
gišdalār^{meš} du₆.ki.sikil!? ki-la-a[!]-ta-an ša bīt(ār) kisal.maḥ u bāb ʾbēlti-ia ša maš-da-
ḥu ʾzar-pa-ni-tum na-ra-am-ti ʾmarduk mu-šar-ši-da-at iṣid ʾkussī šar-ru-ti-ia kaspā
eb-bi!(UD) u-šal-biṣ ká.gu.la bāb kisal.maḥ ša ʾgišdalār^{meš}-šū ʾgišdalat lu-bu-uš-ti ina iṣ-
ṣi ba-aš-mu ʾgišdalāti-ši-na ʾgišdalār^{meš} lu-li-mu ša ʾerēni eš-šiš ab-ni eš-ma-ra-a uḥ-ḥi-iz
u-nam-mir u₄-mi-iš lu-bu-uš-ti ki-ma si-ma-a-ti-ši-na re-eš-ta-a-tú u-lab-biṣ ina ki.ús
ʾnammu u-rat-ta-a áš-ru-uš-ši-in mušḥuṣṣī e-ri-i ša ina ki-se-e kisal.maḥ u suḥur-máš erī
u-[uṣ-zi-iz ina sippīšina?]

The wooden doors of the chapels of the House of the Gods of Heaven and Underworld, the house of the secrets of Marduk and Zarpanitum, the two doors of

Du-ki-sikil(?), (those) of the chapel(s) of the Grand Court and (those) of the Gate of My Lady (Bēltiya), on the procession way of Zarpanitum, the beloved of Marduk who makes firm the base of my royal throne, I plated with pure silver. Ka-gula, a gate of the Grand Court, whose doors were plated doors, but fashioned of (ordinary) wood — I made new doors for it, doors of cedar (decorated with reliefs of) stags; I overlaid them with *ešmarū* (finest quality silver) and made them shine like the day; I plated them with an overlay according to the ancient practice in such matters, and hung them firmly in place at the...of Nammu. The copper dragons that (had stood) at the retaining wall of the Grand Court, and copper Goatfish, I [stationed at their sills(?)].

The "House of the Gods of Heaven and Underworld" is presumably E-sagil, elsewhere known by the name of "Palace of the Gods (of Heaven and Underworld)" a name probably derived etymologically from *é.sag.íl* (see p. 386). The "secrets of Marduk and Zarpanitum" are then the rituals of the temple, witnessed only by those initiated into the priesthood. However, since this is an inscription carved in stone, with the consequent proneness to error often displayed by masons, one might emend *é dingir an ki* to *é.ḫal.an.ki*. This is strictly the "seat" of Zarpanitum (*Tintir* II 7), but it is a name sometimes also used for her sanctuary in E-sagil as a whole, and is translated *būt pirište šamē u erṣeti*, "house of the secrets of heaven and underworld" (see p. 270f.). The stele's "secrets of Marduk and Zarpanitum" would then be an allusion to the meaning of E-ḫal-anki, as well as reference to the "secrets" of their marriage bed (located in Zarpanitum's cella: p. 394).

The reading of the ceremonial name between *dalāt* and *kilattān* is in need of collation: the first sign is definitely not *é*, but is identical to that read *kisal* in other lines of the passage. While one might then emend to read *kisal ki.ta!!*, "Lower Court", this being a known part of E-sagil (see p. 404), the implication of *dalātu kilattān*, "both door-(leaves)", is that we are dealing with a single gateway, and the only gateway, moreover, of the location in question, for no further identification of the gate is thought necessary (contrast the gate of the Grand Court renovated at the same time which being, we imagine, one of many, is identified by its ceremonial name, Ka-gula). A courtyard is thus out of the question, and our feeling is that Nabonidus is making reference to some small but important shrine of E-sagil. In the monumental script of the stele the difference between *kisal* and *du₆* would be little — perhaps only the matter of a small initial upright stroke expected in the latter sign — and certainly it would have been easy to confuse them. Now a reading *du₆.ki.x* (the last sign is something between *DÜN* and *GIŠIMMAR* in Messerschmidt's copy) calls to mind a well-known shrine of E-sagil, *du₆.ki.sikil* (which features as a point on Marduk's New year procession, and comprises throne-daises of Enbilulu and Enmešarra: *Tintir* II 30 and commentary), and the end of the illegible sign is indeed not incompatible with the end of *sikil*.

The "chapel(s) of the Grand Court" mentioned next in the stele might be the shrines of Nergal and Madānu referred to above, or even full temples, for many sanctuaries of the E-sagil temple complex must have abutted the great courtyard. The Gate of Bēltiya appearing next is Ka-Lamma-(a)rabi, the north gate of E-sagil's main building (see p. 392). Ka-gula is a known gate of E-sagil in an unpublished ritual (see pp. 280 and 396). The significance of ki.ús *nammu* is not clear; for ki.ús see *Hh* II 279-81 (*MSL* V, p. 71):

ki.ús	= ŠU-šú (i.e. ki'uššu)	"track"
	= kib-su	"footstep"
	= da-rag-gu	"path"

More relevant, however, may be two entries in *Erimḫuš* IV (*MSL* XVII, p. 58, 28 and 31):

k[i].ús.sa	= pa-rak-ku	"throne-dais"
[k]i.ús.sa	= né-me-du	"cult-platform"

Our final restoration in the quoted passage relies on similar phrasing in inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II which describe the stationing of such figures at the sills (*sippu*: see p. 293) of the city's gates (e.g. in the passage quoted on p. 346f.). The *mušḫuššu*'s of the *kisû* of the Grand Court may be compared with those set up by Neriglissar some years earlier at the *kisû* of the gates of E-sagil (*I R* 67, i 29-32, cf. p. 85).

The Court of Ištar and Zababa is known by that name only in the present text (the pairing of the two deities is derived from their status as city gods of Hursagkalamma-Kiš). It may be found under its byname of "small(er) courtyard" (so line 3) in the explanatory fragment BM 37055 (rev. 3: Livingstone, *MMEW*, p. 68); in *CT* 49 152, 7, and 153, 16, from an archive of the first century B.C.; and in an astronomical diary which reports the removal of debris (BM 32614, rev. 13'; Seleucid Era 45, unpub.). It too should be sought outside the temple building proper on the grounds of its great size (about 95 by 41 metres).

The defective text available to Landsberger and Weissbach led them to suppose that the Grand Court and the Court of Ištar and Zababa were adjacent, with a plot of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *mušaru* (about 200 sq. metres) belonging ambiguously to both, and so reckoned in the calculations of the text (*ZA* 41, p. 270¹; *WVDOG* 59, p. 58). The new duplicate makes it clear that the plots by which the Grand Court and the Court of Ištar and Zababa can be made to exceed or fall short of their given areas, while of the same size, are entirely separate. There is thus no evidence that the two courtyards abutted; but this does not rule out the possibility that they did so. The two areas of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *mušaru* are defined in architectural terms. While the two words *azamû* and *suḫātu* remain obscure (*azamû* is some projection from the wall of a building, whether temple, ziqqurrat or private dwelling, perhaps simply a "corner": for references see *CAD* A/2, p. 526; *Z*, p. 41, s.v. *zamû*; *suḫātu* is some part of the body, probably the armpit) the interpretation of the

topography is difficult. Ubšū-ukkinna is a courtyard itself, probably in the Eastern Annexe of E-sagil (see p. 289). Are we to imagine a corner of the building which housed Ubšū-ukkinna as projecting into the hypothetically rectangular Grand Court, thus making its actual area different from the product of its length and breadth (computed area) by $2\frac{1}{2}$ *mušaru*? If so, we should understand 1 *ikû* as the actual area of the Grand Court, allowing for the protrusion into it of Ubšū-ukkinna, and 1 *ikû* $2\frac{1}{2}$ *mušaru* as the area computed by the multiplication of its maximum length and breadth. If we were to accept such a reconstruction, and place Ubšū-ukkinna inside the south front of the Eastern Annexe (which is by no means an unlikely location), we could imagine the *azamû* of Ubšū-ukkinna to be the west corner of this south front, jutting out into the north east of the Grand Court.

Turning to the smaller courtyard, we note that the computed area, worked out from its length and breadth, is smaller than its area when the *suḫātu* "adjacent to the *arkabinnu*-door" is taken into account. Accordingly it would seem that the *suḫātu* is an area which protrudes not into the courtyard (as does the *azamû* of the Grand Court), but out of it (as we should expect of an "armpit", perhaps). The area of the courtyard, when imagined as a simple rectangle, is $47\frac{1}{2}$ *mušaru*; with the addition of the *suḫātu* the area is made up to 50 *mušaru*, or 1 *ubû*. In a gate list of E-sagil, text no. 7, there appears a *bāb arkapinni* (BM 38602 // VAT 13817, i 6' and commentary), which if to be identified with the *dalat arkapinni* and thus adjacent to a courtyard of the precinct, ought to be an exterior gate of the temple, probably in the Eastern Annexe. However, no recess in the exterior walls of E-sagil occupies an area large enough to be identified as the "*suḫātu* adjacent to the *arkabinnu*-door", and so it may be that the *bāb arkapinni* and the *dalat arkapinni* are not the same.

That *ma-da-as-su* in line 1 is an irregular form of *middassu* is demonstrated by the parallel *mim-da-a-ti* at the end of the same line. With regard to the latter reading, we note that the value of SAL adopted by previous editors, *min*, owes its existence only to the present text (it is accepted by von Soden and Röllig, *AnOr* 42³, p. 58, 298, but is not acknowledged as an independent value by Borger, *ABZ*, p. 191, 554). In other Late Babylonian texts the first syllable of the word *middatu* is written *mi-in-* or *mìn-* (for examples see *CAD* M/2, p. 47f.), showing a typical Babylonian 'nasalisation' of the double consonant (cf. *šuddulu* > *šundulu*, *inaddin* > *inandin*, etc.), and this is no doubt the reason why the value *mìn*(SAL) came to be proposed in the present text. However, the 'nasalisation' of /dd/ can also appear as /md/ (cf. *šumdu* and *inamdin*), and a well-attested value for SAL is, of course, *mim*. Accordingly there is no reason to invent a new value *min* when a form *mim-da-a-ti* is perfectly acceptable.

Like *alla*, *eli* has comparative force even with a verb of reduction. A similar example is provided in an omen protasis (*KAR* 152, obv. 16): *šumma kalīt imitti eli kalīt šumēli iṣḫir*, "If the right kidney has grown smaller than the left..."

5 Previous editors have noted that the tablet's 11,33,20 must be emended to 11,23!,20, a correction demanded by the arithmetic that follows. The error, which is made twice in this one line, is probably influenced by the figure 10,33,20 in lines 8-9. The emendation is proved correct by the commentary no. 62 (BM 54311, rev. 16-18, pl. 56, perhaps quoting the present text):

[. . .] *a-mur qanê(gi)*^{mes} *ša kisalmāhi(kisal.mah)* 11,23,20 a.rá [9 túm.ma 102,30]
[102,3]0 a.rá 0,18 túm.ma 30,45 *ki-i* 30,45 [*la tîdû*]
[. . .] 1 iku 2½ *mušar(sar)* *zêri(še.numun)* *ina ammatî(1.kûš)* *rabîtum*^{tum} *m[in-da-a-ti kisalmāhi]*

The use of *nindanu*, a measuring rod of 12 cubits length, as a basic unit of measure must be as old as the square measures derived from it, *mušaru* (1 square *nindanu*) and *ikû* (100 *mušaru*): the system is of Sumerian origin in its practice and terminology (*iku*, "field"; *mu.sar*, "garden"; *ninda(n)*, "measuring rod"; for the reading of GAR thus, see text no. 16, BM 35385, obv. ii 9', ^{nin-da}GAR = ^{min-da-tum}). The *nindanu* is certainly a standard unit of linear measure in the Kassite/Early Neo-Babylonian metrological system. This is indicated by the fact that areas expressed conventionally in capacity-surface measure (volume of grain) were worked out at a set seeding ratio (1 *šimdu* of grain per *ikû* of land, as noted above, p. 111⁵) from linear-based measures: this presupposes that the practical measuring of the area in question was made first in the linear-based units, this then being converted mathematically into capacity-surface measure. The antiquity of this system is probably considerable, for the same seeding ratio was already defined in the Ur III period, when it is expressed as 1 gur 4 bariga (of grain) : 1 bûr (of land); see Powell, *ZA* 72, p. 113f.

The use of *nindanu* in whole units and sexagesimal fractions is not restricted to measuring large areas, as in the present passage, but is also found in the measurement of interiors of buildings. It is so used in the sixth and seventh sections of the E-sagil Tablet (line 25-33), where the inside rooms of E-temen-anki, the ziqqurrat temple, are treated. There it is the *nindanu* of the smaller cubit-standard, which converts to approximately 6 metres. Older commentators on the text, going back to George Smith, misunderstood the figures there quoted as cubits, and thus unwittingly interpreted each measurement as five times its actual size (e.g., the figure 20, interpreted as 20 cubits, but really 0,20 or 20/100 *nindanu* = 4 cubits); further they wrongly identified the building in question as E-sagil. Both mistakes were corrected by Weissbach at the suggestion of P.O. Schnabel (*ZA* 41, p. 283³).

11 Here the *ammāt arê* is demonstrably the same cubit-standard as the *ammātu rabîtu* of line 7 and 10. *arû* is a multiplication table used in mathematics, and one wonders whether the *ammāt arê* ("mathematical(?) cubit") is a cubit-standard used in the calculation of the area of geometric figures. We have earlier noted the mathematical, as against topographical, outlook of the opening section, in particular, of the E-sagil Tablet (p. 110f.).

12 The syntax is all-important for the meaning of this line, and of the passage as a whole. *kilallân* obviously belongs with *kisallâti* in the preceding line, but does *sihirtu* sum up the foregoing passage or introduce the following one? Weissbach translated *sihirtu* as "Umgebung" in *ZA* 41, p. 274f., but changed his translation to "Umfassungsmauer" in his edition proper (*WVDOG* 59, pp. 53 and 64). This he supposed to be the exterior wall of E-sagil and its annexe, in which the six gates of the following list were thus located. It is questionable, in fact, whether *sihirtu* on its own can refer to a wall, rather than the space enclosed by one. The enclosure wall of a temple in Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions is regularly *igâr sihirti* rather than simply *sihirtu* (enclosing a temple, its forecourt(s) and adjacent buildings: *PBS* XV 79, i 91-92, E-zida in Borsippa; ii 86 and Ball, *PSBA* 10, p. 368f., ii 53, E-meslam in Kutha; iii 81, E-dubba in Kiš; the east front of the enclosure wall of E-sagil, where were located the quarters of certain temple personnel, was rebuilt by Neriglissar: *CT* 36 19, ii 9, é.gar₈ *si-ḫi-ir-ti*). Such a wall could also be called *igâr limîti* (*I R* 55, iv 64, E-zida of Borsippa). The *sihirtu* is the area inside this enclosure wall, the temple "precinct" (*CT* 34 28, i 73-74, é.babbar.ra *a-di si-ḫir-ti-šu*; *V R* 65, ii 50, *il^{mes} si-ḫi-ir-ti bît á-ki-it*). That *sihirtu* should refer in the present passage to the exterior wall of the temple itself seems unlikely in the light of its usage in the royal inscriptions. We have understood it to refer to the two courtyards discussed in the preceding text, which, being outside the temple itself, are perhaps the chief open spaces of its "precinct". Syntactically, *sihirti* is thus understood to be in apposition to *kisallâti kilallân*. Even so, however, it is not impossible that *sihirti* is construct before the ensuing list of gates (compare *sihirti Ka-sikilla* in line 15), in which case we would understand the entire text from *sihirti* to tag₄.tag₄^e as being an extended description of the Grand Court and the Court of Ištar and Zababa: "...both courtyards, (i.e.) the precinct of (around) Ka-mah, Ka-Utu-ea, etc., etc.".

12-13 The gates of E-sagil as listed here are quoted in a tablet from Late Babylonian Kiš, no. 48, which is inscribed with excerpts from otherwise unduplicated topographical texts. Calculations as the original width of the tablet allow the following reconstruction (1924-1538, rev. 2'-3'; new copy on pl. 52):

[ká.mah ká.^autu].^{'è} ká.gál ká.^alamma.a.[ra.bi]
[ká.ḫé.gál ká.u].[!]de.babbar 6 *bābār^{mes} nē-re[b ana ilī]*

For these gates as the main gates of E-sagil, five in the main building and the other one probably in the Eastern Annexe, see p. 85ff., and the gate lists nos. 6 and 7. The end of line 13 of the present text was restored *il[āni^{mes}]* by Weissbach in *ZA* 41, p. 275, and again, with certain reservations, in *WVDOG* 59, pp. 52 and 64; he translated *nēreb(i) ana ilāni* as "Eingang für die Götter". This is, however, something of a mistranslation: the "entrance for the gods", i.e. that through which their processions passed, we would expect to be simply *nēreb ilāni* (by analogy with the *nēreb* DN commonly found in gate lists and rituals); *ana* surely should have a terminative force in this expression (as it does

with the verb *erēbu*), indicating that whatever follows the preposition is what the gates are the entrance to. Given the spacing of the line, both in the E-sagil Tablet and in the Kīš fragment, we do not think that there is enough room for even a short sign after *din[gi]*. Moreover, *nēreb(i) ana ili* gives excellent sense as it stands: "the god" is obviously Marduk, the god of the temple, access to whose presence could only be had by passing through one or more of the six listed gates.

14 For *Ubšu-ukkinna*, the court of the divine assembly in E-sagil, see above, the commentary on ll. 1-4, and on *Tintir* II 16'. As regards the group of signs that follows, the signs KĀD and KĪD are differentiated in Assyrian script, but not in Late Babylonian. Weissbach read KĀD.KĀD.E and suggested an Akkadian reading *uktaššarū* (ZA 41, p. 275), translating "sich versammeln(?)". At the same time he acknowledged Scheil's proposed translation, "qui...ouvrent", and Landsberger's suggested reading, *kitkittū* (with which Unger concurred). The chief objections to *uktaššarū* are threefold: *kād* is a logogram for *kašāru* only in personal names, where it is a variant for *kād*, *ka₄* and *ka₅*, but does not occur reduplicated; *kutaššuru*, "to band together", does not fit the context at all, although *kašāru* is used of constructing walls and fortifications; and the final *e* of the logogram looks very much like a phonetic complement, requiring a reading of KĀD. KĀD with a final long contracted vowel, *-ê*. The suggestions of Scheil and Landsberger thus come into consideration. The latter's loanword *kitkittū* (Sum. *kid.kid*; CAD K, p. 353, s.v. *kikittū*; AHw, p. 474, s.v. *kikittū*), which means "ritual", offers a good parallel to *kidudē ekurri*, but difficulty then attaches to *itāti Ubšu-ukkinna* sandwiched between them, and to the following conjunction *u*; further, the relative clause is then without a verb, unless extended to the end of line 15, which context and the requirement of good sense make an improbable solution. This brings us to the proposal of Scheil, which rests on the reading of the logogram as *tag₄.tag₄*(KĪD.KĪD), and its equivalence with Akk. *petū*, "to open". This equation is not supported in the lexical texts (although *gál.tag₄* = *petū* is: MSL XII, p. 168, OB Lu A 340), but is found in bilinguals (Astrolabe B: KAV 218, i 15 and 22, *ki.duru₅.gal tag₄.tag₄* = *ru-tu-ub-tu up-ta-ta*; SBH 53, rev. 42-43, *gašan.an.na si.gar kù tag₄.tag₄* = *iš-tar pe-ta-at ši-gar šamê^e el-[lu]-tim*: litany). If we opt for *tag₄.tag₄* = *petū* in the present context, we are obliged by the phonetic complement to read *petê* (I/1 stative), *ippettê* (IV/1 pres.) or even *uptattê* (II/2 pres.) in order to get the required sense, "which open"; either way we should prefer a 3rd fem pl. subj. to end in the vowel *-ā* (or uncontracted *-(e)ā*), rather than in *-ê*, but Late Babylonian scribes were not always particular in such matters. On the whole Scheil's idea fits the context, the syntax and the lexical considerations rather better than the proposals made by others.

15 After *šid*, *m[eš]* looks to be the sign best fitting the gap and the traces on the tablet, as well as the context and syntax: *manū*, "to reckon", is not out of place in a text which is

concerned with the calculation of area, and a plurality of subjects is provided by E-sagil and *sihirti* Ka-sikilla.

As to the gate name itself, Weisbach had reservations about the sign after *ká*, which is not at first glance a conventionally written sikil, seeming to comprise DI + ŠÚ. But in this book a similarly written sikil can be found in BM 77013, rev. 37 (pl. 13: [é].me.sikil.la = *Tintir* IV 37), and forms of the sign very close to the present one are noted for the Persian period by Fossey, *Manuel* II, 33361-64. Unger read the name in Akkadian, *bābi el-li*, but the gate names of E-sagil and other temples are traditionally Sumerian. The final *-le* here, as against expected *-la*, is perhaps a corruption or a misused Akkadian genitive case ending, following the construct *sihirti*.

In the fragmentary list of gates in *Tintir* II Ka-sikilla is the "outer gate" of E-sagil (36', MS ii). The presence of the identical phrase supports the restoration of Ka-sikilla in an astronomical diary mentioning Alexander the Great (D.J. Wiseman, *Nebuchadnezzar and Babylon*, p. 121, BM 36761, rev. 8': [ká.si]kil.la *bābi ka-mi-i šā é.sag.gil*; coll., 330 B.C.). Other astronomical diaries also mention *ká.sikil.la* (BM 34591+55532, rev. 19, and 35424, rev. 15; both unpub.). The gate is further found in a fragment of an epic concerning Amēl-Marduk, in which it figures as a gate through which the king passed to visit Marduk, no doubt in E-sagil (Grayson, *BHLT*, p. 92, obv. 15-16):

il-lik ina ká.sikil.l[a . . .]

ú-sap-pa-a bēl bēlī iš-ši q[āt]mīn-šú . . .]

He went through Ka-sikilla [(and entered E-sagil)?;]

praying to the Lord of Lords, he raised [his hands (in supplication)...]

The position of Ka-sikilla as a main entrance to the temple area is confirmed by inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II, who reports that his father paved the processional way of Marduk from Du-ku Ki-namtartarrede, the Dais of Destinies in E-sagil, to the street Ay-ibūr-šabū, at the point where it reached Ka-sikilla (*mi-iḫ-ra-at ká.sikil!*, I R 55, v 17, full passage quoted above, p. 360). He himself continued the work from Ka-sikilla north to the Ištar Gate (*iš-tu ká.sikil.la*, *ibid.*, v 46; cf. VS I 44, 1, an incomplete parallel). The same work is described in the Wadi Brisa inscription (A vii 43-53), which reports the repaving of the procession roads of Nabū and Marduk from their points of entry into Babylon (respectively the Uraš and Ištar Gates) to their points of entry into the temple complex of E-sagil (the Entrance of Nabū into E-sagil and *ká.sikil.lu*: the passage is quoted on p. 362). For Unger the "Pure Gate" was the monumental gate excavated in the upper east stretch of the enclosure wall of E-temen-anki (*Babylon*, Chapter 19, Die Heilige Pforte), but the evidence now makes it plain that it was much nearer E-sagil, and was indeed the principal point of entry into the temple complex. Through it, on great occasions of ceremony, the king would enter the precinct to visit Marduk, or Marduk leave his temple in procession.

The presence of a gate calls, of course, for a wall, and the evidence of inscriptions suggests that E-sagil and adjacent buildings were surrounded by a "precinct wall" (*igār siḫirti*) as were other great temples of Babylonia (E-zida, E-babbarra, E-meslam: see above, on l. 12). Oddly, archaeology has failed to confirm the existence of a perimeter wall around the temple complex: neither of two cuts made into the mound Amran ibn Ali, first from the north and then from the west, disclosed such a wall, and Wetzel declined to commit himself on the matter (*WVDOG* 59, p. 3). However, one may point out that no perimeter wall is required on the west side of the temple complex, for the river provided a natural barrier. Any wall to the north of E-sagil may have fallen into disuse and disappeared, its foundations perhaps destroyed by considerable building activity there in the Parthian period: the perimeter wall of E-temen-anki, which may belong to no earlier period than this (see p. 91¹⁷), perhaps made the north stretch of E-sagil's own wall redundant.

If Ka-sikilla is to be the main gate of the E-sagil precinct, one might speculate as to whether it lay north, south, east or west of the main building. The west is obviously ruled out on account of the river, for Marduk's procession did not journey by water until it left the Istar Gate (see Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc.*, p. 147, and cf. above, p. 289; there was, however, a riverside entry into the precinct, at the Garden of Apsû of Ea's temple, E-kar-zaginna, probably the Ka-Id of the gate list no. 6 (BM 35046, 26); through it divine statues arriving by river could be brought into E-kar-zaginna for refurbishing: see further p. 302f.). In the south stretch of the precinct wall we might expect to find the "Entrance of Nabû into E-sagil" (mentioned in an earlier paragraph), for Nabû's procession road came from the south (Nabû-dayyān-nišīšu: see *Tintir* V 67 and commentary). The north is possible for a gate here would give easy access to E-temen-anki, and one cannot rule out the possibility that Marduk's procession road Ay-ibūr-šabû turned west between the ziqqurra and E-sagil. But given the orientation of E-sagil itself, with Marduk's cella facing east, the positioning of the annexe before the east front, and the siting of the temple's main gate (Gate F, probably Ka-maḥ) in the east front of that annexe, one ought probably to look for Ka-sikilla in the east stretch of the precinct wall.

The "precinct of Ka-sikilla" mentioned in the present text is presumably not the entire temple precinct — for this also comprised the "precinct" of the Grand Court and the Court of Istar and Zababa (line 12). It is perhaps a forecourt of the temple complex, situated between Ka-sikilla and Ka-maḥ, through which one would pass to reach E-sagil, E-kar-zaginna, E-rab-riri and the several other sanctuaries of the compound of Marduk's temple.

16 The reading of *igi.du₈.[a.zu]* is provided by the parallel *a-ma-ri-[ka]* in line 20. Those who differentiate between *DU₈* (no vertical wedges) and *GAB* (two vertical wedges) in Babylonian script, would read *igi.GAB* for our *igi.du₈*. But the systematic investigation of Farber, *ZA* 66, p. 261ff., throws the whole question open, revealing many inconsistent or

plainly 'wrong' orthographies (e.g. *du₈.ši(a)*, which appears as a loan-word in Akk., *dušû*, written "GAB".*ši(a)*, *zà*. "GAB" for *zà.du₈* and other examples of *igi*. "GAB" for *igi.du₈*).

17 The *šuppān* (*AHW*, p. 1112) is a measure of 60 cubits length, which explains the writing with the ligature *60 + šu* (= *šuššu*, "sixty"). That the writing of three of these ligatures expresses three of these units rather than simply 180 (cubits) is made probable both by the lack of definition (if cubits were meant, cubits would be written, as in line 34), and by the unlikelihood of 180 being so written in respect to cubits (large numbers of cubits are conventionally written in hundreds and thousands, rather than in the sexagesimal system: 180 cubits we should expect to appear as *1 me 1,20 ina ammatī*). Accordingly the figure 3 at the end of the line is also understood as units of *šuppān*, written abstractly thus for the purposes of the arithmetic. The use in this context of the *šuppān* compares with Esarhaddon's report that the sides of the ziqqurra's base measured *1 ašlu* and *1 šuppān* (Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 24, 28-31: *é.te.me.en.an.ki ziq-qur-ra-tu áš-lu šu-pan šiddu áš-lu šu-pan pūtu*, with variant *šu-up-pan* from Ep. 34b), where *1 ašlu* = *2 šuppān*.

Not to be confused with the *ašlu* (= *10 nindanu* = 120 cubits) is the *aslu*, a type of cubit. As the present passage demonstrates, the *aslu* cubit-standard is identical in the E-sagil Tablet to the ordinary Neo-Babylonian cubit-standard (called in line 18 *ammatu šeḫertu*, "small cubit"), in modern terms approximately 50 cm.

šutābulu is a verb used of calculation, particularly calculation involving multiplication (see the examples quoted by *CAD* A/1, p. 27), *nikkassu* being the product of the computation (so *CAD* N/2, p. 228), or perhaps the computation itself. For the reading of *šár.šár* see *MSL* XIV, p. 416, *A* V/2 56: *šá-ar-šár* = *šu-[ta-bu-lu]* (cf. *Idu* II 75 = *CT* 11 30, i 29), but a reading *he.he* is also possible (*A* V/2 16: *he-e-he* = *[šu]-ta-bu-lu*); either way the Akkadian equivalence is confirmed by the parallel *šu-ta-b[u-lū]* in line 21.

18 On the use of the factor 2 to convert the linear-based units (9 sq. *šuppān*) into capacity-surface units (here 18 *sūtu*), see p. 111⁶.

21 For the *arū*-cubit, equivalent in this text to the *ammatu rabūtu* of the Kassite and Early Neo-Babylonian metrological system, see above, p. 418.

22 For the arithmetic, the function of the reciprocal $\frac{18}{60}$ in the conversion of linear-based area measure into the capacity-surface system, and the conventional expression of the ratio involved as *iki šimid* (1 *ikū* : 1 *šimdu*), see p. 111.

25 Weissbach avoided the emendation by reading *[bi-ta]-a-ti u*, "the chapels and (the six cellae...)", in *WVDOG* 59, p. 54, but against this compare his earlier opinion in *ZA* 41, p. 280, where he read *[min-da]-a-ti u*, "the measurements and...". As noted there, the *u*

should not be read as the numeral 10 (giving 16 cellae in all, as George Smith), because only six cultic chambers are treated in the text (the cellae of Marduk, Nabû and Tašmētum, and the chapels of Ea, Nuska, and Anu and Enlil). We are obliged to conclude, as did Landsberger (*ZA* 41, p. 280¹), that *u* is a mistake. At the beginning of the line [*mim-da*]-*a-ti* is certainly the most obvious restoration: the same word has introduced the previous two sections (lines 16 and 20) and will introduce the next also (line 36).

nu-ḥar is é.u₆.nir, “the ziqqurra temple”, strictly speaking the sanctuary at the tower’s summit: note the progression from the top down in *Antagal A* 228-230 (*MSL* XVII, p. 189):

é.u ₆ .nir	=	<i>nu-ḥar</i>	“ziqqurra temple”
im.dù.a	=	<i>ziq-qur-ra-tum</i>	“ziqqurra”
im.dù.a ak.a	=	<i>pit-qu</i>	“ziqqurra base”

(*pitqu*, written simply im.dù.a, is the designation for the bottom stage of the ziqqurra, also known as *kigallu*, in the present text, l. 37.) In a wider sense *nu-ḥar* can apply to the structure as a whole, as below in line 36; with this use compare the catch-line of *Malku I* (A.D. Kilmer, *JAOS* 83, p. 429, 294 = *Malku II* 1): *nu-ḥa-ar* = *ziq-qur-ra-tù*. See also Weissbach, *ZA* 41, p. 285f.

With the reading of no more than din[*gir*] at the end of the line, compare above, line 13, and the commentary; note also that the sign begins level with *r[u]*, certainly the final sign of the previous line, and a little after *sag*, the last sign of line 27. Although a simple sign, dingir can occupy considerable space, by virtue of its tail. As in line 13, *ilu* is Marduk, to whom the ziqqurra and its temple belonged (so explicitly Nebuchadnezzar II, *BE* I 85, iv 1-3 // Weissbach, *WVDOG* 59, p. 46, fragment 5, 1-6).

26-33 The dimensions of the interior rooms of the ziqqurra temple (*nuḥar*) are given in *nindanu* and sexagesimal fractions, as explained above, p. 418. The cubit-standard employed in this section is certainly the shorter one, according to which the *nindanu* converts to about 6 metres. That this is so is shown by any attempt at a reconstruction of the sanctuary, whose exterior measurements are given in line 42 as 4 *nindanu* by $3\frac{3}{4}$ *nindanu* (in the small cubit-standard). Within a building of such size (about 24 by 22.5 metres) it is just possible to fit the chambers and courtyard listed in this section, provided that one interprets their lengths and breadths according to the smaller cubit-standard (for one of several possible reconstructions, see that of von Soden, *GGA* 200 (1938), p. 523, republished in *UF* 3, p. 261, fig. 2; cf. below, the commentary on lines 30-33). Use the longer standard, in which the *nindanu* converts to roughly 9 metres, and reconstruction within the parameters laid down by line 42 is impossible.

26 On collation of AO 6555 there does appear to be the trace of a second upright at the beginning of the line, as our copy. Given the generous spacing of the line it is very

possible that nothing is to be restored between the figure 2 (*nindanu*) and *šiddu(ús)*. Confirmation of the measurement may come from the commentary no. 62, in which the measurements of a cella of Bēl are given as 24 and 8 cubits (BM 54311, rev. 8; pl. 56): *a-mur pa-pa-ḥi bēl bīt-a-nu-ú 24 šiddu '8' [pūtu ina ammati(1.kùš)...]*, “Consider the inner cella of Bēl: 24 [cubits] the length, 8 [cubits the breadth...]” Now Marduk’s cella in E-sagil measured 37 cubits (see the metrological tablet no. 14, VAT 9961 + 10335, 28-30 and commentary), so the cella of Bēl in no. 62 must be sought elsewhere; the ziqqurra temple, Marduk’s “upper sanctum” (so line 42 of the E-sagil Tablet), is the obvious location. The cella of the ziqqurra temple is mentioned elsewhere in no. 62 (rev. 14: *pa-pa-ḥi bīt ziq-qur-rat*, apparently explaining “15”; cf. also line 13, at end), and the figures given there in cubits tally so well with the E-sagil Tablet’s 2 by $\frac{2}{3}$ *nindanu* that there can hardly be any doubt as to the identification of this cella of Bēl and that of the present line.

Given that the length of the “east wing” (*bīt šadī*) of the ziqqurra temple, comprising this cella at 2 *nindanu* and those of Nabû and Tašmētum at $\frac{40}{60}$ or $\frac{45}{60}$ *nindanu* each (depending on orientation), cannot be less than $3\frac{20}{60}$ *nindanu*, excluding any allowance for the thickness of the two exterior and two interior walls necessary in any reconstruction of the three cellae, we should imagine the east front to be parallel with the longer axis of the temple, i.e. the 4 *nindanu* of line 42. The north and south fronts would then measure $3\frac{3}{4}$ *nindanu* each. If so, the cella of Marduk would lie parallel with the longer sides, as indeed is the case with his cella in E-sagil, and with Nabû’s in E-zida at Borsippa.

q/kan-ni ana q/kan-ni has always given difficulty, and it has been customary to translate according to context. The renderings of Weissbach, “Seite(?) an Seite(?)”, Unger, “Saum an Saum”, and von Soden, “Wand an Wand(?)” (*AHW*, p. 897, s.v. *qannu* II 3b, “Hürde”), apparently take the phrase as describing in some way the twin chambers of Nabû and Tašmētum; a minor objection might be that such an adverbial phrase would not usually precede what it describes. Furthermore, the most credible reconstruction of the “east wing” puts the three cellae all in a row — note that they share a common breadth of $\frac{40}{60}$ *nindanu* — along the east front of a central courtyard, with the largest sandwiched between the two smaller chambers (so von Soden’s reconstruction, *UF* 3, p. 261, fig. 2). Such a reconstruction makes it difficult to see how “side by side”, “wall to wall”, or “edge to edge” can refer to the cellae of Nabû and Tašmētum, separated by the entire length of Marduk’s cult-room. The alternative is to imagine the phrase as in some way defining the foregoing measurements of the main cella, and the word *qannu* in the sense of “outside” would fit nicely, if it were not for the objection that *qannu* is not found in this meaning in Late Babylonian. Perhaps *qannu* should be seen as the variant form of *qarnu*, “horn”, and the whole phrase understood as “tip to tip” meaning the cella at its greatest extent — though there seems to be no parallel for *qarnu* in such usage.

A less likely option is to see the phrase as referring to some cultic fixture or fitting, from which the measurements were taken, and here *kannu*, “potstand”, as well as *qannu*, “horn”, might come into consideration (for ziqqurra-temples with “horns”, see *Enūma*

eliš VI 66, which mentions those of E-temen-anki itself; and *VAB* VII, p. 52, vi 29 with Bauer, *IWA* II, p. 78, 11, horns of the ziqqurat of Susa. But these were probably exterior fittings, like those shown on the Ninevite relief which depicts a ziqqurat: for Boutcher's drawing see, inter alia, Parrot, *Ziggurats*, p. 47f., fig. 18 and cf. 19-21; Gadd, *Stones of Assyria*, p. 28. In view of the lexical and syntactical difficulties posed by *q/kanni* and *q/kanni* it is hardly necessary to observe that the meaning of the phrase is still very obscure.

27-28 The ruling between these two lines in MS a is unwanted; it is absent from MS b.

30 *tu-'um* is open to two possible interpretations. It may be the same word as *di'u* or *du'u*, which in Neo-Babylonian times is at smallest a wide platform of baked brick set in the floor of a cella or chapel (as found, for example, in Nabû's cella in E-zida at Borsippa, which brick inscriptions identify as *du-'u-um mu-ša-ab ʿna-bi-um*, "platform where Nabû sits": *VAB* IV, p. 204, Nbk 44, 3). As such it apparently formed a base for a *parakku*, "throne-dais", of more costly materials, and on this in turn the divine throne would be mounted (the close association of the platform and dais is attested by their common pairing: *Šurpu* III 74, *di-ḥu u pa-rak-ki*, note thereon Commentary B 16, *di-'u = pa-rak-ku*; *VAB* VII, p. 234, 18, *di-ḥi-'a-ni* (coll. *CAD* D, p. 166) *u parakkt^{mes} ša si-tu-ti é.sag.íl*; *I R* 54, iii 57, *du-ú bára.bára*; *CT* 34 33, ii 78, *di-'um bára*; etc.). The word is written with initial /t/ in the Hymn to the Queen of Nippur, where the goddess is described enthroned in Uruk (Lambert, *Zikir šumim*, p. 202, IV 34: *a-ši-bat tu-'e ša é.an.na*, "who sits on the throne-platform of E-anna"); and also in some entries in the synonym lists (A.D. Kilmer, *JAOS* 83, p. 429, *Malku* I 252, *tu-'u = bi-i-tu*; I 281, *tu-'u = šu-ub-tum*; p. 443, Explicit *Malku* II 136, *tu-ú = [šubtu]*; but compare 109, [*d*]u-ú = [*bītu*]).

du'u, "platform", is probably still to be connected with Sum. *du₆*, "mound", despite the objections put forward by *CAD* D, p. 167. The use of *du₆* in a cultic context even in Sumerian times is attested by the ceremonial shrine names *du₆.kù* (the seat of Enlil in Ubšū-ukkinna at Nippur) and *du₆.šuba* (a shrine of Dumuzi in Bad-tibira). The latter, at least, cannot be explained away cosmologically, and its meaning, "Mound of the Shepherd" (see p. 274), refers to its cultic function as the throne-platform of Dumuzi. In a later period the use of *du₆* in the ceremonial names of small shrines — such as consisted probably of platform, dais and *šubtu* — is common, as is evident from the *šubtu* list of E-sagil, *Tintir* II.

The alternative derivation of *tu-'um* is to compare it with *bīt tu-'um-tum* and connect both etymologically to *tu'āmu*, "twin", positing an adjectival form *tu'umu*, "double" (so von Soden, *AHW*, p. 1375; an Assyrian dialect form is already attested, *ta'umu*, p. 1340). Here it would mean "double chamber". This may be a better interpretation, for three reasons. First, the *tu-'um* described in the text does indeed have two distinct parts: an

outer chamber — also known as the "bed-chamber" — and an inner chamber, as becomes apparent in the following lines. Further, *du'u* is not usually anything greater than a throne-platform, except in the synonym lists where, as we have seen, it is equated with *bītu*, "chapel". Finally, the designation *du'u*, regardless of whether it is a fitting or an entire room, implies the presence of a throne. Now, a throne is mentioned in the present text — bed and throne are said to be "facing" each other — but there is no indication that we must therefore understand both pieces of furniture to occupy the same chamber. Indeed, we would not expect a throne in a chamber known as *bīt erši*, nor probably in its inner room. We would expect it across the courtyard, in the cella itself (see below, on lines 33-34).

30-33 The exact configuration of this complex of rooms (the two chambers of the *tu'um*, and the staircase) is open to question. The staircase apparently runs along behind the *tu'um*, and gives access, no doubt, to the roof and the structure called *šahūru* there located (see line 42). The two manuscripts disagree over a crucial point: according to the Uruk tablet (a), the length of the staircase is *kī pišunūma*, "in accordance with them", and this agrees with MS b, but its breadth is given as $\frac{3.5}{6.0}$ *nindanu*; "them" must refer back to the two lengths given for the chambers of the *tu'um*, but how then are we to imagine the length of the staircase to be "in accordance" with two different measurements ($2\frac{5}{6.0}$ and $1\frac{4.0}{6.0}$ *nindanu*)? MS b is easier to follow, providing we read the 'Winkelhaken' in line 32 not as a figure (i.e. $\frac{1.0}{6.0}$ *nindanu*) but as the conjunction, *u*: if so, both the length and the breadth of the staircase chamber are then *kī pišunūma*, and this phrase looks back not to the two lengths, but to the last mentioned length and breadth. We are thus given to understand that the chamber of the staircase and the inner chamber of the *tu'um* were of identical dimensions, the length and breadth of the one being "in accordance" with those of the other.

The various reconstructions of Weissbach, Unger and Schott of this "west wing" (*bītu ša amurri*) of the ziqqurat temple are reviewed by Parrot, *Ziggurats*, p. 82ff., who, like the early commentators, misunderstood the measurements involved as cubits and the building in question as E-sagil (even though Weissbach, whom he consults freely, had already put these matters to rights: see above, on l. 5). A reconstruction overlooked by Parrot is that of von Soden, to which attention has already been drawn (first published in 1938: see above, on ll. 26-33), and which deserves further comment. Von Soden understands the text's *kī pišunūma šiddu* as meaning that the length of the staircase is "in accordance" with the combined breadths of the two parts of the *tu'um* (i.e. $\frac{2.0}{6.0} + \frac{3.0}{6.0}$ *nindanu*, or 10 cubits), and is thus obliged to place the chamber of the staircase across the ends of the double room. By way of objection, we would point out that the staircase is explicitly stated in the text to be behind the *tu'um*, and surely that means beyond its back wall, along its length. An additional criticism of von Soden's reconstruction of the "west wing" is that it shows the larger, "outer" part of the *tu'um* to be further from the

courtyard than its smaller, "inner" part, and von Soden evidently understands *bābānū*, "outer", and *bītānū*, "inner", in relation to the temple structure conceived as a whole. However, it is more likely that the two adjectives stand in relation to a progression from the central courtyard, whence access to these rooms was no doubt to be had. *bābānū*, "outside", is what one comes to first upon entry into a series of chambers, and *bītānū*, "inside", is what lies beyond, through further doorways. Thus the "outer" part of the *tu'um* should lie between the courtyard and the "inner" part.

pānu bābānū, literally "outer front", with the connotation of "outer part", is also found in the procession calendar no. 57 (BM 41239, obv. 6: pl. 54).

33-34 With regard to the position of the phrase *ū s^{is}sag.kul^{me} la-mu*, about which the sources disagree, we follow MS b, it being easier to imagine items of furniture so described, than a courtyard. Of course, much hinges on the interpretation of *s^{is}sag.kul^{me}*. The usual reading of *s^{is}sag.kul* is *sikkūru*, the lock of a door or gate; the courtyard of the ziqqurrat temple has four gates, one on each side (line 35), but even if these were equipped with bolts the expression "ringed with bolts" would be a somewhat clumsy and unlikely way of saying so. MS b's placing of the phrase would thus appear to be the correct one, and its misplacing in MS a is an error that could easily have arisen if, in an earlier copy of the text, the end of line 34 ran over on to the tablet's right edge, and was inadvertently attached to the previous line on recopying. As we have it then, Marduk's bed and throne are "ringed" with *s^{is}sag.kul^{me}*, and these would thus appear to be some sort of symbolic fixture or decoration. *sikkūru* is not known in such a usage, and we are obliged to look elsewhere. In a lexical text one finds the equation *s^{is}sag.kul.ḥāš.ta.è.a.gigir* = *šik-šu*, some part of a waggon or chariot (MSL VI, p. 9, Hh V 52), but this would appear inconsequent. Another reading of *sag.kul* is *kippatu* according to a bilingual invocation to Šamaš (IV R² 19, no. 2, 51-52):

za.e zálag.ga.ta sag.kul sù.da an.na.ta

at-ta-ma nu-ur-šú-nu šā kip-pat šamē^e ru-qu-ú-tum

You are the light of the 'circle' of the distant heavens! (Akk.)

kippatu, one should have thought, is rather more suited to the verb *lamū* than *sikkūru*: it is easy to imagine something ringed by a circle, or, indeed, a plurality of them as we have here. *kippatu* is known in cultic contexts as a loop-shaped symbol held by deities with the sceptre and other symbols of kingship (Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, p. 108, 1-2: held by Anu; p. 137, 302: held by Marduk as *mūt^u.mu.sir.kéš.da*; p. 144f., 415 and 448: symbols of sovereignty; TCL III 375: held by the statue of a goddess; G.J.P. McEwan, *ZA* 70, p. 66, 12: read, at the suggestion of Sachs, *išakkanū ina qāt šumēlišu kip-pat*, with reference to a statue of Ištar). However, it is not easy to see how such a symbol could "ring" a piece of furniture. Rather, the *kippatu* of Marduk's throne and bed are to be connected with a

passage of the Dialogue of Pessimism in which the advantages of being a public benefactor are discussed (*BWL*, p. 148, 72-73):

amēlu šā ū-sa-tú ana māti-šú ip-pu-uš

šak-na ū-sa-tu-šú ina gi.gam.ma (var.: gap-pat) šā ^amarduk

The man who does good deeds for his country,
his good deeds are set in the 'circle' of Marduk.

If *gi.gam.ma* and *gap-pat* can be understood as writings of *kippat*, as Lambert suggests (*ibid.*, p. 326), here again are 'circles' of Marduk in a cultic context. The general drift of the slave's remark must be that the deeds of the philanthropist are brought to the attention of the god; might it not be that the expression he uses to convey this abstract idea could be a vivid allusion to the practice of placing votive objects in the divine presence, and that the 'circle' of Marduk is thus to be found in a position very close to his cult-statue? This would agree, of course with our understanding of *s^{is}sag.kul^{me}* as some sort of symbolic decoration surrounding Marduk's throne and bed.

taršū, which also describes the bed and throne of Marduk, need not necessarily mean "opposite", as we have translated it, for *tarāšu* can simply mean to set something out in an orderly fashion, and is so used especially in rituals. However, the idea of the bed and throne being "opposite" is an attractive one, for Marduk's cella (where one should expect his throne) is located in the "east wing", while the divine bed-chamber, the outer room of the *tu'um*, lies directly across the courtyard in the "west wing". It is not difficult to imagine that if, according to the conventions of Neo-Babylonian temple architecture, Marduk's throne was situated against the back wall of his cella, directly opposite its gateway, and if a similar arrangement existed with regard to the position of his bed in the *bīt erši*, then to a man standing in the centre of the courtyard bed and throne would be exactly opposite each other.

The throne of Marduk in the ziqqurrat temple is not mentioned elsewhere, but the existence there of a divine bed is recorded by Herodotus (I 181). Another throne and another bed could be found below in E-sagil. These were carried off to Assyria by Sennacherib in 689, but restored to their place by his grandson Aššurbanipal, whose dedication describes both in detail (the relevant part is reproduced by Barnett, Gadd and Figulla in *Iraq* 12, p. 40, col. ii). Marduk's throne measured $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{2}{3}$ royal cubits, and was accompanied by a footstool (*kit-tur-ri*) of smaller dimensions: $1\frac{2}{3} \times \frac{2}{3} \times \frac{2}{3}$ royal cubits. The bed, kept in Ka-ḫilisu for Marduk and Zarpanitum, measured $6\frac{2}{3}$ cubits by $3\frac{1}{3}$ cubits (the same bed, and another of Marduk, are referred to in another inscription of the same king: Millard, *Iraq* 30, p. 108, ii 2'-7' and 8'-12'; cf. above, p. 394).

The fact that the central courtyard of the ziqqurrat temple is here described as being roofed over (*šullul*) of itself suggests that this was not the final storey of the building, as some architectural reconstructions have it. The roofing may have been necessary to support an upper stage, the *šahūru*: see further line 42 and the commentary.

35 The four gates listed here are presumably those leading from the aforementioned courtyard into the complexes of rooms off its four sides, whose measurements were the subject of the foregoing section. If so, they are not to be identified with the four gates of the ziqqurrat temple listed in the gate list no. 6 (BM 35046, 9-13), for those are exterior gates giving access, as we imagine, to and from the terrace of the ziqqurrat (see further, p. 89f.).

36 This line introduces the final section of text, the ruling in MS a being displaced by one line. MS b concludes with line 35, apparently omitting the final section altogether.

In the matter of the scribal note between *sukud* and *ti* (DIŠ.IGI written in small characters), we follow Thureau-Dangin's suggestion in *RA* 30, p. 116, where he draws attention to the orthography *he-pi eš₄-ši* in *TCL* VI 12, i, passim. Either *he-pi* has been omitted from the present line by accident, or *eš₄-ši* is a kind of shorthand, with ellipsis of *he-pi*. That the note acknowledges a lacuna is made almost inescapable by the presence of the solitary *ti*. Thureau-Dangin suggested that the break should be restored as [*gi-mir*]-*ti*, i.e. "(the length, breadth and height of) the whole (structure)". However, *gimirtu* does not form a good antecedent for *šumšu*, and we feel that a more appropriate restoration of the missing signs would be [*ziq-ra*]-*ti. nuḥar* and *ziqurratu* being synonymous (see above, on l. 25), *nuḥar Bābili* seems an obvious by-name for E-temen-anki. Other explanations of DIŠ.IGI have been offered, most notably by Weissbach, who read *diš-ši-ti* as a gloss on *sukud* (*WVDOG* 59, p. 52, but cf. p. 54, and his earlier comments in *ZA* 41, p. 285; an objection is that *ti*, unlike DIŠ.IGI, is written full size). Landsberger took the two signs as a scribal note, but read *ana amāri* (*ZA* 41, p. 285¹).

37-42 The measurements are given according to the ordinary Neo-Babylonian cubit-standard, in which 1 *nindanu* converts to about 6 metres: this is proved by the figure of 15 *nindanu* for the ziqqurrat's base, whose dimensions have been given earlier according to both cubit-standards (line 17: 3 *šuppān* = 15 *nindan ina ammat as₄-lum*, there, at least, the small standard; line 21: 10 *nindan i-na ammat arê*, the large standard). For the reading of GAR and the use of *ninda(n)* = *nindanu*, see above, on l. 5.

37 For *pitqu* as the reading of im.dù.a see the lexical texts (*MSL* V, p. 67, *Hh* II 216; VII, p. 105, *Hh* X 496; *Igituḥ* I = VAT 10270, v 8, cited *AHw*, p. 870). In *Antagal* A 230 *pitqu* appears as the bottom stage of the tower, as here (see above, on l. 25).

41-42 The question of whether a line has dropped out between these two is, of course, crucial to any architectural reconstruction of the ziqqurrat, and to the problem of whether the tower comprised seven or eight stages. We hope that in the following we may be forgiven for going over well-trodden ground, which we do in the interests of clarity. The reasons for suspecting the loss of a line at this point are threefold, but are not completely conclusive individually or taken together.

First, the height of the tower is said to equal the dimensions of its base, length and breadth (lines 19 and 24), and this figure is 15 *nindanu* by the smaller cubit-standard. The heights of the stages as given in lines 37-42 add up to 14 *nindanu*, however, thus falling one short. This loss might be explained variously by an erroneous writing of the height of one of the stages (e.g. 1 written instead of 2), thus calling for an emendation of the height of one of the existing stages; by the erroneous omission of a whole stage (i.e. a line), whose height was 1 *nindanu*; or by the existence of the *šahūru* in line 42, which, despite the fact that no measurements are given for it, might be imagined as adding to the overall height of the tower by 1 *nindanu*.

Second, the numeration of the stages appears to jump from the fifth stage to the seventh, a sixth stage not being specified in so many words. Beyond the simple expedient of restoring a whole line to make good this omission, the only other explanation of this circumstance would be to suppose that the *kiššu elū* of line 42 is to be understood as the sixth stage, and the *šahūru* the seventh. The main objections to this proposal are that, if the *kiššu* is the sixth stage why does the text not say so? And, if the *šahūru* is to be understood accordingly as the seventh stage (so von Soden, *AHw*, p. 1133, and his reconstruction in *UF* 3, p. 260, fig. 1), we should expect the designation *sebu*, "seventh", to follow *šahūru* rather than precede it: cf. the pattern in lines 37-41. (On *kiššu elū*, which refers to the ziqqurrat temple whose measurements were given in lines 25-35, and *šahūru*, which, if correctly understood as a designation of a roof-top structure, would accordingly need no further explanation, whether "seventh" or "eighth" stage, see below, the commentary on line 42.)

The final reason for the interpolation of a whole line is Herodotus' report that the temple tower was of eight storeys. If the E-sagil Tablet is to agree with him, *kiššu elū* must be the seventh (and is so indicated) and the *šahūru* must be the eighth, with the sixth having slipped out between lines 41 and 42. The obvious objection is that Herodotus' account is always suspect, and there can for that reason be no need to adjust a cuneiform text to tally with his statistics. But it is only fair to add that the E-sagil Tablet, at least in the text of MS a, is hardly free from error, and the omission of a whole line is by no means improbable.

All in all, we believe, the evidence marginally favours the restoration of a sixth stage between lines 41 and 42, not least because such a course of action solves more problems than it gives rise to; and this is more than can be said for most of the alternative solutions reviewed above. The figure of $5\frac{1}{2}$ *nindanu* was proposed for the length and breadth of this sixth storey by George Smith (and accepted by others since), presumably because it lies halfway between the 7 *nindanu* of the fifth storey and the 4 *nindanu* that is the larger dimension of the ziqqurrat temple (and further noting, perhaps, that the difference between the dimensions of the fourth and fifth stages is also $1\frac{1}{2}$ *nindanu*). This makes for a pleasing regularity in the architecture, of course, but that may be no valid reason in itself: cf. lines 37-39, where the third stage is 3 *nindanu* shorter than the second, while the latter is only 2 *nindanu* smaller than the bottom stage: this demonstrates that architectural

regularity may have been less adhered to in practice than in theory (for theoretical ziqqurrats, of exact architectural regularity, see the geometric plans published by Wiseman, *AnSt* 22, p. 141ff.; Jakob-Rost, *FB* 24, p. 59ff.; and Oelsner, *FB* 24, p. 63ff.). Practical cultic reasons, indeed, might have made it desirable that the sixth stage was 6 rather than $5\frac{1}{2}$ *nindanu* long, thus allowing more room on the temple's terrace for whatever ritual and procession might be performed there.

42 The emendation of SAL-*kās* is the solution of Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 30, p. 116; *nikkassu* is a unit of linear measure equivalent to 3 cubits or $\frac{1}{4}$ *nindanu*.

SAG × MI is here a variant of — or an error for — itima(GĀ × MI). The temple at the top of the ziqqurat is also designated *kiššu* by Nebuchadnezzar II (*VS* I 38, i 48, referring to both E-temen-anki of Babylon and E-ur-me-imin-anki of Borsippa; also Weissbach, *WVDOG* 59, p. 46, fragment 5,1). *CAD* K, p. 445, noting examples of *kiššu* in similar contexts in texts from Elam, suggests that *kiššu* may refer to ziqqurat temples in particular. In this case it would be a synonym of *gigunū* (Sum. gi.gū.na, gi.gun₄.na), which is discussed as a term for a chapel elevated on a terrace or a tower in *CAD* G, p. 69f. But if so, the description in the present line of the *kiššu* as *elū*, “upper”, is a little curious. A more significant connection can be made between *kiššu* and the divine bed-chamber. In the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar cited above there is a parallel between *kiššu* and *ma-aš-ta-ku ta-ak-né-e* (i 48 and fragment 5, 2, respectively). Elsewhere we find parallelism of *kiššu* and *māyālu*, “bed-(chamber)” (*Utukkū lemnūtu* XII 10'-11': ki.nā.a.na itima^{ma} = *i-na ki-iš-ši ma-a-a-li-šū*, Geller, *Iraq* 42, p. 28). *māyālu* is clear enough as a divine bed-chamber; for *maštaku* in the same connection see an inscription of Aššurbanipal reconstructed by Millard, *Iraq* 30, p. 108, 4'-6': there a bed (*ma-a-a-al tak-né-e*) is set up for the celebration of the marriage of Marduk and his bride in Ka-ḫilisu, which is described as the *maštaku* of Zarpanitum. This, the inner sanctum of Zarpanitum in E-sagil (for which see further the gate list no. 6, BM 35046, 7-8 and commentary), might well be imagined to be the lower *kiššu* whose existence is implied by the description of the ziqqurat temple as *kiššu elū*. But whether or not *kiššu* is a word with special reference to divine sleeping quarters, it is certainly a very private and secluded part of a temple, and occurs in the company of other such words in the synonym list Explicit *Malku* II 113-17 (A.D. Kilmer, *JAOS* 83, p. 443):

<i>gi-gu-nu-u</i>	=	[<i>bi-i-tu</i>]
<i>ki-iš-šu</i>	=	MIN
<hr/>		
<i>e-ma-a-šu</i>	=	MIN
<i>ku-um-mu</i>	=	MIN
<i>gi₆-pa-a-rum</i>	=	MIN

Our interpolation of *rikbu*(u₅) is made in view of the pattern established in the preceding lines; *sebū* hardly makes sense when following directly on *kiššu elū*. As in other

lines, we understand this description to be in apposition to what has gone before, and the *kiššu elū* is thus the seventh storey. The *šaḫūru* is therefore a further structure. The word, which is connected with Sum. suḫur (Akk. *qimmatu*, the topmost point of a tree, a person, or a building, but cf. *MSL* XIV, p. 102, Proto-A 809:4, ^{su}-b[^u-u]suḫur = *ša-ḫu-ru-um*), is elsewhere equated with *é.suḫur.ra*, literally “room at the top”, and probably denotes a roof-top structure or “penthouse”. The link between *šaḫūru* and roof-tops is implicit in the order of *Lānu* I 18-24 (*CT* 18 38, K 4191 // *Rm* II 37; restorations from *Igituh* I, known to me only from citations of VAT 10270 in *AHW*: cf. p. 278):

[^u -ru]ūr	=	<i>ú-ru</i>
[^u -ru]uru ₁₂ (ŪR)	=	<i>ú-ru-ú</i>
[^e]é	=	<i>bi-tum</i>
[é.ki].ūr	=	<i>rug-bu</i>
[é.suḫur.r]a	=	<i>ša-ḫu-ru</i>
[é.ša.ga?]	=	<i>ur-šu</i>
[é.ša.si.ga?]	=	<i>pa-pa-ḫu</i>

If we consider the *šaḫūru* as a penthouse standing on top of the seventh stage (the *kiššu elū*), or simply as its upper storey, then it becomes clear why the courtyard of the latter had to be roofed over (line 33). Access to the *šaḫūru* from the *kiššu elū* would be had via the staircase behind Marduk's bed-chamber (lines 30-31). That no measurements are given for the *šaḫūru* rather suggests that it was included for metrological purposes with the *kiššu elū*: the figure given for the latter's height ($2\frac{1}{2}$ *nindanu*, about 15 metres) is more than adequate as a combined measurement of both stories. If the *šaḫūru* is to be imagined simply as the ziqqurat temple's upper storey it may well have shared the same dimensions in the flat plane as the *kiššu elū* it surmounted.

Colophon (Metrological Table)

3 Thureau-Dangin's interpretation of the first half of this line (*RA* 18, p. 127²), in which he was followed by Weissbach (*WVDOG* 59, p. 56), is, as M.A. Powell has recently pointed out in an appendix to his article on the metrology of the E-sagil Tablet (*ZA* 72, p. 114ff.), too contrived to be an acceptable solution, calling as it does for an unlikely equation in which units from the two systems of area measure are nonsensically jumbled (i.e., 18 *mušaru* in linear-based measure = 1 *nindanu*⁽²⁾¹ + 3 *qū* + $\frac{20}{60}$ *nindanu*⁽²⁾¹): the arithmetic works, but metrologically such an equation is a disaster. Working back from the succeeding lines, in which progressively larger linear-based units are equated with their counterparts in the capacity-surface system, we would expect at the beginning of the table the smallest linear-based unit, the number of them equal to 1 *mušaru*, and the equivalent of 1 *mušaru* in capacity-surface units. However, no unit smaller than the *mušaru* is available in the same system, but one might nevertheless expect the rest of the

equation. This would be 1 *mušaru* = 18 gín ($\frac{18}{60}$ *qû*), and this perhaps is where the figure 18 has come from. As Powell points out, 3 sila *û* 20⁴, as the text has it, is reminiscent of the reverse conversion, from capacity-surface to linear-based units, for 1 *qû* = $3\frac{20}{60}$ *mušaru*; it may be that the first half of the line, up to the Glossenkeil, is an attempt, in a very garbled manner, at explaining the use of the fraction $\frac{18}{60}$ as the reciprocal of $3\frac{20}{60}$ in the conversion of linear-based units into the capacity-surface system (as in lines 6, 9 and 22 of the text itself).

The second half of the line, which demonstrates that 50 *mušaru* is 1 *ubû* or $1\frac{1}{2}$ *sûtu*, is spoilt by two further inconsistencies: 1 *ubû* is written in the main text (lines 1, 3 and 11!) with the oblique wedge (GE₂₃), but here with DIL; and $1\frac{1}{2}$ *sûtu* is anachronistically expressed as 1 *sûtu* + 3 *qû*, when in the Kassite and Early Neo-Babylonian metrological system there were still 10 *qû* to the *sûtu*. This is proof, if we need it, that whoever drew up this table was not familiar with the older metrological system employed in the text alongside the later Neo-Babylonian system, and thus that the table is not as old as the text it tries to explain.

4 The purposes of the metrological table demand that the beginning of this line read 2 *ubû* = 1 *ikû*. The question is how the scribe expressed 2 *ubû* in writing, for there would be no conventional notation for anything greater than one of these units. Weissbach read 2? *û*?-[p]u, against the tablet; Powell and von Soden (*AHw*, p. 1400) read 2(×) *ubu*!?. The figure 2(MIN) is certainly to be expected as the first sign on the tablet, that is clear; the problem is what follows it. In the previous line the scribe expressed 1 *ubû* by the sign DIL; it seems that here we have the sign TAB, which is, of course, twice DIL, and can, in certain circumstances, signify the number two (reading min₆). What the scribe has written, then, is a kind of gloss on the preceding figure 2(MIN), defining the unit in question as that encountered in the previous equation: 2² × *ubu*(TAB), “the figure 2, representing 2 *ubû*”.

5 The scribe twice writes BÛR-*gunû* when simple *bûr* is required.

6 Perhaps read the gentilic adjective as *tirannakkû*^{k1}-*û*. That Tir-anna, “Abode of An”, a Sumerian name of Uruk (tir = *šubtu*: see p. 240) can be ‘Akkadianized’, at least in scholarly circles, is shown by the list of names of the city in *Erimḫuš* V 18-20 (*MSL* XVII, p. 67):

unug ^{k1}	=	û-nu-uk-û
šuba ^{k1}	=	û-ru-uk-û
tir.an.na ^{k1}	=	tir.an.na ^{k1} -û

The Measurements of E-sagil and E-zida (no. 14)
(VAT 9961 + 10335)

1 For ta *libbi*, meaning no more than *ištu/ultu*, see *CAD* I, p. 287, c 3', and *GAG* § 115d.

2-4 This passage is subject to the comments of Landsberger, *ZA* 41, p. 297, and Powell, *ZA* 72, p. 101. On the distributive force of suffixed -*ā*, written in later texts phonetically -*a-a* or with the indicators -*ta.ām* or -*ām*, see Powell, p. 89ff. Its use suffixed to measures as well as numbers calls for the rejection of the word **qanāyûte*, proposed for this passage in *AHw*, p. 897 (and adopted in *CAD* K, p. 489, s.v. *kuburrû*, but rejected in Q, p. 90): *qanâ*, meaning “one reed each”, makes an excellent parallel to *rebâ ina ammati*, “four cubits each”, in line 2. Read thus there is little alternative but to consider the signs at the end of line 3 as in some way defining the foregoing *qanâ*. U.TE can be read as the fraction $\frac{1}{10}$, *ešrēte*(10)^{te} (for the reading of 10^{te} as a fraction construed in the fem. pl. see *MSL* I, p. 58, *Ai* IV ii 52, *igi.10.gâl.la* = *e[š-re]-tu*; V, p. 35, *Hh* I 332, = *uš-re-e-tum*). The reed measure is one tenth of the *šuppān*, which can thus be restored at the line's end, at least provisionally. Given the spacing of the line a phonetic writing of this measure is excluded. Accordingly we suggest the ligature DIŠ+ŠU, or 60^{su}, which is found as a writing for the unit 1 *šuppān* in the E-sagil Tablet (line 17, and see the commentary).

As for *kuburrû*, *CAD* was obliged to posit two meanings for this word: “thickness”, and an architectural feature of a wall; *AHw*, p. 498, does likewise. The distinction may be unnecessary. In the present text *kuburrû* refers to the thickness of the exterior and interior walls of the temple (imagined as regularly 6 and 4 cubits respectively, in conflict with the excavated remains), which must be totted up and taken into account in the calculation of the overall dimensions of the temple, as made up of its interior rooms and courtyards. The *bīt ku-bur-ru-û*, probably better read as ⁶*ku-bur-ru-û*, which occurs in Seleucid documents from Uruk, need not mean anything different, for we should probably understand it as being an opening or recess within the thickness of a wall, such as may be found inside large gateways. Note in this regard such a feature in the gateway of Anu's sanctum in E-anna, which comprised or contained a socle for his vizier, Papsukkal (Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, p. 103, 20: [^a] *pap-sukkal ina ku-bur-ru-û bāb pa-pa-ḥa izzazza*^{2a}; no doubt this is the same location as that described in *BRM* II 39, 10: ⁶*ku-bur-ru-û šā bābi šā a-nu*).

5-6 The *ašrukkatu* of Ka-ude-babbar(ra) is the location, according to *Tintir* II 40-41, for a pair of shrines, one on the left and one on the right, belonging to Bēlet-ilī and Dagān. The difference between the dimension given here and the size of the room excavated just inside the temple's south gate (Gate B = Ka-ude-babbar: see below) is probably to be explained by slight changes in the interior plan of E-sagil made at the time of Esarhad-

don's rebuilding, as also are the many other inconsistencies of the text in this regard: on this question see the introduction.

The *ašrukkatu* is a chamber associated with a gate, as is clear from the many instances in 'topographical' texts in which *ašrukkatu*'s appear as sites of shrines inside large gateways (we have already mentioned the *ašrukkatu* of Ka-ude-babbar in this respect; the two shrines of Ea and Nanše in Ka-mah (*Tintir* II 42-43) were situated in an *ašrukkatu* (see the commentary), while the two *ašrukkatu*'s appearing in the gate list no. 7 (BM 38602 // VAT 13817, i 17'-18') are probably cultic chambers, since they bear ceremonial names; shrines located in *ašrukkatu*'s are also listed for E-šarra in Aššur: see no. 21, BM 134502, obv. 13', 17', 25' and 27'). Other gates of E-sagil with an *ašrukkatu* are Ka-Utu-e (*Tintir* II 37'), Ka-Lamma-(a)rabi (line 13 of the present text) and, probably, Ka-ḫegal (so restored in lines 25 and 36). In a Late Babylonian ground-plan an *ašrukkatu* is depicted as the chamber immediately inside an exterior gate, giving access to the building's interior (*CT* 22 50, perhaps a temple with twin cellae: see the reconstruction of Heinrich and Seidl, *MDOG* 98, p. 40ff.). The connection between the *ašrukkatu* and gates is further shown by Nebuchadnezzar II's Wadi Brisa inscription, which describes the plating of the beams of the *ašrukkatu*'s of the east gate of E-zida in Borsippa (*āš-ru-uk-ka-a-ti ša bāb* 'mšadi: B iii 22*-23*). These rooms were very probably not unlike the two long, narrow chambers leading from E-zida's Gate H in the centre of its north-west front to the central Courtyard A (for the ground-plan of Neo-Babylonian E-zida see Koldewey, *WVDOG* 15, pl. 12). The design of such rooms, with offset gateways and 90° changes of axis, denies any architectural vista to those who enter, but serves the very practical purpose of hindering the ingress of wind and sand. Their characteristic shape, often more like corridors than rooms, is acknowledged by the signs that make up the group *ašlug* (from which *ašlukkatu/ašrukkatu* derives, of course): É.ÚS.GÍD.DA, "room with long sides" (on the reading of the group as *ašlug* see p. 407). While such rooms may have been used as storehouses (see *CAD* A/2, p. 450), this is not their function in Neo-Babylonian temples, it would seem. Our translation of *ašrukkatu* as "lobby" is made with reference to its particular association in 'topographical' and other texts with gateways.

The writing of the gate name Ka-ude-babbar(ra) in the present line is probably a corruption, no doubt arising from a confusion with the é.babbar.ra of Šamaš at Sippar and Larsa, which could well be imagined as the location for a ká.utu, "Gate of Šamaš". The appearance here of Ka-ude-babbar(ra) confirms it as the gate of the south front of the main building of E-sagil (Gate B in the excavators' plan), as noted in the introduction. For Ka-ude-babbar(ra) as one of the four exterior gates of the main building see above, pp. 85ff. and 393.

7 The chariot house is a known chamber of E-sagil (the shrine of Lugal-dukuga, é.du₆.kù.ga: *Tintir* II 16). For Marduk's chariot see further Lambert, *Symbolae Böhl*, p. 275ff.

8 For the Court of Bēl as the name of the central courtyard of the main building of E-sagil, also known as the Upper Court, see the gate list no. 7 (BM 38602 // VAT 13817, i 5' and commentary). The length of this courtyard, north to south, is shown by the excavations to be 37.7 metres on its east side and 37.37 on its west (Wetzel, *WVDOG* 59, p. 7), which gives a mean length of 37.535 metres. Division of this length by the figure 77 gives a modern equivalence for the ordinary Neo-Babylonian cubit of 48.7 cm. This is well within the admissible parameters for this cubit-standard, which, to judge from the variation in actual size of the standard $\frac{2}{3}$ cubit brick (from 31.5 cm square to 33 cm square), are set at 47.25 cm minimum, 50 cm maximum. The bricks of Esarhaddon's and subsequent rebuildings are a uniform 32 cm square, giving a cubit-standard of 48 cm (on the bricks of E-sagil see Wetzel, *WVDOG* 59, p. 4).

9 This line may originally have preceded line 8, rather than followed it, as suggested on p. 121.

10 In view of the following line, we should probably understand the "room south of the chapel of Bēltiya" to be the chamber off the south side of her courtyard; the "chapel of Bēltiya" no doubt refers to the whole complex of rooms adjacent to her courtyard rather than her cella alone. This chamber may appear in Esarhaddon's temple as Room 11: see further p. 122.

11 On the problems of reconciling the measurement and axis of Bēltiya's courtyard with Court 5 of the excavated temple see p. 122f.

12 Grammatically one expects a final vowel on *né-reb* before *ša*: hence our adoption of a value *rebe*. It was a custom of Neo-Assyrian scribes, in particular, to adapt C-V-C signs in this way (Deller, *OrNS* 31, p. 7ff.; a recent list of such values is that of Borger, *ABZ*, p. 209ff., which, however, does not acknowledge *rebe* = RIB).

13 On *ašrukkatu* see above on ll. 5-6, on Ka-Lamma-(a)ra-bi, pp. 85ff., 392.

14 *šiddu* is, of course, the longer side of a rectangular area. That, in the case of the main building of E-sagil, this was its south-north axis is also demonstrated by the excavators' figures: the east and west fronts (at 86.1 and 85.9 metres) are a little longer than the south and north (79 and 77.3 metres). Division of the mean length by the ancient measurement yields a modern equivalence for the cubit of 50.6 cm (cf. above, on l. 8).

18-22 As pointed out in the introduction, six lines are required in this gap if we understand the text correctly. By analogy with the cross-section south-north, which began and ended with the *ašrukkatu* of a main gate, we expect the first chamber of the east-west

section (line 19) to be the *ašrukku* of Ka-Utu-e, and feel justified in restoring it all the more because such a chamber is indeed attested (see *Tintir* II 37'; in Esarhaddon's temple the "lobby" of Ka-Utu-e would be Room 19, an imposing entrance hall between Gate A and the central courtyard: see p. 124¹⁸; for Ka-Utu-e see p. 85ff. and p. 391).

The dimensions restored in lines 21, 22 and the unnumbered line are the breadths of the three rooms listed also in lines 28-30, which we see as Marduk's cella and two ante-rooms lying one behind another beyond the western facade of the courtyard, and thus expected immediately after the courtyard in an east-west cross-section.

26 The mean dimension of the main building of E-sagil recorded by the excavators from east to west is 78.15 metres (north front: 77.3, south front: 79), which without one width of *kisû* wall can be adjusted to 76.25 metres (the *kisû* wall did not abut the main building on its east side). This should yield a total in cubits of between 150 and 160 cubits depending on the exact length of the cubit-standard.

27 The large figures in this line, which introduces the section on the temple's "west wing", are probably to be understood as the overall dimensions of the complex of rooms between the central courtyard and the west front. The interior dimensions of this complex, as it appears in Wetzel's reconstruction, are: east-west, through Rooms 18, 17 and 9, but excluding the thicknesses of the exterior and courtyard walls, a little short of 23 metres; north-south, through Rooms 15, 18 and 21, again excluding the outer walls, about 37.5 metres (the same length as the adjoining courtyard: Wetzel, *WVDOG* 59, p. 7f.). The figures given in cubits in the text are equivalent to about 40 and 27.5 metres, thus describing a rectangular area of similar size and proportions.

28-30 As noted in the introduction, these three rooms of equal length and similar breadth are probably Marduk's cella and two antechambers, lying one behind another as in E-zida at Borsippa and the temple of Ingharra. The figure of 37 cubits for their length agrees well with the archaeologists' figure for the length of Room 18, behind the west facade of the courtyard, at 18.5 metres (Wetzel, *WVDOG* 59, p. 8). The excavations did not reach the back of this room, but this was very plausibly imagined in the reconstruction of the ground-plan to have lain along the same axis as the backs of the two side-chambers, Rooms 15 and 21, which were reached. This gives a width for Room 18 of 7.28 metres, which does not agree with our text (12 cubits is a little under 6 metres). Nor does it allow enough remaining depth in this wing of the temple for a second, inner ante-room. Accordingly, either the architectural reconstruction is at fault in its assumption that the width of Room 18 equalled that of its side-chambers, or Esarhaddon's temple was, in these particulars also, slightly different from the one described in our text.

If the restoration of l. 29 is correct, and the middle one of the three contiguous chambers is the *papāhu*, this would indicate that *papāhu*, traditionally translated "cella", is not necessarily the innermost sanctum of a temple. Such a consideration recalls an Old Akkadian temple plan from Uruk, in which the *papāhu* is a chamber between the courtyard and the inner room, *ki.tuš*, where the divine statue reposed, and its service chambers (*RTC* 145; see the comments of Heinrich and Seidl, *RIA* III, p. 664; *MDOG* 98, p. 28f., no. 2; von Soden, *Le temple et le culte* (CRR 20), p. 137f.; Charpin, *Iraq* 45, p. 60ff.). In respect of E-sagil itself, note the plurality of cellae (*papāhāt*) of Marduk mentioned in Agum-kakrime's inscription (*V R* 33, v 38, quoted above, p. 402), presumably with reference to E-umuša and adjacent chambers. The expression *papāhu būtanū*, "inner cella", found in the commentary no. 62 (BM 54311, rev. 8: of Marduk, in E-temenanki?: see p. 425) and in an inscription of Esarhaddon (Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 3, iii 35: of Aššur in E-šarra), implies at least a twofold division of the cella into inner and outer chambers.

61 With the figures of this line, which are perhaps totals of the foregoing section, compare the figures given in lines 67-71 for the length and breadth of what must be the perimeter wall of E-zida.

62-67 The application of this set of calculations is not apparent. In lines 62-64 the text is concerned with lengths measured in *ašlu*'s, a unit normally equal to 120 cubits, or about 60 metres. Here, however, the total of these figures, 521 *ašlu*, is apparently converted into cubits by multiplication with a factor of 30, thus giving a figure of 15630. If our restoration is correct, the addition of a further 499 cubits gives a grand total of 16129, the equivalent of roughly 8 km. This is about the same distance as the circuit of the twin walls of Babylon (Imgur-Enlil and Nimit-Enlil, whose length is discussed on p. 135f.), but the details of the present passage prohibit further speculation in that direction. The city wall of Borsippa, Tābi-supūršu, was of considerably smaller circuit.

67-71 The text concludes by stating the individual lengths, and then the combined total, of the four sides of an area whose circumference is designated *kippat E-zida*. The dimensions are apparently given twice, on the first occasion describing an irregular tetragon (the text may be corrupt), on the second a regular one with sides of 500 and 250 metres (assuming the figures to denote cubits, as in the preceding section). Plainly these figures are not applicable to the temple building itself, which measured about 85 by 100 metres (Koldewey, *WVDOG* 15, pl. 12), but rather to the temple precinct as a whole. A stretch of the perimeter wall that enclosed this precinct has been excavated, to a length of some 300 metres roughly parallel with the north-west front of E-zida: this is thus the north front, or *šiddu elū*, of the present text, of 1000 cubits length.

The precinct wall of E-zida is not usually referred to as a *kippatu*, which as the conventional term for “circumference” in mathematics reflects the preoccupation of the text (for *kippatu* as a technical term in geometry see *CAD K*, p. 398, 2.a.1’). In other texts this wall is *igār siḫirti* or *igār limīti* (references to these can be found on p. 419), and perhaps also simply *du-ru é.zi.da* (as in the cylinder of Nabû-šuma-imbi, who rebuilt an *ašrukkatu* of this wall: Lambert, *JAOS* 88, p. 126f., i b 5ff., ii b 33). Within the bounds of the precinct of E-zida were certainly the ziqqurrat, E-ur-me-imin-anki, and a temple of Sîn, E-dim-anna (rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar II “at the precinct wall of E-zida”, *i-na i-gār li-mi-ti é.zi.da*: I R 55, iv 64), and no doubt other sanctuaries too.

City Walls

BM 54634 (no. 15)

obv. 2’-3’ The second measurement given here tallies so well with the excavated remains of Imgur-Enlil between the Zababa Gate and the tower at the wall’s south-east corner that the restoration of *tubqu* seems unavoidable. For the measurements of the German expedition see Wetzel, *WVDOG* 48, p. 22 and pl. 38: allowing mean lengths for the two unexcavated stretches of curtain wall and the tower that separates them, the alternate sections of wall and tower from the gate building of the Zababa Gate to the corner tower add up to 151.5 metres, which is a very passable equivalent to 300 cubits.

4’ For this temple of Gula, which evidently abutted the city wall somewhere between its south-east corner and the Uraš Gate, see the introduction.

5’ The otherwise unattested sanctuary of Zāriqu should be sought on the city wall, about 380 metres east of the Uraš Gate. For the deity see *CAD Z*, p. 69.

6’ The interior width of the Uraš Gate was measured by its excavators at 4.7 metres (Wetzel, *WVDOG* 48, p. 58).

7’ From the gate building of the Uraš Gate to the end of Imgur-Enlil measures 90.27 metres on the inside of the wall, 88.45 on the outside (figures computed from the measurements of individual sections given by Wetzel, *WVDOG* 48, p. 28 and pl. 41).

8’ The first dimension of the line must refer to the gap of several metres between the end of Imgur-Enlil and the face of the quay wall, which was indeed “left free” of fortifications. The second dimension is equivalent to about 3.17 metres, and this can be seen from the plan to tally with the breadth of the Araḫtu quay wall of Nabopolassar at its

southern end (Wetzel, *WVDOG* 48, p. 41, section A-A). The lack of mention of the later abutment of Nebuchadnezzar II, which reinforced Nabopolassar’s quay wall on its west face and was as wide again, or indeed of Nabonidus’ independent quay wall still further west, indicates that the present survey ante-dates Nebuchadnezzar’s resumption of his father’s work (as documented in the commentary on *Tintir V* 59). The text of BM 54634 must therefore be dated to the later years of Nabopolassar’s reign, or the early years of his son’s.

9’ The dimension given here, which shows that the river had receded west of the quay wall by more than 100 metres, highlights a problem which the kings of the Chaldaean dynasty tried to resolve in a number of ways: Nebuchadnezzar by plugging the gap between river and quay at its northern end with a huge bastion, Neriglissar by attempting to divert the river back to its former course nearer E-sagil, and Nabonidus by building a new quay wall (see p. 354ff.).

rev. 2’-3’ The sexagesimal system of metrology in use here is that employed for the 12 cubit measure, the *nindanu*, as seen above in the E-sagil tablet (ll. 5-10, 25-33), and found in the LB ground plan VAT 413 (Meissner, *BuA* I, fig. 154; Reuther, *WVDOG* 47, p. 79, fig. 61; figures correctly valued by Borchardt, *SPAW* 1888, p. 129ff., but misunderstood by Heinrich and Seidl, *MDOG* 98, p. 39f., no. 18). 0,13,20 *nindanu* converts to $2\frac{2}{3}$ cubits, or about 1.33 metres.

5’ Mention of the bank of the Euphrates at this point is puzzling, when the circuit of the walls has yet to pass what we restore as the temple of Bēlet-Ninua, known to have been in north-west Babylon (the quarter Bāb-Lugalirra: *Tintir IV* 32; V 101). But the fragmentary condition of the text may hide the solution.

8’ The “outflow of water above the city” marks the exit from west Babylon of some canal, rather than the Euphrates.

Nippur

The Nippur Compendium (no. 18)

i 1-10’ (§§ 1-3) According to the scribal note on the excerpt tablet (MS e: p. 162), *nibru^{ki} ní.bi.ta dù.a* seems to be the ancient title of the Nippur Compendium, and is so provisionally restored as its incipit (cf. the introduction). “Built of Itself” is perhaps an ‘etymological’ explanation of the toponym Nib(u)ru, deriving from analysis of it as *ní.bi*, “itself”, and *rú (dù)*, “to build”. Such breaking down of proper names into Sumerian

roots and their homophones is behind most of the Akkadian interpretations of Sumerian names in this text, as in many others: see in particular the E-sagil Commentary (no. 5), where the thought processes of the ancient etymologist are nicely illustrated by his philological commentary (cf. p. 73f.). As for the epithet itself, the idea of a city “built of itself” does not conflict with Sumero-Babylonian cosmological thought. According to a well-known tradition, represented by the myth of Enlil and Ninlil, time was when Nippur was a city inhabited by gods not men, and this would suggest that it had existed from the very beginning (on Nippur as the ‘first city’ of Sumer see p. 245f.).

The names of Nippur are also listed in the lexical text *Hh* XXI 1-15 (*MSL* XI, p. 11), but in an order differing from that of the present text (the sources for *Hh* at this point are Ashmolean 1924-787 (coll.) and *LTBA* I 85, rev. 6-9):

nibru ^{ki}	=	ni-ip-pu-ru	“Nippur”
dur.an.ki	=	MIN	“Bond of Heaven and Underworld”
ki.in.gi ^{ki}	=	MIN	“Kingi(r)”
únu.edin! ^{ki}	=	MIN	“Seat of the Steppe(?)”
5 nam.bi.tar.ra ^{ki}	=	MIN	“Its Destiny is Decreed”
dúr. ^{giš} gišimmar ^{ki}	=	MIN	“Abode of the Date Palm”
dúr.giš.lam ^{ki}	=	MIN	“Abode/Bond of Heaven and Underworld”
uru.na.nam ^{ki}	=	MIN	“The Very City”
uru.u ₄ .ul.dù.a ^{ki}	=	MIN	“City of Ancient Days”
10 uru.šen.šen.na ^{ki}	=	MIN	“Pure City”
uru.nisag ^{ki}	=	MIN	“Foremost City”
uru.sag ^{ki}	=	MIN	“First City”
igi.dil.àm ^{ki}	=	MIN	“Outer Eye(?)”
gir-gi-lum ^{ki}	=	MIN	“Girgilu”
15 uzu.mú.a ^{ki}	=	MIN	“Flesh-Grower”

A further source for names of Nippur is the myth of Enlil and Ninlil, where the names dur.an.ki, nibru^{ki} and dūr(var.: dur).^{giš}gišimmar all appear in the first three lines, each qualified by the phrase uru^(ki).na.nam, “that very city” (which is itself the ancient title of the myth: see Behrens, *Enlil and Ninlil*, p. 14).

Some of the names of Nippur appear outside the Nippur Compendium, *Hh* and the myth of Enlil and Ninlil: their order in the following brief notes takes after that observed in *Hh*. On Dur-anki, best-known of the by-names of Nippur, see the commentary above on *Tintir* I 35. Kingi(r) has of course been much discussed (the debate is usefully reviewed by F.R. Kraus, *Sumerer und Akkader*, p. 48ff.); but whatever the origin and etymology of the toponym, its use as a learned appellation of Nippur in the late period is also found in the commentary BM 32574, rev. 5 (*STC* I, p. 217), ki.in.gi = nibru^{ki}. The speculative interpretation of nam.bi.tar.ra^{ki} in the present text takes account of the lexical equations nim = ze-e-ru (VAT 10754, i 6: *CAD* Z, p. 89, and *AHW*, p. 1521) and ^{ku-u}ku₅(TAR) =

la-qa-[tu] (*MSL* XIII, p. 183, *Izi* D iii 18). For Nippur as Dur-gišimmar see Behrens, *Enlil and Ninlil*, p. 60ff. dūr.giš.lam occurs as dur.giš.lam.(ma) in *Erimḫuš* V (*MSL* XVII, p. 67, 21, followed by nibru^{ki} = ni-ip-pu-ru-ú), a writing that suggests it is a phrase synonymous with dur.an.ki (for the equation giš.lam = šamū u eršetu see Weidner, *AfO* 19, p. 110, 40, quoted below, p. 466). Note also the equation dur-giš-lu-u = ni-ip-pu-rum cited by the commentary on *Šumma izbu* IV 38 (Leichty, *TCS* IV, p. 216; cf. Durand, *RA* 73, p. 164, 11). For the name Uru-nanam see further Behrens, op. cit., p. 55ff., and the present text, ii 10' and commentary (on the “identifying and restrictive force” of na.nam see Jacobsen, *JNES* 5, p. 132⁸). The epithet uru.u₄.ul.dù.a is a scholarly adaptation of older uru.u₄.ul.lí.a (so Lambert, *JCS* 21, p. 131), which is itself a fuller form of the old Sumerian city epithet uru.ul, “Ancient City”, used of Nippur, but also of other cities (see p. 245f.). uru.šen.šen.na is also found as a name of Nippur in the myth of the Moon God's journey to the city (Ferrara, *Nanna-Suen's Journey*, p. 45, 17). *CAD* G, s.v., insists that the toponym Girgilu, which outside *Hh* XXI is found as an alternative name for Nippur in a Neo-Babylonian land sale (*BE* VIII/1 1, 2: Asb), has nothing to do with the bird of the same name, despite the fact that the “running girgilu-bird” is a symbol of the city god (as in the boundary stone of Nazi-Maruttaš, *MDP* 2, pl. 17-18 = Hinke, *SBKI* 1, iv 3-4: gir-gi-lu al-la-ku ša ^{en-lil}bēl mātāti; this is the striding bird depicted on the reliefs of this and other *kudurru*'s). One may note, moreover, that a name of Ištar as Queen of Nippur is Nin-Girgilu (documented by *CAD* G, p. 86), which has every appearance of being a variation on Ungal-Nibru = Šarrat-Nippuri. A further variation on this title of Ištar is malkat Uzu-mua, an epithet accorded the goddess in the Hymn to the Queen of Nippur (Lambert, *Zikir šumim*, p. 192, I 3) and an inscription of Esarhaddon (Goetze, *JCS* 17, p. 129, 1). Uzu-mua is that part of Nippur where human life first sprang from the ground, according to one tradition of the creation (represented by the ‘Myth of the Pickax’ and *KAR* 4: see further p. 259) — a tradition with which the scholar of the Nippur Compendium was evidently familiar. Uzu-mua also appears as part of the city in an Akkadian dispute (*BWL*, p. 208, rev. 6, with Tummal) and, paired with úru!.na.nam, in an OB cultic lament (*VS* II 5, ii 5-6).

11' The feminine suffix is at odds with the restoration of *ālu*, which, however, one would have thought the Sumerian demanded.

12' The etymologist interprets the epithet with a.ga = *aḫrātu* in mind, an equivalence found in bilinguals (*CT* 21 42, iv 3-4: Hammurapi; Meek, *RA* 17, p. 154, K 7645, 1, as *CAD* A/1, p. 193).

13' The epithet uru.šā.uru is also used of Nippur in the cultic explanatory text *OECT* XI 69+70, i 25 (on its transfer as Libbi-āli to Aššur see my remarks in *ZA* 80, p. 157).

14' *ga-bur-ri* could perhaps be connected with Sumerian *gá.bur.(ra)*, a temple name associated with the god Ningublaga (Sjöberg, *TCS* III, pp. 81 and 152).

15' On *du₆.šuba* see *Tintir* II 22 and commentary.

16' For 'etymological' purposes the name of Enlil's cult-centre is reduced to *é* = *bītu*, *ku* (not used in this instance), *u* (^a*u* = *i-lum*: *MSL* XIV, p. 280, *A* II/4 15) and *ur* (*ur₄* = *hamāmu*; *ur₅* = *tērtu*: *CT* 18 49, i 24, quoted p. 385).

17' *ku(r)* is here understood as *kū* = *ellu*.

18'-19' *kur* is analysed as *kur₄* = *kabtu*.

20' *kur* is taken as *kūr*, but in its value *pab* (cf. [^{pa-ab}*pab* = *bu-u*]*k-ru*: *MSL* III, p. 64, *S^a* M 3).

21' *kur* is understood as *gur* = *tāru*, and is perhaps also broken down into *u* (*umun* = *šarru*) and *ur* (^{ur}*ur₅* = *gi!-mil-lu*, *MSL* III, p. 52, *S^a* A 11').

23' *é* yields *atmānu* and *kur*, *kišittu*.

24' *kur* for *kur₄* = *rabū*. The Great Mountain is Enlil, as often of course, and the line stands parallel with the following.

27'-28' Here perhaps *kur* is analysed as *gu* (*ugu₄*(*KU*) = *banū*; *gū*.(*dé*) = *nabū*) and *ur* (well known for *amēlu*, here *nišū*).

32' *kur*, "mountain", is paraphrased as *du₆.kū*, the "Pure Mound" where destinies are determined. There was such a shrine in *Ubšū-ukkinna* of *E-kur* just as there came to be one in that of *E-sagil* (see p. 290).

33' For (Ma)-Nungal's status as *nin*, "lady", and *agrig*, "stewardess", of *E-kur*, see Sjöberg, *Afo* 24, p. 21f.

ii c The same explanation of the name of Ninurta's temple is found in the Nippur Temple List (no. 19, l. 14'). For the alternative explanation and the 'etymology' see the commentary on that line.

d With *si.si* = *tuḥdu* in this line compare *MSL* XVI, p. 221, *Nabnītu* XXIII 345, *si.si.ke* = *tuḥ-ḥu-du šá mir-si*.

5' *E-dur-anki* is well known in Nippur as an ancient sanctuary of Ištar (Ebeling, *RIA* II, p. 275). The "Enlils of old" allude to a set of primeval deities listed as the "defeated Enlils" in the cultic explanatory text O 175, rev. (Livingstone, *MMEW*, p. 194; cf. p. 198, rev. 1-9), and seven in number. Seven Enlils are also known to the Archive of Mystic Heptads (*KAR* 142, iii 3-10 // Pinches, *PSBA* 33, p. 94f., BM 67296 obv.).

7'-8' Both these entries represent speculative writings of the "Grand Garden" of Nippur, ^{si}*kiri₆.maḥ*. Not all of the etymologist's three interpretations of the name are intelligible to me, but clearly in the first line *ki* = *ašru* and *ir* = *šalālu*, while in the second *ér* = *bikītu* and *maḥ* is taken for the mother goddess Dingirmaḥ. The garden's sanctuary appears among the religious buildings of the city listed in *Proto-Kagal* (*MSL* XIII, p. 72, 178: *é.^{si}kiri₆.maḥ*, "House of the Grand Garden"). There it is followed by the same two temples that come next in the present text, but also by *é.du₆.nūmun.būr* (on this sanctuary see further text no. 19, the Nippur Temple List, l. 23', and below). The association of the Grand Garden and its shrine with these same three buildings is confirmed by the Tummal inscription (Sollberger, *JCS* 16, p. 44, 16: ^{si}*kiri₆.maḥ.ām*, rebuilt by Nanne), and by the Middle Babylonian metrological text of Nippur published by Bernhardt and Kramer, though there *E-uru-nanam* is lacking (*OrNS* 44, p. 98, 45: ^{si}*kiri₆.maḥ*). The Grand Garden of Nippur, most probably a sacred garden in the *E-kur* temple complex, is described in a cult-song of Enlil as a "garden of heavenly joy" (*VS* II 8, i 35': [^{si}*kiri₆.maḥ* ^{si}*kiri₆* gir₁₇.zal an.na; OB period). Other Grand Gardens existed at Babylon (known solely from an unpublished duplicate of the Love Lyrics ritual tablet) and at Uruk, where it gave its name to a quarter of the city (references collected in *CAD* K, p. 406).

9' This is the well-known sanctuary first attested in the Tummal inscription (Sollberger, *JCS* 16, p. 43, 11: *bur.šu.šú.a^{ki}* *é^{en}.lil.lá*, rebuilt by Mesanepadda). It also occurs in *Proto-Kagal* 180 (*MSL* XIII, p. 72: *é.bur.šu.šú.a*), paired with *é.du₆.nūmun.būr*, a pairing that is repeated in the defectively written Middle Babylonian metrological tablet (Bernhardt and Kramer, *OrNS* 44, p. 98, 46: 3 *iku du₆!(KI).nūmun.buru₁₄ ū bur.<šu>.šú.a*; the large area occupied by the two shrines in this text is perhaps some kind of precinct or other open space — note the ^{si}*kiri₆.maḥ* in the preceding line). The sanctuary is further known from the Canonical Temple List, in which it appears in the Enlil section (Pinches, *PSBA* 22, p. 365, 23: [*é*].*bur.šu!(NA).šú.a* = *é* 28; coll.), and from a bilingual psalm to Enlil (*IV R²* 24, no. 2, 21-22: *é.bur.šú.šú.a* = *é.MIN*).

The apparent interpretation of *šú* in the temple name as *kalū* is some indication of the age of the Nippur Compendium, for *šú* does not appear in such usage until the ninth century (in boundary stones of Marduk-zākir-šumi: Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 16, p. 126, iv 24; and *Nabū-šuma-iškun*: *ibid.*, p. 143 = *VS* I 36, iv 9).

10' In *Hh XXI* 8 this is a name of Nippur (above, on i 1-10'), and it may be used here for a quarter of the city (see below, in ii 16'). But (é).uru.na.nam is also the name of a temple of Enlil, appearing as such in the Tummal inscription (Sollberger, *JCS* 16, p. 42, 1-2: uru.na.nam é^aen.lil.lá, built by Enmebaragesi) and in the temple lists, in which it is paired, as here, with é.bur.šu.šú.a (*MSL XIII*, p. 72, Proto-*Kagal* 179: é.uru.na.nam; Pinches, *PSBA* 22, p. 365, 24: [é].uru.na.nam = é 29 (of Enlil), Canonical Temple List). A sanctuary of the same name (written é.uru/uru.na.nam) is listed for Nabû in Babylon (*Tintir IV* 21). The first explanation of uru.na.nam offered in the present line is found again in the explanatory text BM 35188 + 55551 (unpub.), ii 9: uru.na.nam KIMIN *ni-ip-pu-ru ālu ki-nam*.

11' Temples of the same name belonged to Sîn at Ur and at Babylon (see *Tintir IV* 24 and commentary). The Akkadian explanations of the temple's name given in this and the following lines differ from those offered by an explanatory temple list of Babylon, text no. 3 (BM 35046, rev. 5'-6'), but independent traditions of scholarship in Babylon and Nippur are only to be expected. In this line kiš/giš supplies *kakku*, nu of course is *lā*, and gál is therefore apparently understood as *maḥāru*.

12'-13' These unorthodox writings of the temple name E-kišnu-gal allow the etymologist to speculate freely on its meaning. For ^anun.gal = *Igīgū* see Kienast, *AS* 16, p. 142. In l. 13' the Akkadian derives from an analysis of the temple name as é, ká, éš.nun ("house of the prince" (Ea) = Apsû), and gal for gál.(tag_a) = *petû*.

14' E-dubla-maḥ is the name of another temple of Sîn at Ur, but also of sanctuaries in other cities (Ebeling, *RIA* II, p. 274; Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 57). On dub.lá as an architectural feature see Lambert, *OrNS* 54, p. 193f. dub = *tuppu*, lá = *našû*, maḥ for ki.maḥ = *qubûru*.

15' The reading of the ceremonial name is uncertain: é.dim₄.šub may also be possible. The etymologist apparently interprets kúr(PA₄) in the light of mu₆(PA) = *eṭhu*. With the idea thus expressed cf. no. 20, GAB 166 and 170.

16' Perhaps read Bît-Suenna; either way this sounds less like a temple name than a toponym, and a Bît-Sîn is indeed attested as an administrative district in the vicinity of Nippur in the second millennium (see Groneberg, *RGTC* III, p. 44, and Nashef, V, p. 67). Probably Bît-Suenna is the name of that suburb of Nippur in which was located the cult-centre of the Moon God. Indeed, in the preceding section we have noted E-kišnugal and E-dubla-maḥ, both temple names much associated with Sîn. It may be that we should understand this temple list as one that enumerates the sacred buildings of Nippur according to their location, quarter by quarter (after the manner of *Tintir IV*, the temple

list of Babylon). Bît-Suenna would thus be the area in which the temples (and shrines?) of lines 11'-15' were situated: only those from line 11' because we would then be obliged to understand Uru-nanam (line 10') not as a temple name but as another quarter. This is by no means improbable, for as a name of the city Uru-nanam might well have developed into the name of one of its quarters, just as at Babylon the names Ka-dingirra, Eridu and Šuanna-Tintir were re-used as names of quarters of the city.

The Akkadian explanation of é.^asuen.na is obscure in its derivation from the Sumerian.

17'-26' (§7) With the exception of Umušanna and Umuškita the deities listed in this section are well known as divine weapons of Ninurta (on which see further Cooper, *Angim*, p. 154ff., Appendix B). Another list of Divine Mayors, twelve in number, which omits the toponyms of the Nippur Compendium and *CT* 25 14, is *PBS X/4* 12 // BM 47463 (edited by Livingstone, *MMEW*, p. 54, 1-6: the rubric should be read 12 ^a[en].urum^{es}). There too, many of the list are divine weapons, and it would appear that the function of the Divine Mayor (Bēl-āliya) was protective, if not offensive.

19' For Šalammu, a settlement near Nippur, see Zadok, *RGTC* VIII, p. 285. BM 72205 (unpub. duplicate of *CT* 25 14, 16-36) gives the toponym as ^{ur}u-šá-lam^{ki}.

20' Dimat-Enlil is a place in Nippur's vicinity, district of Bît-Sîn: see Nashef, *RGTC* V, p. 81. *CT* 25 14, 18-19, and its duplicate give Ubanuilla as Bēl-āliya of ^{ur}u-érim.á.bi.nu.tuku and *āl* ^aér-ra-ba-ni.

21' For Kār-Ninurta, near Nippur, see Zadok, *RGTC* VIII, p. 197.

22' The toponym might be read in Akkadian as *Kāšid-raggi*, with which compare the variant to this line in *CT* 25 14, 21, and duplicate: ^aka-šid-raggi(érim) = ^abēl-āli-ia, šá ^{ur}u-sá.sá.érim^{e-ri-im}.

28' For Ninurta as en₅.si.gal see Šulgi's 21st year-name (Kraus, *OrNS* 20, p. 385) and the litanies (e.g. *IV R²* 21*, no. 2, rev. 8-9: umun.si.gal = *be-lum iš-šak-ku ra-bu-u*). In Astrolabe B the title is transferred to Ningirsu (*KAV* 218, A i 17-18 = 24-25; cf. *SBH* VIII, i 12). Parak-māri is known from MB sources to lie between Nippur and Marad (Nashef, *RGTC* V, p. 215). The toponym also occurs in the list no. 39 (K 8382, rev. i 4). That it was a cult-centre of Ninurta, as the present line attests, probably accounts for its name, "Throne-Dais of the Son (of Enlil)".

iii 2'-5' (§11) Parallels to this section are collected by Livingstone, *MMEW*, p. 74f. As observed there, there is enough room in l. 2' of MS a to suppose that it accommodated the variant *šá-a-ri* after *gi[m-ri]*, following the tradition of *STT* 400, 38. Enlil as "lord of

wind" does indeed not refer to his sphere of command, which is *bēl gimri*; *bēl šāri* is owed instead to a tradition of literal translation of Sumerian names, which does not always produce appropriate or relevant sense. The translation in l. 3' of Ninlil as *bēl zaqīqī* is an example of similar translation.

6'-11' (§12) See Livingstone, *MMEW*, p. 77f. In the variant l. 7a' the explanation of *mūšu* as *é.u₆.de^aam.an.ki* is probably a corruption deriving from the garbling of *Ea u Damkina*. With l. 11' cf. also *CT* 24 39, 21, and 25 11, 25. *uddazallū* is an intercalary unit which measures the divergence of solar and lunar years, and which accumulates at a rate of $\frac{1}{36}$ (0,1,40) of a day each day, to produce a necessary intercalation of one month every three years (so the astronomical compendium ^{mu}*Apin* II: cf. Hunger, *OrNS* 56, p. 405f.; for this term and *uddagiddū*, its negative counterpart, see also Landsberger, *JNES* 8, p. 254^{31f.}).

12ff. (§13) Cf. Livingstone, *MMEW*, p. 157f.

18' As van Dijk noted (*TIM* IX, p. xii), this line explains the synonym list *LTBA* II 2, 177: *a-a-ru* (2nd month) = *tu-šā-ru*.

19' *tēširtu* is understood as from the same root as *ešēru*, in Sumerian *si...sá*: the allusion is to Ayyaru (^{tu}*gu₄.si.sá*), when oxen are driven over the fields to break the ground (see the menology Astrolabe B, *KAV* 218, A i 14-15 = 21-22: *gu₄ si.sá.e.ne ki.duru₅.gal tag₄.tag₄ = alpū^{mes} ul-te-eš-še-rū ru-tu-ub-tu up-ta-ta*; cf. *SBH* VIII, ii 13). Otherwise the word could be a **taprīst* formation from *wšr*, meaning something like "release", or from *šr*, "inspection" or similar (cf. Livingstone's rendering, *MMEW*, p. 157: "instruction of Nippur").

21' These two weapons "go out to the Akītu" on 23rd Ayyaru, as reported in the cultic expository text *OECT* XI 69+70, i 28 (for the reading see George, *ZA* 80, p. 158).

22' *nīq mē* instead of *naq mē* is exceptional. There may be an allusion to the old north Mesopotamian month Niqum (for which see *CAD* N/2, p. 251). Cf. Livingstone, *MMEW*, p. 137ff.

23' The capture of Dumuzi the shepherd occurred in his eponymous month, the fourth: see p. 309.

24' The association of the fifth month Abu (particularly its 9th day) with wrestling is also known from the menology Astrolabe B (*KAV* 218, A ii 6-7 = 13-15), according to which the contests commemorate Gilgameš, no doubt for his famous fight with Enkidu. Cf. Livingstone, *MMEW*, p. 225.

26' The festival of cleansing goddesses in the river took place in Ulūlu, the sixth month (^{tu}*kin.ānanna*): see Astrolabe B (*KAV* 218, A ii 17-18 = 20-21) and the expository text *OECT* XI 69+70, ii 16'-25'.

28' Tirum is another ancient month name (see *AHW*, p. 1361).

29'-29a' This line and its optional variant include what must be a reference to the divine weapon Tukulsagninnu, "Weapon of Fifty Heads", which is elsewhere interpreted as the "foremost weapon of Enlil" (^a*si³tukul.sag.ninnu = kak-ku reš-tu-u šā* 450: Livingstone, *MMEW*, p. 54, 13). As the excerpt tablet demonstrates (see apparatus, MS e), 450 can be Ninurta as well as Enlil (so also in the esoteric series i.NAM.giš.hur.an.ki.a: *ibid.*, p. 30ff., obv. 7 and rev. 3). The pruning down of *DIŠ UD.DU* ^a*utu^{si}* to *ud-du-ši* in the tradition represented by the variant line gives an insight into the editorial methods employed by ancient scholars.

30' A link with the eighth month, Araḥsamna (^{tu}*apin.duḥ.a*), is suspected, on account of the spelling of *urunakku* with *uru₄*(APIN). For this as a cultic location see also the *tākultu* text III R 66, viii 6' (Menzel, *AT* II, p. T 121: ^a*uru-na-ku*), and the lexical entry *Erimḫuš* c 19'-21' (*MSL* XVII, p. 91):

é	=	<i>bi-i-tum</i>
u ₆ .nir	=	<i>ziq-qur-ra-tum</i>
ú-ru-nu ₄ uru.na	=	<i>ur-nak-ku</i>

31'-34' The left-hand column of l. 31' reads like an incipit. There is confusion in the manuscripts in the second sub-column: our eclectic text follows MS e here. The translation of *šā.gi.guru₆* and *šā.igi.guru₆* (the distinction between them is not clear) by "feast" follows the *qerītu* of MS c (see the apparatus). The presence of Šabātu, the eleventh month, in l. 33' suggests that 31'-32' deal with Kislimu and Tebētu, and 34' with Addaru.

§13a The organization of the list, with its intrusive ruling, is suspect. Cf. the description in the Archive of Mystic Heptads of the *Asakku* as "son of Anu, conquered by Ninurta" (*KAR* 142, ii 9-10, quoted on p. 285). Kulla is restored in l. 49 with hesitation, for the brick god is affiliated to Ea (see Lambert, *RIA* VI, p. 305), and is certainly not expected as the "foremost son of Enlil".

iv 3 The restoration follows *STT* 400, 2-3:

[^a šul.pa].si ₄ .a	=	^a <i>sin</i> (30)
[^a šu].pa.ūtul	=	^a <i>nergal</i> (u.gur)

9-12 The restored names and equations are taken from other enumerations of the seven sons of Enmešarra, the cultic commentaries O 175, obv. 10-14, and AO 6749 iii 3-14 (Livingstone, *MMEW*, pp. 190 and 200).

13 The Ubšu-ukkinna of E-kur is documented, along with those of other temples, in the commentary on *Tintir* II 16'.

14-18 The restorations suppose that the equations of this section utilize the same gods as appeared opposite the sons of Enmešarra in the preceding section, and in the same order. The first six gods, though coming under the rubric *dingirgubbû*, are also the *udug é.kur.ra.ke₄* of *An* I, which list, though not an exact duplicate, is close enough to ours to suggest the proposed restorations in ll. 15 and 16 (*CT* 24 8-9, iii 10-15 // 23, ii 5-8: *alad*, *irhan*, *alad.ša₆.ga*, *lamma.ša₆.ga*, *udug.ga.ga*, *lamma.ga.ga*). Their seven counterparts, all well-known members of Enlil's court, also have the title *dingirgubbû* in one of the cultic commentaries cited in the preceding note (O 175, obv. 15; cf. AO 17626, rev. 12: Livingstone, *MMEW*, p. 198). Further evidence of them in this function comes from Ur, whose Neo-Assyrian governor Sîn-balāssu-iqbi furnished each of them with a brick (though Ninšar's is still missing), which was given a ceremonial name and described as their "station" (*manzāzu*) or "seat" (*šubtu*; *UET* I 173-76, 180-82, found in secondary contexts in the temple of Ningal). Clearly the bricks once had a cultic use, most probably as emplacements for divine statues or emblems. The term *dingirgubbû*, "standing god", commonly refers to divine courtiers of second rank in the god lists (see *CAD* A, s.v. *angubbû*; also text no. 12, 21'), and is thus seen to denote those deities who in temple rituals attended the temple's godhead in a subservient capacity. In contrast with the Nippur Compendium (as we restore it), the god list *An* I knows of only two *dingirgubbû* of E-kur, *ul-maš* and *aš.daḥ* (*CT* 24 24, 67-68), but the latter may be the same as the last such deity listed in the present text (l. 17; *ā.daḥ* = *rēšu* of course, but note also Proto-Izi I 175 and variant, (*aš*).*daḥ* = *re-šu-ú-tum*: *MSL* XIII, p. 23). The sign *daḥ*! in our transliteration resembles *AŠ* + *BIR* (cf. von Weiher, *SpTU* II, p. 138), so it may be that what was intended was actually a conflated form *ā.aš.daḥ*.

e The equation of Kizaza and Ea is known elsewhere: see p. 291.

v 1 The Courts of the Sceptre, outer and inner, might be compared with a sanctuary *é.^{is}gidru* (or *būt haṭṭi*), which is known as one of the smaller temples of Middle Babylonian Nippur (in the metrological text HS 194: Bernhardt and Kramer, *OrNS* 44, p. 98, 37). However, their prominent position in the Divine Directory, between parts of E-kur and the other temples of the city, makes it more likely that these courts belonged to a major sanctuary, perhaps E-šumeša, the temple of Ninurta, where the insignia of kingship were kept (Curse of Akkade 66-69; for a parallel in Babylon see the commentary on *Tintir* IV 15).

5 While the *būt harê* of Nabû is well known (see *Tintir* IV 15 and commentary), here is an instance where reference must be made instead to the *harû* of Ninlil, otherwise known only from the ritual *KAR* 144, rev. 5 (see Zimmern, *ZA* 32, p. 174, 53). If the Courts of the Sceptre were in E-šumeša, then the presence there of a *būt harê* would suggest that Nabû's association with it was a borrowing from the cult of Ninurta, his counterpart at Nippur.

12 The four chapels are representatives of the great temples of Enlil, Ninlil, Ninurta and Enlil's vizier, Nuska (usually E-melam-ḥuš or E-melam-anna).

13 Ninimma's temple bears the ceremonial name E-mekilib-šudu, as found in the Canonical Temple List and the Sons of Nippur (see p. 321).

14-17 The gods of Gula's temple, E-uru-sagga (for which see no. 19, the Nippur Temple List, l. 24'ff. and commentary), are also known from the cultic commentary AO 17662, 4-10 (Nougayrol, *RA* 41, p. 35):

[ilū]^{meš} mer-de-e-ti šá é.uru.sag.gá šá imitti(15) ^aninurta(maš) [^a]gula(me.me) ^ada-mu
^akurun-nam ^akū-sū ^aur-maḥ [^an]uska . . .

[ilū]^{meš} mer-de-e-ti šá šumēli(150) ^anin-imma ^ašu-zi-an-na [^a]bēlet(gašan)-šēri(edin)
^asebettu(imin.bi) ^abēl-āli-ia₅ ^asiraš [^a]nin-gir-zi-da . . .

21 The restoration of the rubric in favour of the Mother Goddess relies on the presence of her name Ninmaḥ (immediately following Enlil and Ninurta and their wives), and of her son Lillu (*CT* 24 26, 107).

vi 11 On *gid/pu-du-ú*, known as a kind of drink, see *CAD* G. p. 65.

13 At the beginning perhaps [^ae]n.kurun, "Lord of Liquor", who would "open the ground" when libations of beer seeped into the soil.

16 *ḥuprû* is a confection traditionally offered to a divinity: see the OB omen apodosis, *e-ri-iš-ti iš₈-tār a-na ḥu-up-re-e*, "Request of a goddess for *ḥ*." (*YOS* X 52, 12-13), among others with requests for similar offerings.

The Nippur Temple List (no. 19)

1' With the restoration compare line 7', where E-kiur is interpreted with the same Akkadian phrase. Here the temple name is analysed as *ku*, evidently for *ki* = *ašru*, *ú* and *ru*, for which see the commentary on the latter name. Why *šāriktu* (fem.), when the god of

E-kur is Enlil, is mystifying, but note line 19' below, where Nuska, as occupant of E-melam-anna, is evidently *aḫi* (masc.) *talīmti* (fem.) of Anu. The restoration is supported by the traditional order of the temples of Nippur, in which E-kiur is preceded only by E-kur (for this convention see the temple lists that occur in litanies and laments; the metrological tablet published by Bernhardt and Kramer, *OrNS* 44, p. 97, 1-12; the god list *An* = *Anum* I: *CT* 24 24, ii 61-64; and no. 18, the Nippur Compendium, v 12). The current line is thus to be seen as the last of the many explanations of the name E-kur which would have opened the Nippur Temple List.

2' For Ninlil's sanctuary in Nippur see Ebeling, *RIA* II, p. 322, and Falkenstein, *SGL* I, p. 33. As noted above, p. 277, *ki.ūr* is probably to be read *ki.uru₁₂*. With the translation of the temple name in this line compare an unpublished ritual in which *ki.ūr/.ūru.kù.ga*, a shrine in E-sagil (*Tintir* II 31), is interpreted as *ašru ellu naklu* (K 3446 + 8830, rev. 14, quoted in the commentary, ad loc.). Both translations draw on the equation of Sum. *uru₁₆*(EN) and *u₁₈.ru* with *naklu*, which is not attested lexically but does occur in bilinguals: for the former see Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 64, for the latter a list of personal names (*UET* VI 117, obv. 6-7 = Charpin, *Le clergé d'Ur*, p. 398):

é šu.luḫ u₁₈.ru
bītu 'ša' [š]u-luḫ-ḫu-š[u n]a-ak-lu

House whose cleansing rituals are skilfully performed.

References for *u₁₈.ru* and *uru₁₆* have been collected by Sjöberg, op. cit., p. 62ff., who declines to translate them; but "skilful(ly wrought/built)" would be very suitable where the word describes, as often, temple facades and interiors: note in particular the parallelism of a line in a hymn to the temple of Isin (ibid., p. 39, 380):

igi.bi u₁₈.ru.àm ša.bi galam.kad₃.àm

Its outside is skilfully built, its interior is artfully wrought.

5' The *bīt ḫammūti* is the chamber where a head of household sleeps with his wife (see *CAD* H, p. 69f.). In sacred contexts it is the bedchamber that witnesses the rites of divine marriage (cf. Matsushima, *Acta Sum* 9, p. 154). As such it is also found in the Assyrian Temple List, explaining *é.ur₄.ur₄* of Nabû (no. 20, GAB 162 and commentary); in an Assyrian literary text, K 1354, with reference to Ištar's cult-centre at Uruk (George, *SAAB* I, p. 32, 1: *é.an.na bēt ḫa-mu-ti-iá*); and in an inscription of Aššurbanipal, where the *bīt ḫa-am-mu-ti* of Marduk and Zarpanītum houses their bed (Craig, *ABRT* I 77, 28).

6' *ki* = *ašru* and *ú* = *balātu* (as below, on line 7'); *ru* for *zāqu* is possible (strictly it should be *ri*, but compare the incantation *CT* 16 42, 10-11, where *mu.un.da.ru.uš* = *i-ziq-qu*), and *i-ziq-[x]* can hardly be from any other verb, although it makes no good sense. Perhaps emend to *i-qiš!-[šu]*, and compare with the following line.

7' *ú* is a homophone of *u* ([^h]u = 'ba'-la-a-tu, *MSL* III, p. 66, *S^a* N 24'); *ru* = *šarāku* (ibid., p. 112, *S^b* I 179; XIV, p. 443, *A* VI/4 166). Cf. the translation of the name as *bītu ašar balātu iššarraku* in the Assyrian Temple List (no. 20, GAB 149).

8' Emendation and restoration are conjectural.

9' *u* for *umun* = *bēlu*; *ru* is apparently understood as *ri* = *reḫū*.

10' Cf. *ru-ūru* = *gīt-ma-lu*: *MSL* XIV, p. 249, *Ea* II 59.

11' On the reading of the name of Ninurta's temple see Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 65. With the explanation given here, which alludes to the character of Ninurta, compare (ša).dīš.ša₄ = *gīt-mālu*.

12' *šu* = *tēmu* (*MSL* XIII, p. 104, *Nigga* 282); *ša₄* perhaps a homophone of *sa* = *riksu* (*MSL* XVII, p. 224, *Antagal* G 127; *Tintir* I 6; E-sagil Commentary, 25-26); *me* is known in lexical texts as a common equivalence of *šamū*, "heavens", but is understood here, and in the following lines, as *ilu*.

13' *šu* = *biltu* as in *MSL* XIII, p. 104, *Nigga* 283.

14' This line is also found in the excerpt tablet of the Nippur Compendium, and is included in our edition of § 6 of that text as line c (p. 148). There the alternative reading appears in the fuller phrase *eš-met KIMIN ka-mi-is*, where *kamis*, although neither subjunctive nor even feminine, appears to be a stative governed by *ešemtu*. In the present line we read *kāmis*, "which gathers", as a simple alternative to *rākis*. The etymologist probably derives *rakāsu* from *ša₄* (via *sa*, as in the previous lines, where *ša₄* = *riksu*), *ešemtu* from the same (through (*gír.pad*).DU), *ilu* from *me* and *biltu* from *šu* (see above).

15' *ša₄* = *nakāsu* here? Cf. *šab* = *nakāsu*, *Diri* V 61 = *PBS* V 106, i 31; Hunger, *SpTU* I 49, 25.

16' The etymologist apparently understood *šu* in the temple name for *šu* = *tabāku* (*MSL* XIV, p. 129, 22; IX, p. 129, 270), *me* for *ilu*, as above, and *ša₄* for *sa* = *dāmu* (*MSL* XIII, p. 104, *Nigga* 298).

17'-18' Nuska's temple in Nippur elsewhere goes by the name of E-melam-ḫuš (Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 19, 48; *An* = *Anum* I: *CT* 24 24, ii 64). But note the pairing in the Canonical Temple List (Pinches, *PSBA* 22, p. 362, i 1-2):

é.me.lám.an.[na]	= [bīt ^a nuska]
é.me.lám.ḫ[uš]	= [bīt MIN]

E-melam-anna is also well attested as the name of Nuska's temple at Harran, rebuilt by Aššurbanipal (Ebeling, *RIA* II, p. 360).

The etymologist derives *ilu* from me again, *palāhu* (strictly *ni*, of course) probably from *lām*(NE), and both *elūtu* and *šaplūtu* from *an.na*, apparently.

19' The "bosom friend of Anu" we suppose to be Nuska, owner of the temple. Oddly, the genders of *aḫi* and *talīmti* do not agree, and the feminine *talīmtu* is hardly expected with reference to a male god. But compare *Tintir* V 14, which lists a dais of Marduk called *talīmat aḫḫēšu*, "Twin of his Brothers", which we expect from the context to be an epithet of the god of Babylon.

20' E-bara-durgarra, "House, Dais of the Throne", is the name of a well-known sanctuary of Istar in Nippur (Ebeling, *RIA* II, p. 264). The mythological allocation of E-bara-durgarra to Istar by Enlil is described in the Hymn to a Queen of Nippur, IV 1-15 (Lambert, *Zikir šumim*, p. 201ff.), and in the Exaltation of Istar, IV 33-44 (Hruška, *ArOr* 37, p. 489).

The Akkadian explanation of the ceremonial name interprets *bāra* (often *šarru*) as *bēlu*; *dūr* apparently as *šāltu*, normally *du₁₄*(LÚ.NE); and *gar* as *šakānu*.

22' The restoration of the temple name is based on the interpretation of it in the second sub-column: *kar* = *eṭēru*, *zi* = *napištu*. An E-kar-zida is attested, though not at Nippur, as a sanctuary of Nanna and Ningal at Ur (Ebeling, *RIA* II, p. 320); and *kar zi.da*, "true quay", is an epithet of the Moon God's temple in Gaeš (Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 26, 166; cf. p. 87).

23' Few temple names end in *-būr* (which is certain on the tablet), but a shrine (*é*).*du₆*.*nūmun.būr* appears at Nippur in the Tummal inscription (Sollberger, *JCS* 16, p. 42, 6: *du₆*.*nūmun.būr/bur.ra*, built by Gilgameš), in Proto-*Kagal* and the Middle Babylonian metrological text (paired in both with *é.bur.šu.šú.a*, citations above, p. 445), and in the story of Ninurta-pāqidāt's dog-bite (Cavigneaux, *BagM* 10, p. 112f., 16 and 22: *du₆*!(MA).*nūmun!.būr.ra/ru*). The restoration of the ceremonial name of this sanctuary in the present line is further supported by an equation in *Antagal E* (*MSL* XVII, p. 209, i 7': [*n*]*u-mu-unnūmun* = *eṭ-lum*), which, unless one evades the issue by reading *e-ṭil* in our second sub-column, one must assume the etymologist thought reasonable justification for *nūmun* = *etellu* (here then is an example of the manipulation for 'etymological' purposes of not Sumerian but Akkadian words, for which there was, on account of the nature of the language, much less opportunity: see p. 387 for further examples). For *nūmun.būr.ra* = *elpet meburki*, "alfa", see *CAD* M/2, p. 2, and *AHw*, p. 639.

24'-26' The restoration of the temple name again relies on the clues given by the Akkadian explanations: *niširtu* and *našāru* call *ūru* to mind, of course, and *ūru* could well

also be interpreted as *šārikat balāṭi*, for this is a phrase which earlier in the list explained the homophonous *ū.ru* (lines 1 and 7, and the commentary thereon). The further restoration in line 24 of *ana nišī* is lexically acceptable, but so too would be *ana māti* or *ana amēlūti*: see *Idu* I 109-11 (Hrozný, *ZA* 20, p. 429f., 24-26):

*sa-ag*sag = *ma-a-tum*
né-e-šu
a-mi-lum

Either way, the explanation of line 24 is appropriate for, according to the litanies, the resident of E-uru-sagga is Gula as Nintinugga, goddess of healing (*ama é.ūru.sag.gá gašan.ti_x*(*TIN*).*lu.ba.(ke₄)*: Reisner, *SBH* III, ii 22; IV, 108; Langdon, *BL*, no. 73, rev. 23; no. 92, rev. 5; etc.). Gula's ownership is also demonstrated by a comparison of the Divine Directory of Nippur (Nippur Compendium, v 14-17) and a *kalū* text published by Nougayrol (*RA* 41, p. 35, 4-10: quoted above, p. 451), which list the same gods in, respectively, *būt^a gu-la* and *é.ūru.sag.gá*. The temple appears again as *é.ūru.sag.gá* in LB administrative documents from Nippur (*TMH* 2-3 241, 6; G.J.P. McEwan, *ROMCT* II, p. 60, 48, 5). Written otherwise, it occurs also in the unpublished continuation of the syncretistic hymn KAR 109+343, among other temples of Nippur (courtesy W.G. Lambert):

ina é.ūru.sag.gá mu-kin-na-āt i-šit-ti nišī^{meš} x[. . .]

In E-uru-sagga (the goddess) establishes the storehouse of the people...[...]

The author of the hymn once again demonstrates his characteristic etymological bent, and this is of interest for the present text: *ūru*(*URU* × *UD*) he renders as *išittu*, strictly *èrim*(*URU* × *GAR*); *sag* he renders as *nišū*, as we have proposed in our restoration of line 24'; and *gá* gives *mukinnu*.

Aššur

The Götteradressbuch of Aššur — §§ 2-8 (no. 20)

120-33 (§2) The city gates of Aššur are enumerated in a number of lists, of which that embedded in GAB is the longest. The closest parallel to GAB's list is preserved in a building inscription of Šalmaneser III which survives on the base of a basalt statue of Kidudu, one of the city's divine sentinels (*maššār dūrīšu*: GAB 135; as pointed out by Reade, *BagM* 17, p. 299f., the statue represents the deity, not the king, and the traditional name for its text, the Throne Inscription, must be abandoned). This list, which Menzel utilised as MS F in her edition of GAB, has been collated, and reads as follows (Layard, *ICC*, p. 77; Delitzsch, *BA* VI/1, p. 153f.; Craig, *Hebraica* 2, p. 141, iii 10-16):

<i>sa-ni-qa-at mal-ke^{meš}</i>	<i>abul tabira</i> (URUDU.NAGAR)
<i>ṭābat(du₁₀.ga)^{at} eli um-ma-ni-ša</i>	<i>abul né-rab šarri</i> (20) <i>muš-la-li</i>
<i>mu-šar-ši-da-at a-rat-te-e</i>	<i>abul si-qur-ra-a-te</i>
<i>aš-šur mu-kan-niš šap-šu-te</i>	<i>abul aš-šur</i>
<i>ba-na-at ^alamassi(lamma) šarri</i> (20)*	<i>abul MAL-me</i>
<i>^ašamaš né-er mul-tar-ḫi</i>	<i>abul ^ašamaš*</i>
<i>ra-si-nat ku-ru-nu ilāni^{meš}</i>	<i>abul ma-gal nāru</i> (id)*
<i>ik-kib-ša la ma-ga-ri</i>	<i>abul ti-sir-ri*</i>

(* Signs so marked were lost by the time Craig published (1885), but were seen by Layard, whose copy may have been made before the statue's transportation from Aššur. The popular name of the fifth gate, *abul MAL-me*, is perhaps corrupt: an emendation to *abul šall-me*, "Gate of the Statue", might be considered, and would not be incompatible with the traces of GAB's MS c. In the popular name of the seventh gate *ma-gal* is a meaningless corruption of *mag(a)rat*.)

The context of the Kidudu inscription's list, embedded in a text which deals with Šalmaneser's restoration of the double walls of Aššur, encourages the supposition that it is an accurate reflection of the topography of the city during this king's reign (858-24). GAB repeats the gates of Šalmaneser's list, and in the same order, but then adds another five: the Šerua Gate, the Mountain Gate, the Sheep Gate, the Illat (i.e. People's) Gate and the obscurely named Gate of their Intelligence. Of these additional gates the Sheep Gate and the People's Gate occur together in inscriptions of Erišum, and are evidently very old gate names (Landsberger and Balkan, *Belleten* 14, pl. 22, 3-4 // pl. 24, 9-10; Weidner, *IAK*, p. 18, no. 13, ii 1-4; *KAH* II 11, 35-37). Outside the Götteradressbuch they survive into the late period only in the gate list which appears in *tākultu* texts (Menzel, *AT* II 61 = *KAR* 214, ii 39-44 // 58 = *STT* 88, iii 24'-31'):

<i>abul aš-šur</i>	Aššur Gate;
<i>abul ^ašamaš</i>	Šamaš Gate;
<i>abul ^aiš-tar</i>	Ištar Gate;
<i>abul ni-ši</i>	People's Gate;
<i>abul ší-i-n[i]</i>	Sheep Gate;
<i>abul ta-š[im-ti-šú-nu]</i>	Gate of their Intelligence.

Although the *tākultu* texts in the copies we know date to the Sargonid period (*KAR* 214 to the reign of Aššur-etel-ilāni, *STT* 88 to that of Sennacherib), they no doubt include much older material, and *KAR* 214 can be seen by its concluding prayer (iv 7'-27') to exhibit signs of a Middle Assyrian date of composition (cf. Frankena, *Tākultu*, p. 23f.). Old gate names are thus to be expected in its lists, and the enumeration of gates it provides need not tally with the topography of the Neo-Assyrian city (cf. Miglus, *ZA* 72, p. 273). Indeed, the *tākultu* texts do not even agree well with the situation as it is known

in the 12th century, from two documents of the archive of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur which deal with the allocation of sheep, income from audience gifts (*nāmurtu*: see now Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries* I, p. 56ff.). The one is *KAJ* 254 (3-8):

<i>bāb aš-šur</i>	Aššur Gate;
<i>bāb ^ašamaš(utu!)</i>	Šamaš Gate;
<i>abul a-sa-te</i>	Turret Gate;
<i>ti-sa-ri</i>	Tisarru (Gate);
<i>bāb ^aše-ru-ia</i>	Šerua Gate;
<i>abul ^{urudu}ti-be-ra</i>	Tabira Gate.

These gates are later described as *abullāte^{meš}*, "city gates" (l. 20). The other document is dated six days later (Donbaz, *NTA*, A 1735, 1-5):

<i>bāb ta-bi-ra</i>	Tabira Gate;
<i>bāb aš-šur</i>	Aššur Gate;
<i>bāb ^ašamaš(utu)</i>	Šamaš Gate;
<i>bāb ti-sa-ru</i>	Tisarru Gate;
<i>bāb ^aše-ru-a</i>	Šerua Gate.

Several of these gates are known from other Middle and early Neo-Assyrian sources:

Tabira Gate	Weidner, <i>ITn</i> 1, iv 22 // 3, 21: <i>abul ta-bi-ra</i> ; Donbaz, <i>NTA</i> , A 2611, 6: <i>bāb ta-bi-ra</i> ; King, <i>AKA</i> , p. 146, v 8: <i>abul tabira</i> (Aššur-bēl-kala); Andrae, <i>WVDOG</i> 23, p. 166, 5 and 15: <i>abul tabira</i> (Aššur-dan II); note later <i>KAV</i> 39 = Ebeling, <i>SVAT</i> no. 3, obv. 4': <i>abul tabira</i> (Sennacherib).
Aššur Gate	Müller, <i>MVAG</i> 41/3, p. 16 = <i>KAR</i> 135, iv 17: <i>abul aš-šur</i> (ritual); in another ritual, <i>KAR</i> 154 = Menzel, <i>AT</i> II 2, obv. 9, <i>bāb aš-šur</i> is apparently a gate of the temple complex, in the company of <i>bāb ša-mu-uh</i> ; Miglus, <i>ZA</i> 72, p. 270, considers identifying it with the Gate of Ea-šarru, see below; the term <i>abullu</i> , in this period a synonym of <i>bābu</i> with reference to monumental gates, does not exclude this possibility.
Turret Gate	Inscriptions of Tiglathpileser I and Aššur-bēl-kala give good grounds for identifying this with the better known Tigris Gate (see Miglus, <i>ZA</i> 72, p. 269). For the latter see <i>KAH</i> 65 obv. 28 // II 35, 26: <i>bāb ^aidiqlat</i> (DALLA.LÁ) (Adad-nārārī I); Weidner, <i>AfO</i> 18, p. 344, 39: <i>bāb ^aidiqlat</i> (DALLA.LÁ) (Tiglathpileser I); King, <i>AKA</i> , p. 146, v 8: <i>bāb ^aidiqlat</i> (idigna) (Aššur-bēl-kala). According to Adad-nārārī's inscription the Tigris Gate lay at one end of the river wall (<i>kisirtu</i>). At the other was the Gate of Ea-šarru (<i>bāb ^aé-a-šarru</i>), which will be the northern point of reference for this wall, for Ea-

šarru's shrine formed part of the temple of Aššur (Menzel, *AT* I, p. 50). The Gate of Ea-šarru was probably a gate of the temple complex rather than a city gate proper, which would be of dubious value on a cliff top.

Middle Assyrian sources attest only one other city gate, the Sheep Gate, which survived from the Old Assyrian era at least until the reign of Enlil-nārārī (Weidner, *IAK*, p. 46, 1, 4: *abul šēni*(udu)), but which may have been renamed by the time of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur.

Thus it appears that the gate list of the *tākultu* texts was archaistic or artificial even at the time of its composition, and that it can have little significance for the topography of the Middle Assyrian city. However this may be, the two documents of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur's archive certainly reflect the topography of the period, and it can be seen that in fact their list forms the nucleus of those of Šalmaneser III and the Götteradressbuch. The order of the Middle Assyrian list underlies that of the later two: Tabira, ... Aššur, ... Šamaš, Tigris/River/Turret, and Šerua Gates (although the last is omitted by Šalmaneser). It is not likely that this well-established sequence is a random one. The sequence starts at the Tabira Gate, identified by inscription as the north-west gate of the city wall, or at the Aššur Gate in *KAJ* 254, and can be shown to make a clockwise circuit of the old walls (see Miglus, *ZA* 72, p. 270), making a detour for the River Gate in the New City (significantly omitted in one list). The gates interpolated in the later lists, Mušlālu, Ziqqurra and MAL-me/i, will be later than the twelfth century, and perhaps date to the wholesale reconstruction of the walls by Šalmaneser himself. Their position in the sequence will ascertain their placing on the wall (see Miglus, *ZA* 72, p. 271f.). The extra gates of the Götteradressbuch, the Mountain, Sheep and People's Gates, and the Gate of their Intelligence, are probably best explained as additions owed to the eclectic traditions of list compilation: that is, they were known names of ancient gates tacked on to the list of later ones for the sake of completion. At this point then, the order of the list need have no topographical significance (though Miglus would equate the last three with the sequence Tisarru, Šerua and Tabira Gates: *ZA* 72, p. 273).

121 For the *mušlālu* at Aššur and Nineveh, and its connection with the city gates of these towns, see G. van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, pp. 13 and 29ff. In the Old Assyrian period the *mušlālu* building at Aššur was the location of a court of justice (see the references collected in *CAD* M/2, p. 277), and this brings to mind the ancient tradition of "justice at the gate".

123 According to the NA letter *ABL* 1360 = *SAA* I 55, this gate (l. 8': *bāb aš-šur*) gave access to a river landing, most probably from the E-šarra temple complex (cf. Miglus, *ZA* 72, p. 270).

124 If the popular name of this gate is to be read *abul š[al-m]i* (see above, p. 456), the statue in question will be that of the king's *lamassu* commemorated in the gate's ceremonial name.

126 The implication of *magrat nāru* is that at this gate the Tigris allows the easiest crossing.

127 For Tisarru, a settlement downstream of the citadel of Aššur and on the opposite bank of the river, see George, *Iraq* 50, p. 31, BM 30211, 11, and note.

131 The reading of the divine name ⁴KASKAL + KUR adopted here is one of several possibilities (see *MSL* XIV, p. 190, *Ea* I 279ff.).

133 For *bal.til^{ki}* as a literary name of Aššur, whose reading is determined by the variant orthography *bal.ti.la^{ki}* (Messerschmidt, *MVAG* 1/I, p. 73; Nabonidus), see the references of Brinkman, *PHPKB*, p. 168¹⁰³¹.

134-38 The close association between GAB and Šalmaneser III's Kidudu inscription noted in the list of city gates is in further evidence in § 3. Šalmaneser's inscription records the collapse and rebuilding of ⁴*ki-du-du ma-šar dūri-šū*, and also mentions ⁴*ū-la-a ma-šar āli-šū* (Delitzsch, *BA* VI/1, p. 153, iii 32 and 39). For Kidudu, a name which represents an abbreviation of GAB's ⁴*en.gi₆.du.du*, "Lord Night-Prowler", in a protective function see also the lexical entry (*lú*).*gi₆.a.du.du* = *ha-i-tù* (*MSL* XII, p. 116, *Lu* II 11; XVI, p. 96, *Nabnitu* V 12). *Ulāy* is found at Aššur in the company of *Bēl-labrīya* (Menzel, *AT* II 21 = *KAV* 78, 24; 54 = III R 66, ii 10; 58 = *STT* 88, ii 30), and in the sanctuary of Ninlil within E-šarra (64, GAB 21; 58 = *STT* 88, i 48), and is presumably the deified river of Elam (another river deified at Aššur is the *Ḫabur*: GAB 88). Note further a gate of this god in OA Aššur, *bāb ⁴i-lu-la-a* (< II-*Ulāy*; Grayson, *ARRIM* 3, p. 12, 31: *Puzur-Sin*). *Išqippu* is perhaps chosen as a divine sentinel by virtue of the earthworm's by-name, "guardian of the soil" (*iš-qi-pu* = *ma-šar ti-di*, *Practical Vocabulary of Aššur* 412: Landsberger and Gurney, *Afo* 18, p. 332 = *MSL* VIII/2, p. 69; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 45, *Hg* A II 274; 60, *Uruanna* III 215).

139-40 In Šalmaneser's Kidudu inscription wall and rampart have distinct names: the former is *ša me-lam-mu-šū māta kāt-mu*, "Whose Splendour Covers the Land" (iii 37), while the latter is *mu-nār-ri-ti kib-ra-a-te* (iii 38), as here and in another inscription of the same king (Michel, *WO* 1, p. 387, 17).

141 *Bašmu*, a horned serpent of mythology, here appears to be the name of Aššur's moat (cf. further p. 135 for the Snake God as the moat of Babylon).

144-47 E-šarra, like several other temple names of Aššur, is borrowed from Nippur, where it is a name of Enlil's temple, E-kur (Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 119), and so also the name of Enlil's heavenly domain in the cosmos organized by Marduk (*Enūma eliš* V 120 and VI 66: see further p. 296). The borrowing of this and other temple names from Nippur reflects the syncretism of Aššur and his family on the one hand, and Enlil of Nippur and his family on the other (for which see above, p. 185f.).

On these lines see further van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, p. 34ff. The Akkadian explanations of the second column are straightforward translations of all four ceremonial names. é.šár.ra is also explained as *bīt kiš-šu-ti* in a prayer to Tašmētum on behalf of Aššurbani-pal (*KAR* 122, obv. 5).

148-49 The two names of the sanctuary of Ninlil (Mullissu) in E-šarra are well known in association with this goddess. In Nippur é.gá.²¹⁸ŠÚ.A is the cella of Ninlil's sanctuary, é.ki.úr (Falkenstein, *SGL* I, p. 33; for E-kiur see further no. 19, the Nippur Temple List, lines 2'-10'). Both temple names appear with other shrines and temples of Nippur in Proto-Kagal (*MSL* XIII, p. 72, 183 and 188). In the Canonical Temple list one may read [é.gá(n).²¹⁹ŠÚ.A among other sanctuaries of Ninlil (II R 61, no. 7, 69). Note further ká.gá.²¹⁸ŠÚ.A in the gate list *KAV* 134, ii 13.

The etymological derivation of *išid māti* from the first temple name is not wholly supported by the extant lexical texts (*CT* 11 30, ii 53 = *Idu* II 155 supplies ²²⁰ga = *ma-a*-[*tu*], but the equation of *išdu* with ²¹⁸ŠÚ.A = *littu*, "stool", is new). The interpretation of E-kiur, on the other hand, is closely paralleled in the Nippur Temple List, where it is *ašar šārikat balāti* (l. 7'; for the etymology see the commentary).

150 In MS d this line appears on the left edge, having apparently been omitted in error from the main text (on this scribal convention see Hallo in *Finkelstein Memorial Volume*, p. 101ff.). On the location of the temple see the introduction. The Akkadian interpretation is based not on "the fact that ¹⁴maš.maš is connected with divination" (van Driel) — for he is not, except in a very broad sense, as one who averts ill portents whose presence is ascertained by divination; rather the ancient etymologist is thinking of máš = *bīru* and máš.šu.gíd.gíd = *bārū* and *barū*.

151 A temple of the same name, which is most appropriate to its owner, the god of knowledge, appears in the Canonical Temple List among other temples of Ea (II R 61, no. 1, obv. 28: [é.géštu.ma]h.šu.du₇). The temple's name translates literally as "House which Perfects Sublime Wisdom".

152-52a E-šumeša is also Ninurta's temple in Nippur, and as such is subject to considerable 'etymological' attention in the Nippur Compendium (no. 18, ii c) and the Nippur Temple List (no. 19, 11'-16'). Regarding the explanation offered in the present

text, the only lexical entry used by the etymologist and known to us is *me* = *paršu*; *hamāmu* is well known in its use with *paršu* (for the stock phrase *parši hamāmu* see p. 321), and accordingly its presence here may not of necessity rest upon lexical equation with any part of the ceremonial name. *gimru* might conceivably be extracted from *šu*, given that *šu.nigin* (and thus also for the etymologist's purpose, the individual signs *šu* and *nigin*) means *napharu*, "totality". The explanation alludes to Ninurta's role as a "gatherer of *me*'s", for which see further p. 321 f.

E-maḥ, here an alternative name or a constituent part of E-šumeša, is found in similar relation to Ninurta's temple at Nippur in the Collection of Sumerian Temple Hymns (Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 20, 67), and thus appears to be a temple name traditionally associated with Ninurta.

153 The temple of Anu is the subject of a metrological description in the NA fragment Assur 19763 (Weidner, *AfO* 8, p. 43).

154 The variant MS B, which omits the possessive suffix on *ikribišu*, provides a translation closer to the Sumerian: "House which Hears Prayers".

155 The temple's name is, of course, appropriate to Adad who, as a god responsible for both rain and irrigation, is empowered to ensure an abundant harvest. The same ceremonial name is found for his cult-centre in Kurba'il (GAB 180).

156 With the temple name compare the famous é.húl.húl of Šin at Harran.

157 E-babbarra is also the name of temples of Šamaš at Sippar and Larsa. With the Akkadian translation of the present line compare the Šamaš Hymn, where we read [*ina é.babbar.ra bīti*] *nam-ru šu-bat ta-ši-la-ti-ka* (*BWL*, p. 138, 193).

158 The name is shared with the temple of Nabû of the *harû* in Babylon, for which see *Tintir* IV 15 and commentary. *išartu* in the explanation evidently takes into account the variant name of the temple found in MSS fh (see the apparatus), "House which Regulates the Sceptre of the Land".

The temple of Nabû at Aššur is known to archaeology only in the rebuilding of Šin-šarra-iškun, but his inscription records the previous existence of a temple dating back at least to Šalmaneser I or II (Böhl, *Akkadian Chrestomathy*, no. 25, 23; cf. Menzel, *AT* I, p. 74f.). In the interval between the building's dereliction and last rebuilding Šin-šarra-iškun reports that the cult of Nabû and his consort Tašmētum had been transferred to the temple of Ištar (II. 25-26). The German excavations revealed that the new temple partly covered or abutted the sites of several older temples of Assyrian Ištar, including Tukultī-Ninurta I's é.me (= é.me.²²¹inanna, see GAB 164 and commentary), and the

rebuildings of Aššur-rēša-iši and Šalmaneser III. Noting the division of the temple into two separate complexes of rooms, Andrae proposed that Sîn-šarra-iškun's building comprised a new temple of Nabû abutting along its north front an existing sanctuary of Ištar, thus forming a double-temple (*Das wiedererstandene Assur*, ed. Hrouda, p. 232ff.). Although this theory has been called into question (see Postgate, *Sumer* 30, p. 55f.), and the ascription to Ištar of the northern part of the building is uncertain, the topographical proximity at Aššur of the temples of Nabû and Ištar is not doubted.

Topographical considerations may have been the cause of the intrusion, in this section of the Assyrian Temple List, of Nabû into the traditional theological sequence Sîn — Šamaš — Ištar, but there is other evidence too. At first sight the Divine Directory presents difficulties, for there Nabû shares a sanctuary with Bēl-šarru (GAB 68: cf. above, p. 170¹³), while Tašmētum appears in the temple of Ištar (GAB 75). But also in the former is ⁴DI-ni-tum (GAB 71), a goddess who at the time of Tukultī-Ninurta I's rebuilding occupied a cella in é.me of Ištar. This apparent confusion is not likely to have arisen from simple topographical proximity but suggests a situation in which the sanctuaries of Nabû (and Bēl-šarru) and of Ištar had become closely linked in cultic matters too. Since there is no theological explanation for such a pairing, it seems probable that the temples of Nabû and Ištar were not just adjacent but comprised the several parts of a single complex. The sharing of a temple complex between deities who were not necessarily natural associates seems to have been a typical feature at Aššur: one notes the formal realisation of such associations in the double-temples of Anu and Adad and of Sîn and Šamaš, and we have argued elsewhere for a temple complex of Gula, Amurru and Marduk (see *Iraq* 50, p. 32ff.).

A clue to the history of the cultic association of Nabû and Ištar is in fact hidden in the temple nomenclature. A temple name much associated with Ištar (as Nanāy) is é.me.ur₄.ur₄, which is given to temples in Larsa, Uruk and Babylon (see *Tintir* IV 30 and commentary). The dedication of two statues of lions to Ištar of é.me.ur₄.ur₄ by Šamši-Adad I is likely to refer to yet a fourth sanctuary of this name, at Mari, perhaps, but equally possibly at Aššur (cf. Charpin, *MARI* 3, p. 46f.). Given the close cultic relationship and topographical proximity observed for the sanctuaries of Nabû and Ištar at Aššur in the period of the Götteradressbuch, it is interesting to observe that, while Ištar's temple is known by the time of Tukultī-Ninurta I as é.me, one of the names of Nabû's sanctuary is é.ur₄.ur₄ (GAB 162). Neither of these ceremonial names belongs to the standard repertoire, but conflated they yield of course the familiar é.me.ur₄.ur₄. In the light of this one may suggest that the splitting into two parts of a traditional temple name derives from the division of a single sanctuary between two distinct cults. Accordingly we propose that some time between the nineteenth and thirteenth centuries part of the temple of Ištar was set aside for the cult of Nabû. Theologically the partition of the name is a device that neatly documents the separation of the two cults and makes at the same time an implicit statement of the close bond between them.

159 In the ceremonial name of the City Hall the sign after kišib can now be seen not to be RA, as read previously. The surface of MS e is scratched and scuffed along the length of the name, but with the new reading compare the lexical entries *Antagal* VII 1-2 (*MSL* XVII, p. 165):

^{na4} kišib.ra.ra	=	ka-na-ku	"to seal"
^{na4} kišib.gur	=	MIN šá ^{na4} kunukki	"ditto, of a document"

The end of the ceremonial name is preserved only on MS d, in which sag.dil (= *pirištu*) and the division mark (:), in use here because sub-column i trespasses into ii, have evidently been miscopied as sag.TIL.

On the theology of the City Hall and the sealing of the Tablet of Destinies by Aššur, as well as the building's place in the Nabû section of the list, see George, *Iraq* 48, p. 140f.

160-61 On these two temples, probably in Kalḫu and Nineveh, see p. 170. They share their name with the famous cult-centre of the god in Borsippa.

162 On *bīt hammūti* used of other temples see no. 19, the Nippur Temple List, l. 5' and commentary. Nabû is associated with a (*bīt*) *hammūti* at Aššur in the prayer to Tašmētum for Aššurbanipal, but probably without reference to the present sanctuary (*KAR* 122, obv. 10: *mār* ⁴bēl issu *bēt tup-pi a-na ḥa-am-mu-[te...]*).

163 For é.šu.nigin.šu.du₇ of Nabû similarly explained, see the explanatory fragment no. 28 (BM 76887, 6'), and for its listing in the Canonical Temple List, the commentary ad loc.

164 To Tukultī-Ninurta I the temple of Ištar of Aššur was simply é.me *bīt pâr-ši*, "E-me, the house of ordinances" (Weidner, *ITn*, no. 7, 38-39). See further above, on GAB 158.

166 Read tuš with the gloss [t]u-uš in MS d. tuš is interpreted by the etymologist as *dúr*/durun = *napalsuḫu*; the use of a sign in another of its values for purposes of 'etymological' speculation is a device of the scholar, and has no implications for the correct reading of the temple name.

167 With the ceremonial name compare that of a temple of Ištar in the Canonical Temple List: é.šaga.ra = *bīt* 58 šá *da-ad-muš*[^{k1}] (II R 61, no. 2, ii 32 // Craig, *AJSL* 13, p. 220, Sm 289, obv. ii 3).

168-70 We read Šarrat-nipḫa rather than Bēlat-nipḫa (Menzel) or Šarrat-nathḫa (Borger, *ABZ*) on the evidence of the phonetic writing ⁴šar-rat-ni-ip-ḫi, as documented by

Grayson, *ARI* II, p. 168⁷⁵⁷. Note further ^agašan^{at}-ni-ip-ḥa (*ABL* 1221, rev. 6), ^agašan-ni-ip-ḥi (*VS* XIX 67, 11: Middle Assyrian), and, at Arbīl, ^a15-ni-ip-ḥu (*III R* 66 = Menzel, *AT* II, no. 54, vii 23). Šarrat-nip̄hi, "Queen of the Planetary Rising" is Ištar in her aspect as the rising Venus.

An imperative, such as appears in most MSS of line 170, is rather surprising in the explanation of a ceremonial temple name; a single source (MS B) offers instead the infinitive, allowing a translation of sub-column ii as "House of the prostrating of heroes".

171 This temple shares its name with the temple of Bēlet-Ninua in Babylon (*Tintir* IV 32), which is explained in a commentary as *bīt ušurāt šamē u eršeti* (no. 3, BM 34850, rev. 12'). *ina libbīšu uddā* (with variants *uttā*, "are found", see the apparatus) in the present line is a phrase owed to the verbosity of the compiler of the Assyrian Temple List, rather than one derived 'etymologically' from the Sumerian. According to MS B E-gišhur-ankia belonged to Bēlat-Arbīl, and it is possible that the Ištar of Nineveh and Arbīl were imagined as a single divinity in Aššur. Ištar's two temples in these cities also appear in the list, in lines 150 (E-mašmaš of Nineveh) and 178 (E-gašan-kalamma of Arbīl).

172 E-nindaba-dua is literally "House where Bread Portions are Baked" (du₈ = *epū*), and evidently Amurru's sanctuary served as a temple bakery (probably for the Gula temple complex, which seems to have comprised the cult-centres of Gula, Amurru and Marduk: see my note on BM 30211, 1-3, in *Iraq* 50, p. 32ff.). The etymologist translates ninda.ba as *nidbū* (*nindabū*) and, more loosely, *naptanu*, thus stressing the culinary function of the building, but ignores the rest of the temple name.

173 Other Gula temples of this name are her cult-centre at Isin and one of her two sanctuaries at Babylon, for both of which see *Tintir* IV 5 and commentary. The temple of Babylon is explained as *bīt rubāti rabīti* (no. 3, BM 34850, obv. 13').

174 E-sa-bad is also the name of a temple of Gula in Babylon, across the river from Egal-maḥ (*Tintir* IV 42), and for this and other sanctuaries of the same name see the commentary, ad loc., as also for its Akkadian explanation.

175 The equation of bad and *qubūru* here probably relies on the association of the sign BAD (ug₅ and úš) with death.

177 For E-maḥ of Ninurta see above, line 152a and commentary.

178 E-gašan-kalamma is well known as the name of Ištar's cult-centre at Arbīl, restored by Esarhaddon and Aššurbanipal (Ebeling, *RIA* II, p. 278; Menzel, *AT* I, p. 6ff.).

179-80 Kurba'il is a cult-centre of Adad (Menzel, *AT* I, p. 111f.) who is accordingly Bēl-Kurba'il. The twin names of the temple support this identification: E-dur-ḥenunna is noted as a temple name suited to Adad in the commentary on line 155; E-kilib-kurkurra-duldul alludes to Adad in his aspect of storm god, whose shadow may well be said to "envelop all the lands". Given the likelihood that the writing ^{ur}arba-il is dependent on a folk etymology of an original toponym Urbil or Arbīl (cf. *Ur* III: Urbilum), one may observe that ^{ur}kur-ba-il, "Bless me O God!", probably reflects a toponym Kurbil. Like Arbīl, Kurbil would belong to the old 'Proto-Euphratic' toponymy of Mesopotamia (cf. pp. 238, 253).

181 On E-sagil, the temple of Marduk in Babylon, see *Tintir* IV 1 and commentary.

182 E-ḥal-anki is strictly the *šubtu* of Zarpanītum in her cella in E-sagil (*Tintir* II 7 and commentary); but it is used by Aššurbanipal as a name for her sanctuary as a whole and should be so understood here.

183-84a Zabban lay on the borders of Assyria and Babylonia (Grayson, *ABC*, p. 265; Brinkman, *PHPKB*, p. 188¹¹⁵¹), and was another cult-centre of Adad (on the city generally see Weidner, *A/O* 15, p. 75ff.). The temple names reflect this god's frightening aspect as thunderstorm. The second name is evidently explained for a second time only in MS B (the optional line 184a).

185 The *bīt ḥurše* or "pantry" is presumably that part of E-šarra which is so described in the Divine Directory (GAB 25): see further the introduction. Oddly, the Akkadian explanation of the temple name and the everyday name appear in reverse order in this line. As regards the former, the etymologist interprets bur as *naptanu* with the lexical texts (*Ea* III, *Idu* II, *S^a M*, *S^b I*: see *CAD* N/1, p. 319), but the remainder of the explanation is probably contextual amplification without etymological justification. An abbreviated form of the ceremonial name of the *bīt ḥurše* is é.bur.an.na, "House of the Heavenly Jars", which is found in MS f and in a prayer to Tašmētum (*KAR* 122, rev. 3: tūr é.bur.an.n[a], a point on the goddess' procession into E-šarra between gates of Ea-šarru and Dunga (rev. 1-2) and the Grand Court). This is a name appropriate to somewhere where meal offerings are stored and prepared (for bur as a cultic jar see p. 325).

186 E-aratta-kišarra, "House of the Mountain of the Universe", also occurs in the ziqqurrat list II *R* 50, i 23, but as the name of the temple tower of Karkara (IM^{ki}). The name is especially suited to the ziqqurrat of Aššur, the Assyrian Enlil, for aratta is an epithet particular to Enlil (see *Tintir* II 3, where ki.aratta^{ki} is the name of Enlil's *šubtu* in E-sagil, and commentary). As such it is interpreted in Akkadian as both *kabtu* (Proto-*Diri* 547a; *Diri* IV 88; *Malku* I 18; cf. *Hh* IV 77) and *šadū* (von Soden, *ZA* 43, p. 235, *Malku*

II 32: *a-ru-tu-u* = *šad-du-u*; Cavigneaux, *Textes scolaires* I, pp. 112, 79.B.1/214, rev. ii-iii 8: *a-rat-ú* = *šá-du-ú*; 113, 79.B.1/22, rev. i 7: *a-rat-tu-u* = *šá-du-ú*). But while Enlil might be the “noblest of the universe” and, figuratively, the “mountain of the universe”, there is an obvious allusion in the name E-aratta-kišarra to the concept of the temple tower as a structure that bridged the gulf between the component parts of the cosmos (compare pp. 298f. and 318f.).

187-88 The twin ziqqurrats of the Anu-Adad temple are E-melam-anna, “House of Heavenly Radiance”, which is a ceremonial name also used of temples of Nuska in Harran and Nippur (no. 19, the Nippur Temple List, ll. 17'-18' and commentary); and E-gišlam-šaršar, “House where Heaven and Underworld Mingle”, a name which has cosmological implications similar to those of E-aratta-kišarra (*šár.šár* can mean “to be entangled”: note especially *MSL* XVII, p. 74, *Erimhuš* V 167, *šár.šár-šá-ár-šá-ra* = *šu-te-lu-pu*; for a slightly different interpretation of the complete phrase note an explanatory list in which *giš.lam.šár.šár* = *muš-ta-bil šamê u eršetim^{im}*, “Confunder of Heaven and Underworld”, is one of two “horses of the Deluge”, 2 *sisū^{meš} šá a-bu-bi*: Weidner, *Afo* 19, p. 110, 40-42).

189-90 On the ‘esoteric’ names of Aššur (Libbi-āli), Nineveh, Arbil and Kalzu, about which there evidently existed some confusion (MS B exchanges those of Arbil and Kalzu: see the apparatus), see the note of Menzel, *AT* II, p. T 165. The value *ata*(AD) utilized by MS h in line 190 can be added to the list of such signs (VC > VCV) given by Deller, *OrNS* 31, p. 186f.

191-96 The restorations and emendations are made after a parallel list of the same gates in the ritual BM 121206 = Menzel, *AT* II, no. 35, viii 43'-51'. There all the “entrance gates” (*bāb nērebī*) are designated *ša kisalli*, and the gate on the river is further described as the “east gate” (*bābu ša ši-it šamši^{ti}*; cf. also the building report *KAV* 74, 16). The gates are those listed for the East Annexe of E-šarra by Sennacherib (*KAH* II 124, 16-27); this annexe comprised an enclosed courtyard adjoining the main building of the Aššur temple on its south-east front: see further van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, p. 45ff. The building of this extension to house the courtyard of the divine assembly, an Assyrian version of Ubšu-ukkinna in E-sagil, reflects the concern to adopt for Aššur and E-šarra the theology of Marduk and E-sagil that was a feature of Sennacherib's reign (cf. George, *BSOAS* 52, p. 119).

197-98 The summary exhibits the influence of Assyrian dialect (note the hybrid form *ašbūni*). The gods of the temple of Divine Judges are listed in the Divine Directory (GAB §1 34-42). Note the variant in MS B, where the “gods of chapels and sanctuaries” would be the deities listed in the Directory for the other temples of the city (1-33, 43-119). These

buildings, as well as the “throne-daises, seats and cult-centres”, are then the sacred places listed by ceremonial name in the Assyrian Temple List (GAB §4; but *māhāzu*, “cult-centre”, might also refer to the cities listed in §6).

A List of Shrines in E-šarra (no. 21)

obv. 6' For a chapel of Dipar in E-šarra (perhaps in the East Annexe) see van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, p. 45; to the references given there for this god in E-šarra add III R 66 = Menzel, *AT* II, no. 54, i 20. Dipar (also Dapar) is a deified mountain (see J.J.M. Roberts, *The Earliest Semitic Pantheon*, p. 53; Stol, *On Trees*, p. 25ff.), but his name may be subject to a secondary interpretation as Dipār, “Torch” (see Frankena, *Tākultu*, p. 98), to which the ceremonial name of his shrine, “House Suited to Light”, would allude (nu.gál in the temple name we see as a variant orthography of (giš).nu₁₁.gal = *nūru*, as in other ceremonial names: see *Tintir* IV 11 and 24, and p. 320).

7' “Quay of the Sea” is, in view of its name, perhaps a shrine name borrowed from an original cultic location in Eridu, where a sanctuary of Asalluḫi could be imagined at the harbour wall.

8' The shrine's name means “Seizer of the Arm of the Wicked” (gil = *qardammu*); for a chapel of Kūbu in E-šarra, perhaps again in the East Annexe, see van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, p. 45.

10' Kusu is known as a deity resident in E-šarra, specifically in the sanctuary of Ea-šarru, from the Divine Directory (GAB §1 26).

11' For a chapel of Bēl-labrīya in the Aššur temple see Menzel, *AT* I, p. 80. The shrine's name, “Ruined and Pillaged”, may allude to the theology of defeated and captive gods, one of whose number could well have been Bēl-labrīya (“My Bēl-of-Old”: on this god see Frankena, *Tākultu*, p. 82f.).

12' The “Chariot House of Enlil” is featured in the commentary on a royal ritual, which explains the king's driving to the chapel of Enmešarra in a chariot as symbolic of the defeat of Enmešarra by Ninurta (as a result of which defeat Enmešarra's body lies dead in the chariot: *KAR* 307, obv. 24-29; cf. Livingstone, *MMEW*, pp. 124 and 147). Enmešarra is an ancestor of Aššur-Enlil, and a parallel to his shrine thus existed in E-sagil at Babylon, where the Chariot House is the shrine of Lugaldukuga (*Tintir* II 16 and commentary. Cf. also rev. 31'.

13' Lātarāk's shrine is also found in rev. 26', where he shares it with Mīšarru. On *ašrukkatu*, "lobby", see above, p. 436.

14' The two obvious candidates for restoration at the end of the line are E-ḫursag-gula, the *šahūru* of E-šarra, and E-ḫursag-(gal)-kurkurra, Aššur's cella (see GAB §4 145-46). Of these we prefer the former since it lies in close proximity to a courtyard in van Driel's study of the Aššur temple (*Cult of Aššur*, p. 34f.). Van Driel understood the *šahūru* to be the entrance building to Aššur's cella from the East Annexe, but we see no reason why the term should not designate the East Annexe as a whole: the courtyard of E-ḫursag-gula would then be the central courtyard of this annexe, which goes by the ceremonial name of Court of the Row of Stations of the Igigi (GAB 191).

15' The Leaden Court of Apsû is known from the *tākultu* text KAV 83 (Menzel, *AT* II, no. 62), 7' // KAR 214 (ibid., no. 61), i 32: [ki]-sa-al abāri(a.gar₃, var. a.ENGUR) ap-su-û; the courtyard in question is identifiable with the main court (Haupthof) of E-šarra, immediately south-west of Aššur's cella, where, in agreement with the present line, the excavators did indeed find a well (see further van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, p. 46). The gods to whom the well is dedicated are the River God and his spouse, and appropriately enough, for Id has a special jurisdiction over the waters of wells and springs, being equated with Ea (see further Lambert, *RIA* V, p. 620, and note also Ea-Enki, father of Marduk-Asalluḫi, appearing in Sin-iddinam's letter to Ninisinna under the name of Idlurugu, the River Ordeal: Hallo, *Kramer Anniversary Volume*, p. 216, 16).

17' The completion of the ceremonial name, "Foundation of the Great Mountain", follows rev. 27'.

18' The shrine-name E-Tummal, "House of Tummal" is borrowed from Nippur, where it is a name of Ninlil's sanctuary, E-kiur (Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 59). Here it is a *šubtu* inside E-kiur, for which in Aššur see GAB 149. On Kutušar, a manifestation of Ninlil, see Lambert, *RIA* VI, p. 389.

20' Despite the irregular orthography of the divine name, the owner of this shrine can hardly be other than Bēlat-ēqe, an aspect of Ištar much attested in Assyria, especially at Aššur (Menzel, *AT* I, p. 73f.; *CAD* E, p. 253f.).

21' The name of the *šubtu*, "(House of) the Pure Seal", is appropriate for a storage chamber. On an.gal, usually read *Anu rabû*, as a name of Ištarān see Unger, *RIA* II, p. 201, and Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 131; for Ištarān and his cult see further Lambert, *RIA* V, p. 211.

22' For gi₆.pār as the residence of an *en*, mortal or divine, see *Tintir* II 6' and commentary.

24' The name of the shrine, "Gatherer of the Deaf", invites speculation on the reading of the name of its owner: is he ^den.geštu, "Lord of the Ear"? Compare rev. 28', where he is a figure who "blocks even the widest ear". A 'phonetic' writing is perhaps ^din-PI in the *tākultu* text STT 88 (Menzel, *AT* II, no. 58), i 49 // *ABL* 1413 (ibid., no. 56), obv. 8', but this has no bearing on the second element of the name, of course.

A gate is the expected location for En-PI's *šubtu*, for he is one of the gate-keepers of E-šarra (GAB 46). His gate, *bāb* ^den.PI, is probably the north gate of the south-west courtyard, giving access to E-šarra from the *mušlālu* (van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, p. 47).

25' Ala-gude is "Booming Drum".

27' With the gloss on NĪG.ZU compare *MSL* XVI, p. 84, *Nabnītu* IV 211-12:

nīgⁿ¹⁻¹⁸.zu = nin-da-nu
nīg.da.na = nin-da-nu

In inscriptions of Sargon II *nindanu* has the meaning "knowledge" (see *CAD* N/2, p. 238), and such a meaning explains its equation with nīg.zu (often *iḫzu*, "learning") in the lexical text. The shrine Nidanu-geštu appears again in rev. 30', where it is described as the "archive room", and its name is thus to be interpreted, appropriately enough, as "(House) of Knowledge and Understanding".

Ninimma's occupancy of this shrine fits her role as Aššur's scholar and E-šarra's chief scribe, a role that can be deduced from the parallel situation at Nippur recorded in *An* I 292 (*CT* 24 8, 42 // 23, ii 21-22, restored from YBC 2401, ii 88-89):

^dnin.[imma = um.mi.a ^den.]il.lá dub.sar.zag.ga
[é.kur.ra.ke₄ um.me.ga].lá ^dsuen.(na).ke₄

Her expertise as scribe is also attested in a lesser-known list, where she becomes "Ea of scribes" (*CT* 41 27, 1: ^dnin.imma = ^dé-a šá ¹⁶tupšarri). As to the writing of the divine name in the present text, the mistaken use of the complement BA for *ma* might point to a misreading of a Babylonian original, if this were not quite unexpected given the topographical context we have proposed for the list. It may be that this writing was an habitual error of our scribe, made once when copying a Babylonian tablet and repeated automatically without correction. However, there may also be present a confusion as to the identity of the shrine's occupant: a writing ^dnin-sa₇-ba would be without parallel, but comparable with equally eccentric spellings elsewhere in the list (in ll. 20' and 25', if correctly interpreted). Nissaba's patronage of the stylus, and the scribal arts in general, is well known, and makes her too a suitable resident of an archive room.

28' E-šutum-lugal is the "King's Warehouse". Compare at Babylon a part of the E-sagil temple complex so named (in the gate list no. 6, BM 35046, 30 and commentary).

29' E-sag, "Foremost House", is evidently another storage chamber, and perhaps makes a pair with the preceding shrine.

30' Kalkal is a gate-keeper of E-šarra, found in that capacity in rev. 29', and in the Divine Directory (GAB 45). His gate gave access from the south-west courtyard of the temple building to the forecourt (van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, p. 47). Kalkal is borrowed from Nippur, where he is a gatekeeper of E-kur (Lambert, *Atraḫasīs*, p. 150).

31' Ur-maš-tur is "Pen of Lions and Wild Beasts", and fittingly so in view of its occupancy by Urmah and Šakkan.

rev. 3' "House of Sumptuous Food Offerings".

6' "House, Place of the Pure *Me's*"; for the phrase *me.sikil.la* and the similarly named temple of Amurru in west Babylon (*Tintir* IV 37), see the commentary, ad loc.

7' The ceremonial name "Station of the Gods" supports the restoration of the Igigi as the shrine's owners.

11' The second sub-column looks almost to be a translation of the first, as far as it is possible to decide from what remains: *gišgal* might be rendered *šubtu* (MIN), although strictly we should expect it to be *manzāz*(*ki.gub*); Gattu is a name of the Euphrates, and may thus explain *irḫan.TIN.TIR.DÚB* (for both see above, p. 351f., and for the latter, G.J.P. McEwan, *OrNS* 52, p. 228f.). But the middle elements of both shrine name and divine(?) name remain obscure. On *sippu* see p. 293.

12' For *tu'um*, a cultic chamber, see p. 293.

20' The ceremonial name can be translated "Step of the Outer Gate of E-šarra".

23' For the god Kunuš-kadru, who is well attested at Aššur, see above, p. 358. The Gate of the Firmament is the outer gateway of the south-east front of E-šarra's East Annexe, listed in GAB 192.

31' The mythological reference is to Ninurta's triumph after his defeat of Enmešarra or Anzû, and his subsequent promotion (cf. above, on obv. 12').

Kiš

VAT 13817, col. ii (no. 22)

1'-2' The temple name, *é.nita.kala.ga*, is apparently followed by a phrase or phrases in Sumerian, and the whole is then translated into Akkadian (l. 2'); finally the owner of the temple was given (2a'). The term *pušūq sinništi* refers to the danger endured by women in childbirth (cf. Civil, *JNES* 33, p. 331, "dystocia").

3' Here and throughout one might read *épa-paḥ*, with no alteration of meaning.

4' E-galga-su is a temple name also associated with Baba in her southern cult-centre, being a name for, or part of, her temple *é.tar.sír.sír* in Girsu: Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 32, 265, and further references on p. 105; Falkenstein, *IGL*, pp. 146f. and 158ff. *é.galga.sù* and *é.tar.sír.sír* are paired among other sanctuaries of Lagaš-Girsu in *Proto-Kagal* 203-04 (*MSL* XIII, p. 72). In the Canonical Temple List one may restore these temples as follows (Craig, *AJSL* 13, p. 220, Sm 289, obv. i 4-6):

<i>é.tar.sír.sír</i>	=	<i>[bīt^a]ba-ba₆ [šá g]r-su^{k1}</i>
<i>é.galga.sù</i>	=	<i>[bīt M]IN šá kiš^{k1}</i>

(Five further sanctuaries of Baba in Kiš are listed.) The temple name, "House of Advice" (*galga.sù* = *mil-ku*, *MSL* XVII, p. 188, *Antagal* A 201), probably has nothing to do with *galga.sù* as a name of Ištar, which means "queen" (*malkatu*: references for this word as an epithet of Ištar are collected separately as *malkatu* B, in *CAD* M/1, p. 166, but there seems no justification for the distinction — note the conventional interpretation of Ištar's name *un.gal.nibru*, "Queen of Nippur", as *ma-al-kát* *uzu.mú.a^{k1}*, for which see above, p. 443; the equation of *malkatu* with *g/malga.sù* is probably owed to homophony rather than etymology).

5' "House Fitting for the Warrior" is the well-known sanctuary of Kiš, also known as E-dubba (Ebeling, *RIA* II, p. 361): the two temple names are paired in the Canonical Temple List (II R 61, no. 2, i 15-16 + K 12023 (unpub.), 2):

<i>é.me.[te].ur.[sag]</i>	=	<i>[bīt^a]za-ba₄-ba₄ [šá k]iš^{k1}</i>
<i>é.dub.[ba]</i>	=	<i>[bīt] MIN</i>

In the present list at least, it appears that E-mete-ursag is the cella of Zababa, and E-dubba one of four names for the whole temple (ll. 6'-9'). The reading *é.dub.ba* against *é.kišib.ba* is assured by attestations of the temple name in Neo-Assyrian script, where the sign in question is unambiguously *dub* (e.g. here and Pallis, *Akitu Festival*, pl. 11, 22; cf. Lambert in *Albright Festschrift* 1971, p. 351).

- 6' The "House of the Pure Word" is also found in a lament (*SBH* 30, obv. 21).
- 8' "House of the Heavenly Hero" is a name appropriate to a temple of Zababa, who was, if nothing else, *šul*.
- 9' For earthly and cosmic "Pure Mounds" see p. 287ff.
- 10' The same name is given to Madānu's temple in Babylon (*Tintir* IV 4). The Akkadian explanation, with which compare the similarly construed *bītu lāqit rabbi* for the temple of Babylon (no. 2, Rm 788, obv. 4), is complete without the final word, which may thus be an alternative to *imessu* (giving "House (where) the shackle is hung(?)"). On the Sumerian phrase *rab ri.ri* and its more conventional Akkadian translation, *rabbu/rappu lā'ītu*, see p. 304.
- 11' For the temple name cf. below, on no. 31, IM 65063, obv. 4'. The Queen of Kiš is Baba, as in a New Year's prayer (Pallis, *Akītu Festival*, pl. 11, 24), or Ištar.
- 12' E-sulim-anna, "House of Heavenly Radiance", is a name suited to the sanctuary of an astral deity, and does indeed appear in the Canonical Temple List among sanctuaries of Ištar, between her temples in Hursagkalamma (*é.hur.sag.kalam.ma*) and Babylon (*é.tur.kalam.ma*): II R 61, no. 2, ii 16.
- 13' Is this the cella of the preceding temple?
- 14' With the name compare that of a *šubtu* in E-sagil, *šu.luh.bi.kù.ga* (*Tintir* II 44).

VAT 10111 (no. 23)

- 4' The ceremonial name of the ziqqurrat of Zababa's temple in Kiš is *é.u₆.nir.ki.tuš.maḥ*, "Temple Tower, Exalted Abode", and this, therefore, must be one of its gates. A gate of the same name is listed in line 9'. References to the ziqqurrat can be found in Ebeling, *RIA* II, p. 485.
- 8' Cf. E-mete-nugal, a shrine of Dipar in E-šarra at Aššur (no. 21, BM 134502, obv. 6' and commentary).
- 12' With the gate name compare *é.i.gara₁₀* at Girsu (Gudea, *Cyl. B* xvii 15). This is no doubt the gate of the temple's dairy.

14' For *múš* and *mūš* in temple names and as part of a temple see Sjöberg, *TCS* III, p. 55f. The translation of the word given here relies on the equation *múš* = *uššu* found in a bilingual litany of Enlil (IV R² 27, 15-18, quoted above, p. 318) and in logographic usage (Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 23, 26 and variant).

17' E-akkil is the temple of Papsukkal-Ninšubur in Kiš, as is indicated by the listing, among the gods of the city, of **pap-sukkal a-šib é-ak-ki-il*, "Papsukkal who dwells in E-akkil", in the litany Craig, *ABRT* I 58, 10; and by the Canonical Temple List, according to which *é.akkil* = [*bīt *nin-šub*] *ur šá kiš^{ki}* (II R 61, no. 1, rev. iii 7 + unpublished joins). Cf. *Diri* I 233, quoted in the commentary on E-akkil as the *šubtu* of Manungal in E-sagil (*Tintir* II 4').

20' For the river Me-Enlilla, which left the main stream of the Euphrates at Kiš and flowed down to Marad, see Jacobsen, *Iraq* 22, p. 177.

VAT 10924 (no. 24)

2'-3' The temple names can be provisionally restored after no. 22 (VAT 13817, ii 3' and 6').

Uruk

IM 74458 (no. 25)

obv. 1'-5' These lines list the "seats" of one particular deity in various parts of the temple complex, and Ištar is the obvious candidate. *é.sù.sù.gar.ra*, "House where Meals are Set out" (sc. *ú.sù.sù* = *nap-ta-nu*, *MSL* XIII, p. 195, *Izi* E 323), is also listed as a temple or chapel of Ištar in the Canonical Temple List (II R 61, no. 2, ii 13). For a *gigunū* of Ištar and Anu in Uruk see *CAD* G, p. 69. *é.gi₆.pār.imin.(bi)* is the name of the ziqqurrat of E-anna (Ebeling, *RIA* II, p. 280; Falkenstein, *Topographie*, p. 26²; II R 50, i 20).

6' For *li.li*, "progeny", see the bilinguals *Lugale* 427 (*li.li.a.bi* = *li-li-di-šu-nu*) and IV R² 12, rev. 33-34 (*li.li.a.bi* = *na-an-nab-šú*). Ninzalle is a name of Antu (*CT* 24 1, 23 and 29 // 20, 15 and 20: *An* I). At the end of the line one expects *uššabu* of course: for similar descriptions of *šubtu*'s see above, p. 9³⁶.

7' The *bīt te-ret* of E-anna also appears in a ritual of the month Dumuzi as a place where Nanāy dons her vestments (*LKU* 51, obv. 22: ^ana-na-a i-teb-bi-ma a-na bīt te-ret ir-ru-ub-ma il-lab-bi[š...]).

8' *é.nir* is also found in rituals of Uruk, in which it designates other divine bed-chambers (Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*, p. 89, 4-5: *é.ḫi.li.kù.ga é.nir šá é.ḫi.li.an.na bīt ^ana-na-a*, where a sacred marriage rite is performed; p. 118, 6: *é.nir bīt ^aerši ḫurāši šá an-tum*, probably in the *bīt rēši* temple; cf. Falkenstein, *Topographie*, p. 26²). *é.nir* means "House of Weariness" (< *é.a.nir*, but cf. *nir* = *ta-ni-ḫ[u]* in the commentary *CT* 18 49, ii 22). *u₈* is evidently 'phonetic' (or Emesal?) for *ù.(di)* = *šittu* (cf. Hunger, *SpTU* I, p. 109).

9' Many references to the *bīt ḫilši* of E-anna are collected in *CAD H*, p. 187f.

10' The shrine's name is, as often, suited to the character of its resident, the Sun God.

11' *ki.šú* can be either "ordinance" (*paršu*) or "custody" (*kīlu*) according to *Izi C* iii 29-30 (see p. 286). In the name of a shrine the former is rather more expected (cf. in E-sagil, a *šubtu* *ki.šú.kù*: *Tintir* II 14'), but there was a gaol (*bīt kīli*) in E-anna in Late Babylonian times (*YOS* VII 106, 6-7: *bīt ki-il-li šá ^abēlet šá uruk^{k1}*; 97, 1: *bīt ki-li šá é.an.na*).

12' On Zannaru, a name of Ištar, see Lambert, *Zikir šumim*, p. 213.

rev. 4'-5' *zà.du₈*('GAB') = *sippu*, of which there was one either side of a gateway (see p. 293).

6' For this god and his function see *An* = *Anum* I (*CT* 24 11, iv b 5-7 // 24, 69-71):

^ada-da = ^ae-ta-la-ak/-lak
^aug-elam-ma = MIN
^ae-ta-[a-ak]/-lak = MIN 3 lú.si.gar.ra.ke₄

Note further *SBH* IV, 147-48, ^aug.elam.ma^{k1} mu.lu si.mar.ra = ^ae-ta-lak šá ši-ga-ri. The *ša ši-gāri*, "He of the Latch", is the divine custodian of a gateway, whose function was no doubt to ward off evil. So, in a list of such divine figures in an incantation from *bīt mēseri*, appear lú.si.gar.ra lú.abul/.ká.gal.la = *šá ši-ga-ri šá a-bu-ul-la* (von Weiher, *SpTU* II 8, ii 12).

Topographical and Explanatory Fragments

BM 76887 (no. 28)

1' E-zida, Nabû's cult-centre in Borsippa, is often translated as *bītu kīnu* (as in inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II: I R 65, ii 18; V R 34, i 55; *CT* 37 7, i 36; and in the cylinder of Antiochus I: V R 66, i 14-15).

3' For *ká.su.lim.ma* as the gate of Marduk's cella in E-sagil see the commentary on no. 7, BM 38602 // VAT 13817, i 2'. Here it is perhaps a gate in E-zida: the two temples had other gate names in common (*ká.maḫ*, *ká.gù.n.a*, *ká.^alamma.ra.bi* and *ká.nam.ti.la*).

4' *é.maḫ.ti.la*, according to some inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II, is a name of Nabû's cella in E-zida, but a shrine of the same name is known in E-sagil (see *Tintir* II 10'' and commentary; also Unger, *RIA* I, p. 416). If the restoration is correct the explanation is a little free.

5' *é.šid.dù.an.na.ki* is another name of Nabû's cella in E-zida, according to a brick inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II (Koldewey, *WVDOG* 15, p. 54, fig. 97 = *VAB* IV, p. 204, Nbk 44, 3-4: *é.šid.dù.an.na.ki pa-pa-ḫi be-lu-ti-šu*; cf. Unger, *RIA* I, p. 416). *pāqid kiššat šamê u eršeti* refers to Nabû as *é.šid.dù.ki.šār.ra* (see further *Tintir* IV 43 and commentary, and compare also *Tintir* II 3'').

6'-7' These two sanctuaries also occur in the unpublished section of the Canonical Temple List given over to Nabû (*Sm* 277, ii 15: *é.[šu.nigin.š]u₇.du₇*; 17: *é.íd.l[ú].ru.gú*). The first is either a name of Nabû's temple in Aššur (as listed in the Assyrian Temple List, explained as *bītu ša napḫaršu šuklulu*: GAB 163), or another of the same name.

8' E-dara-anna is a name of Zarpanītum's cella in E-sagil (see the gate list no. 6, BM 35046, 7 and commentary), but quite probably also the name of her chapel in E-zida of Borsippa.

IM 65063 (no. 31)

obv. 4' A possible restoration of the temple name as *é.temen.bi.nu.kúr* was proposed in *BagM* Beiheft 2, p. 20, on the grounds of its listing in text no. 22 (VAT 13817, ii 11'), where it is a sanctuary of the Queen of Kiš. The third sub-column of the present text could thus be restored after the explanation given there, *bīt temenšu lā uttakkaru*.

6' *ašri elli* calls to mind *ki.sikil*, a stock phrase often found in ceremonial temple names, or *ki.kù*, which is less common: compare *MSL XIII*, p. 176f., *Izi C ii* 11-14:

<i>ki.^{ku}kù</i>	=	<i>aš-ru el-lu</i>
<i>ki.kù.ga</i>	=	MIN MIN
<i>ki.^{si-kil}sikil</i>	=	MIN MIN
<i>ki.sikil.la</i>	=	MIN MIN

18'-19' *te-ret* calls to mind *é.á.ág.gá.kilib.ur₄.ur₄*, "House which Gathers All Decrees", a temple of Ištar as Bēlet-ekalli (see above, p. 321). This is made all the more tempting a restoration by the presence of *hāmimu* (= *ur₄.ur₄*) in the following line, which might offer a further explanation of the temple name of the present lines.

20' We suggested to Mayer (*BagM* Beiheft 2, p. 20) the restoration of [*é.me.kilib.ur₄.ur₄*] in consideration of *Tintir IV* 25, where it is the temple of the Queen of Larsa in Babylon. But the new copy of IM 65063, which most probably reads *tēret* again in this line and *ūrtu kabittu* in l. 21', weights matters in favour of *é.á.ág.gá.kilib.ur₄.ur₄*: *á.ág.gá* = *tērtu* and *ūrtu*, *kilib* = *gur₄* = *kabtu*, the latter an example of the contrived etymologizing familiar from other lists, most notably the E-sagil Commentary (no. 5), the Nippur Compendium (no. 18) and the Nippur Temple List (no. 19).

GENERAL INDEX

N.B. The commentary on any given line of text does not always repeat the name of the item under comment. Accordingly the page references given below cannot be used alone as an absolute guide to the contents of the book. Text references are cited

by both page and line (e.g. 55:29', 67f.:43.67) or, where that would be ambiguous, by page, text number and line (e.g. 197:23:1'). It is intended that such references implicitly refer the index's user to the relevant pages of commentary also.

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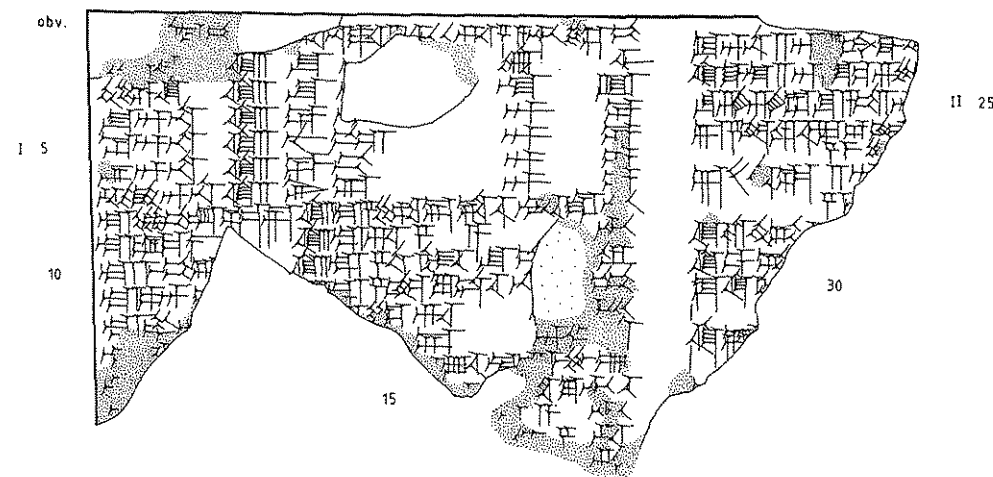
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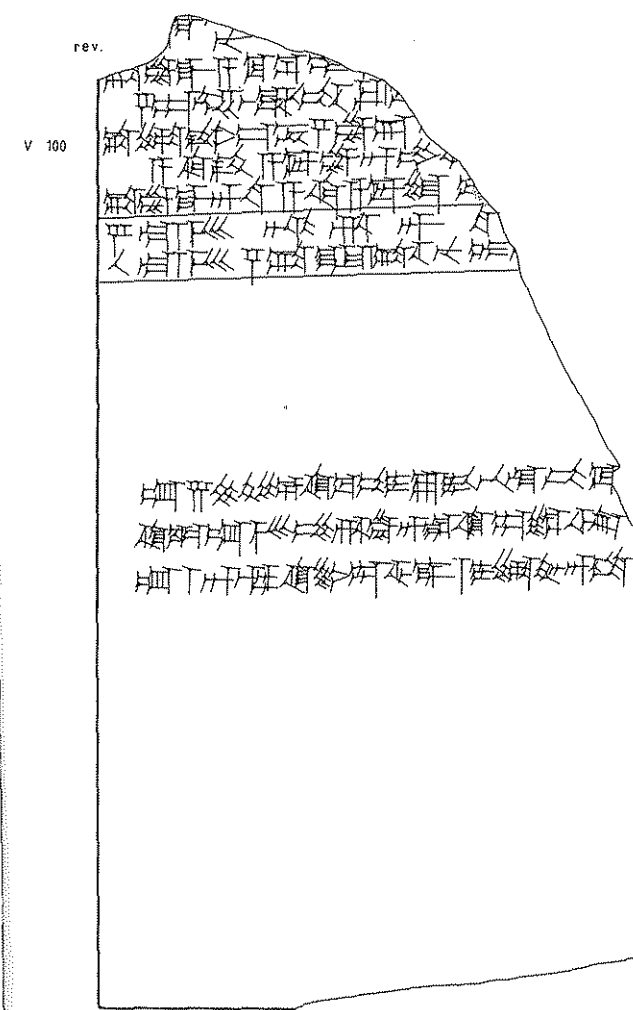
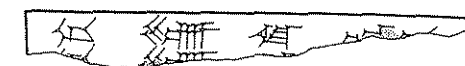
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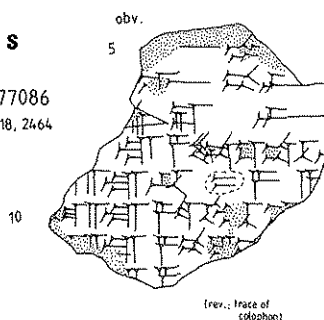


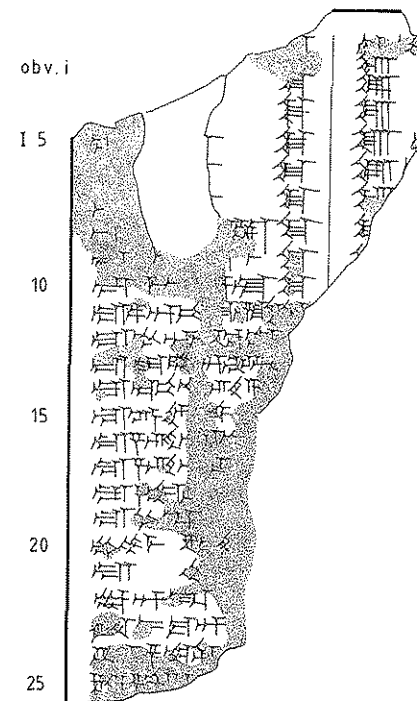
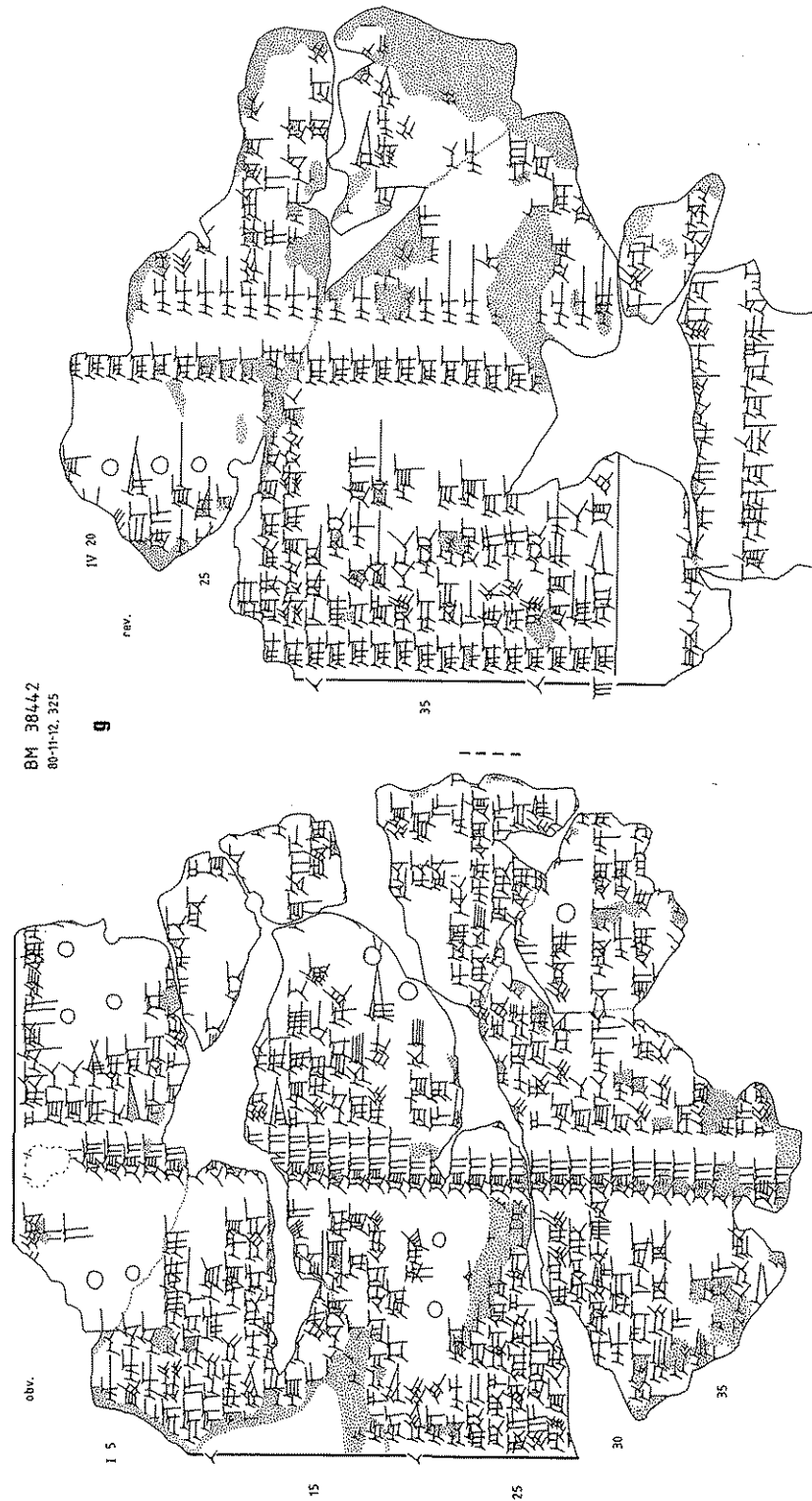
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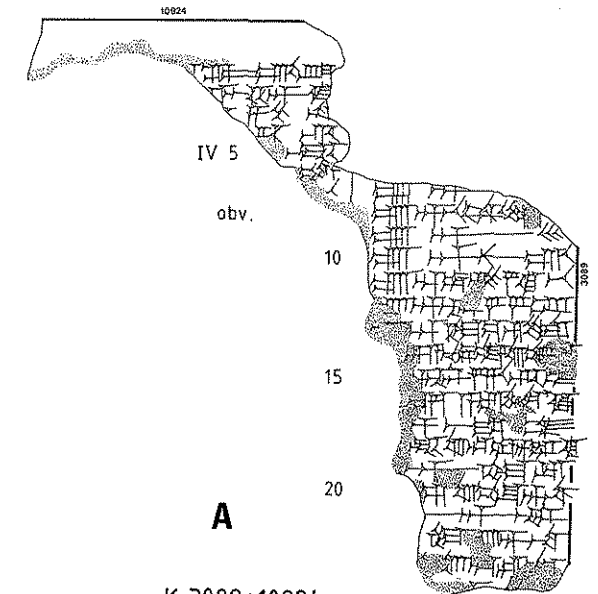


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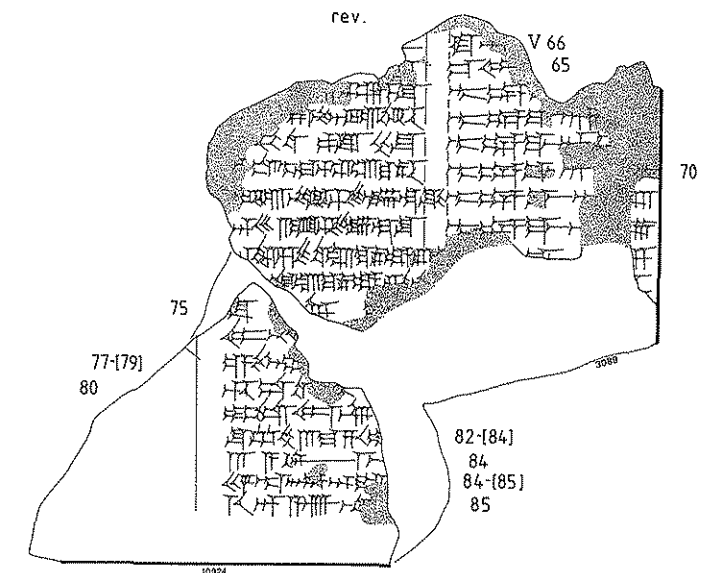
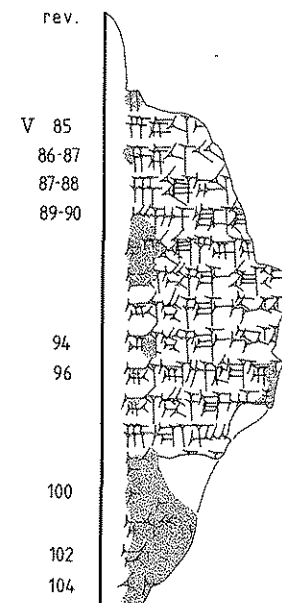


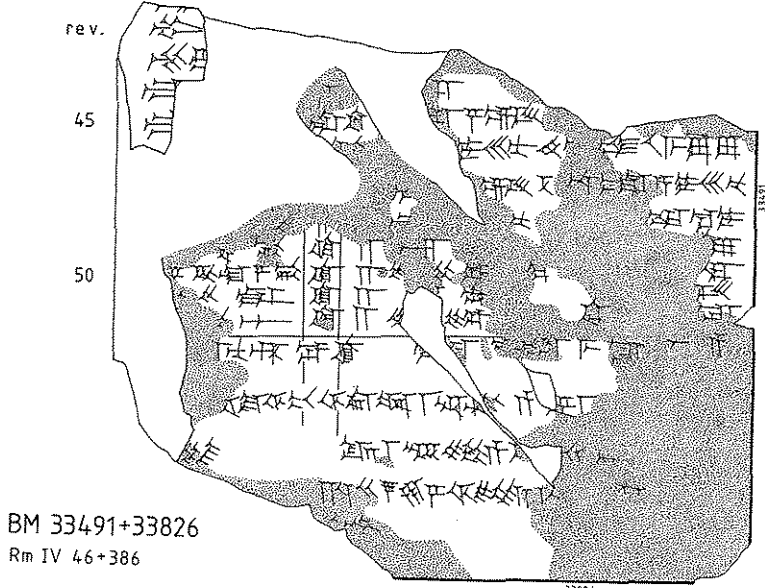
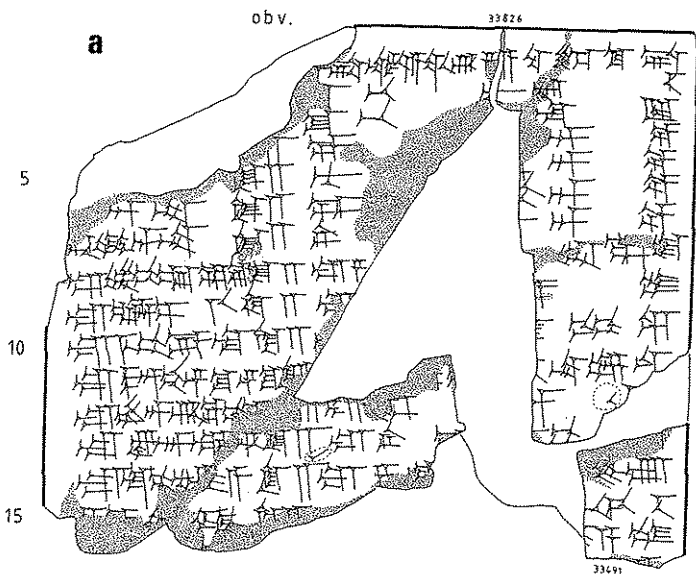


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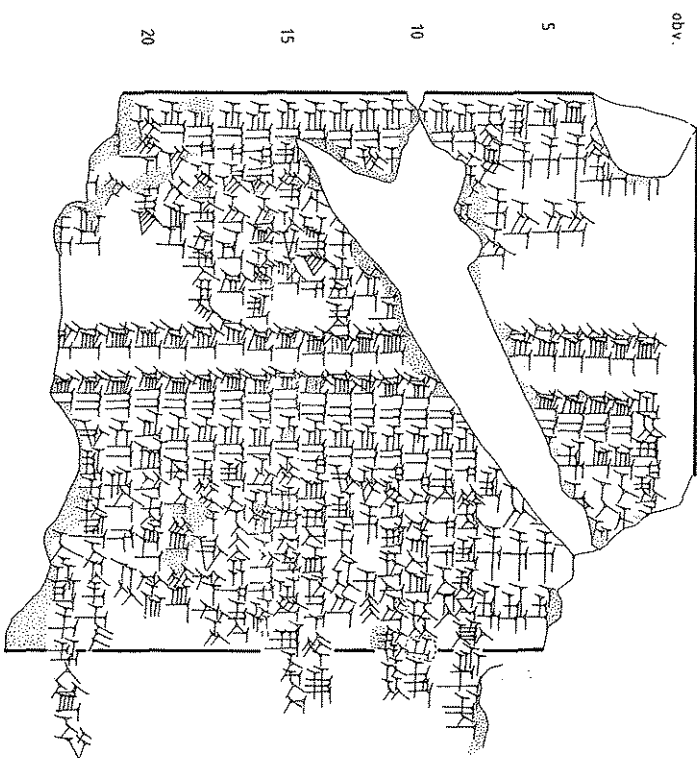
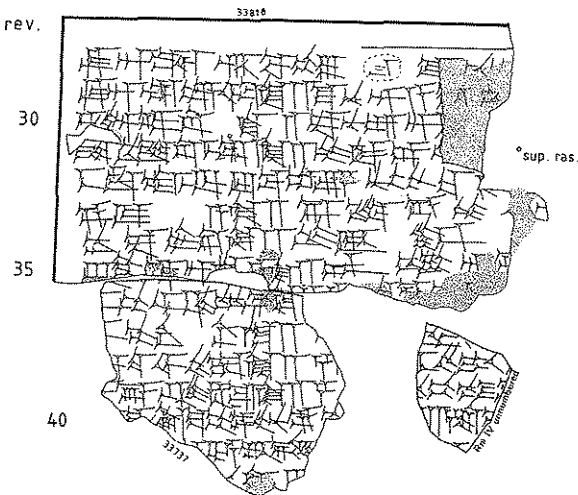
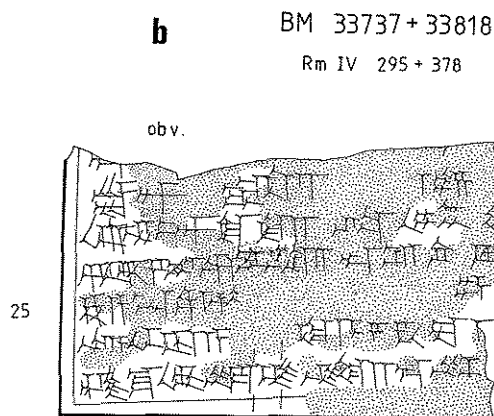


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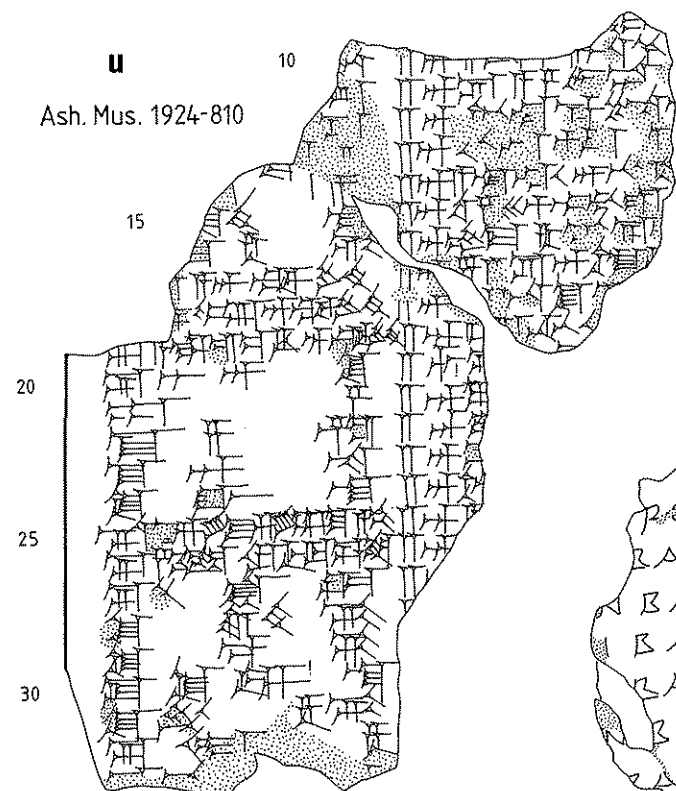




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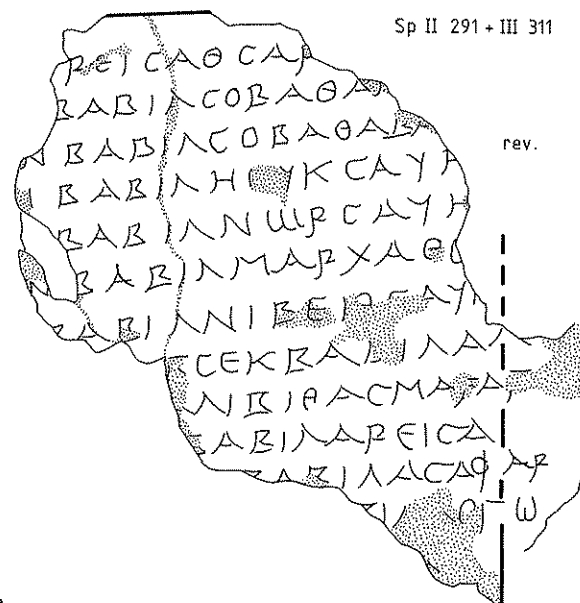
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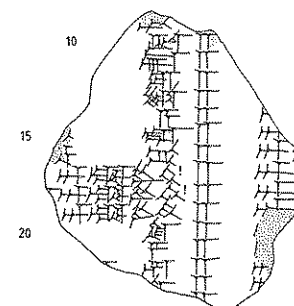
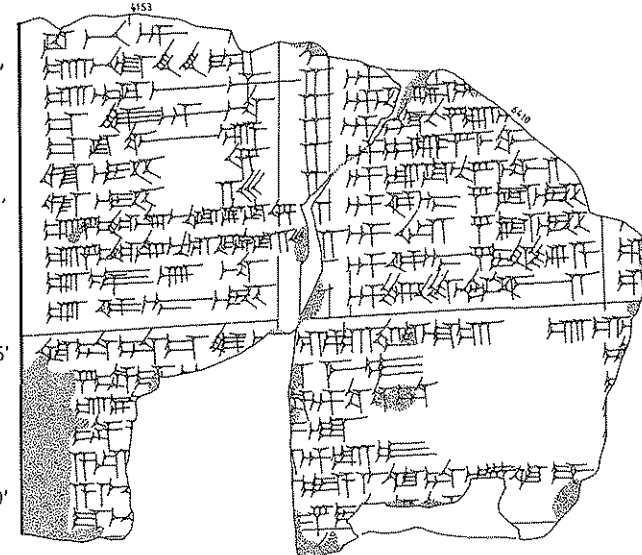
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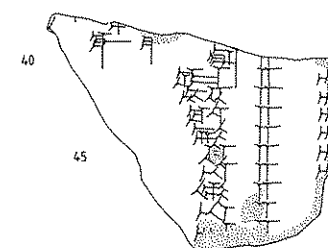
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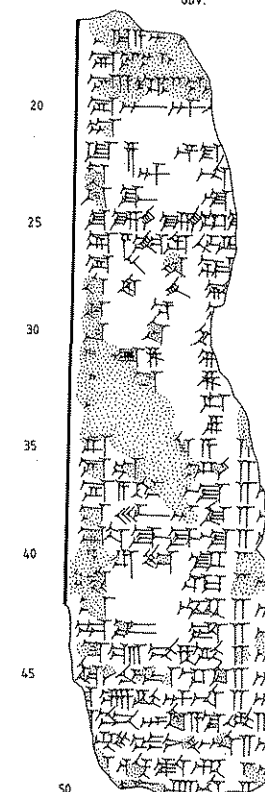
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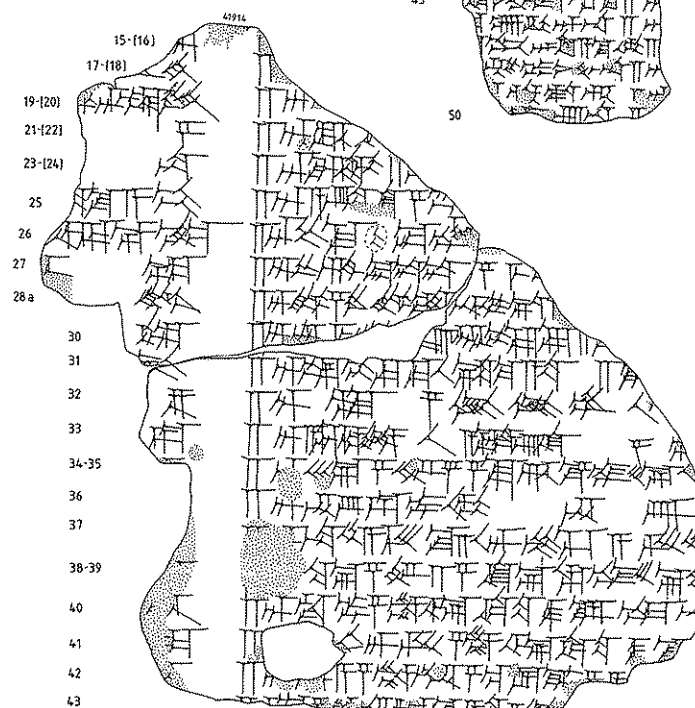
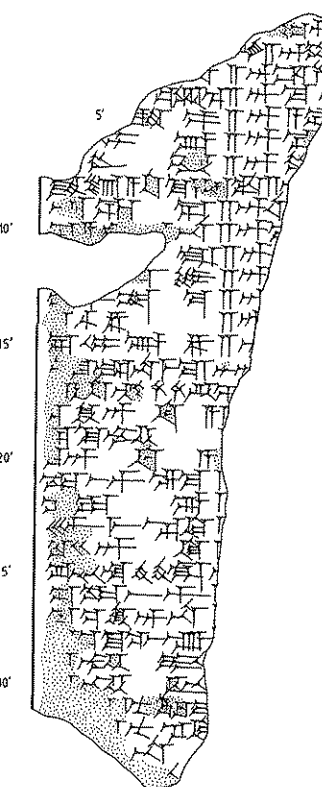
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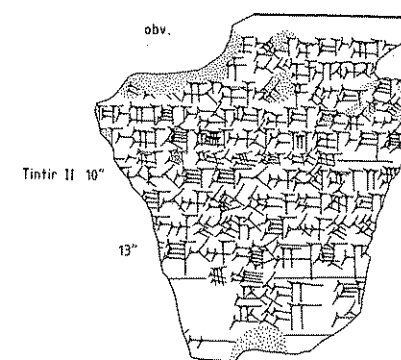
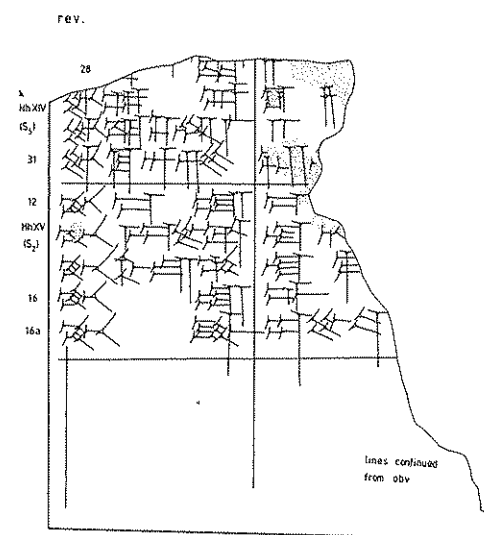
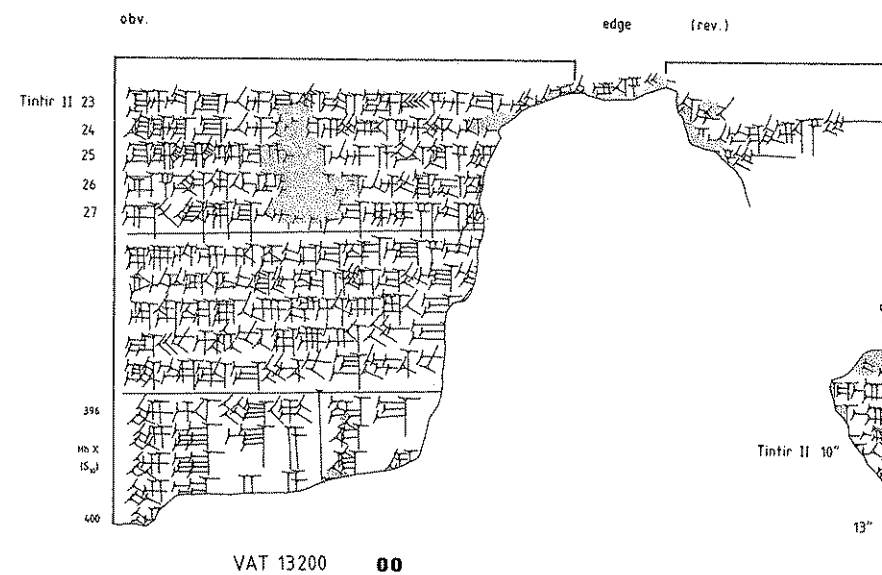
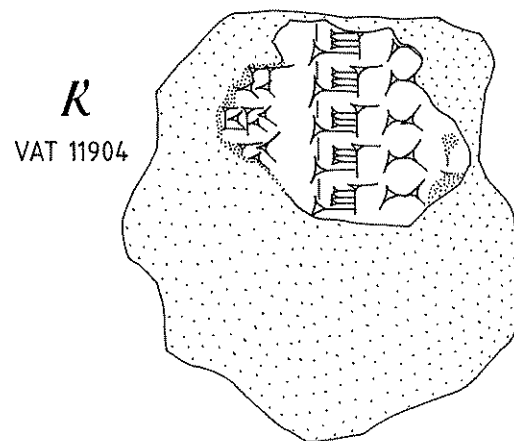
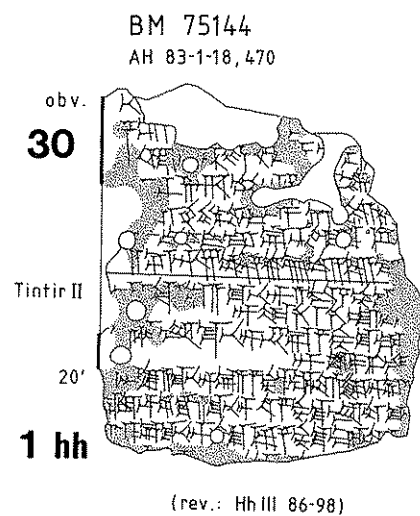
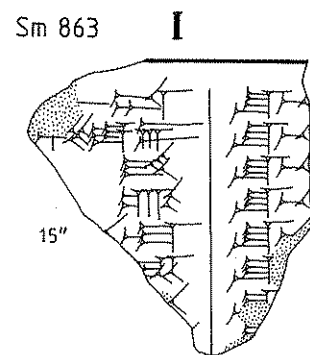
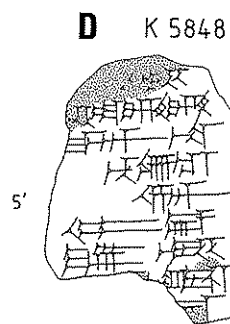
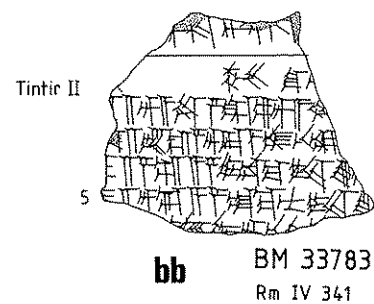
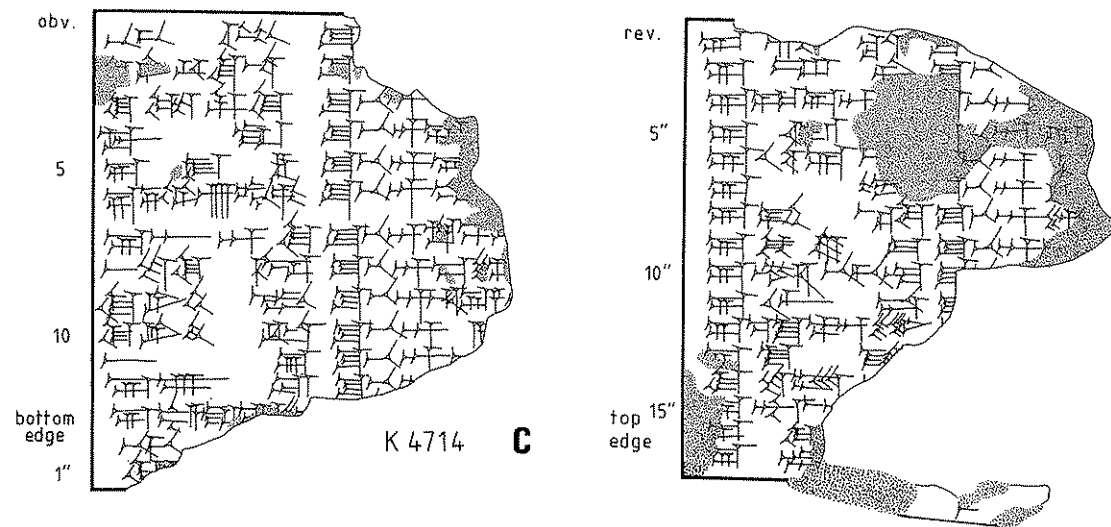
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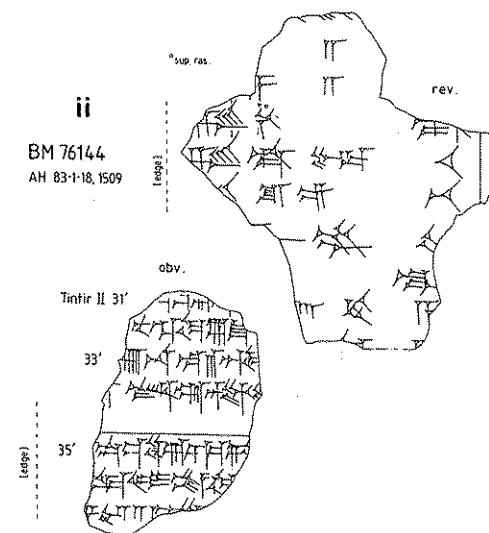
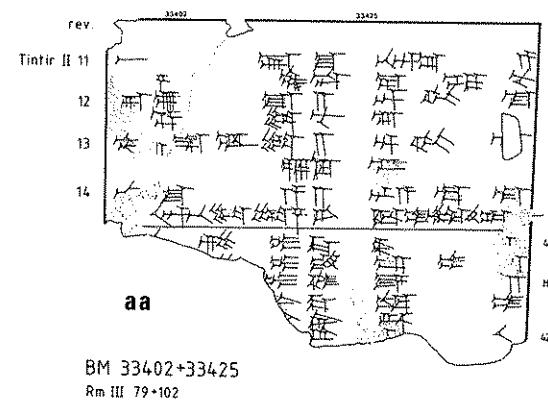
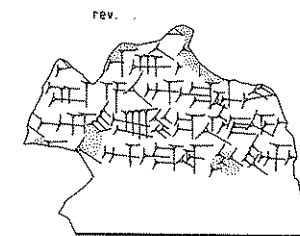
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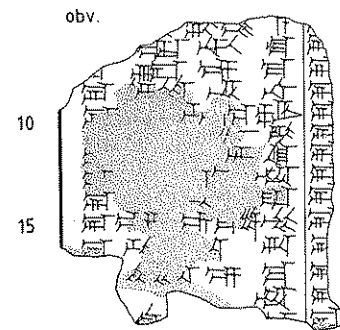
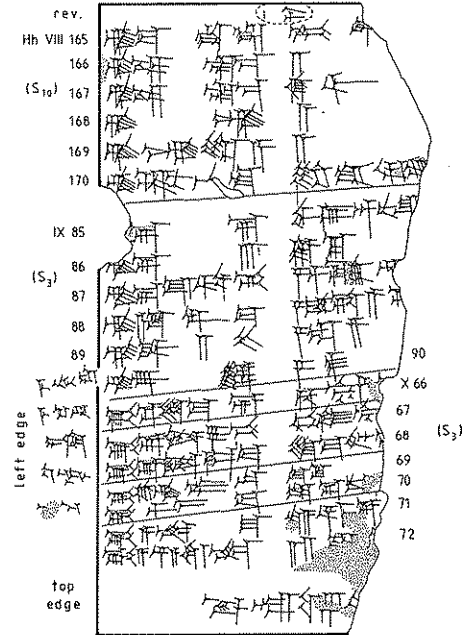
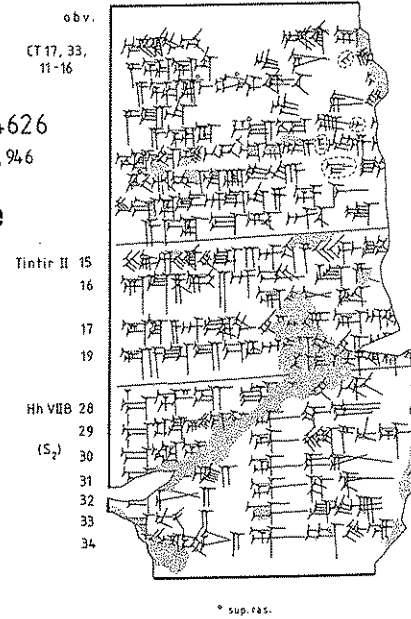


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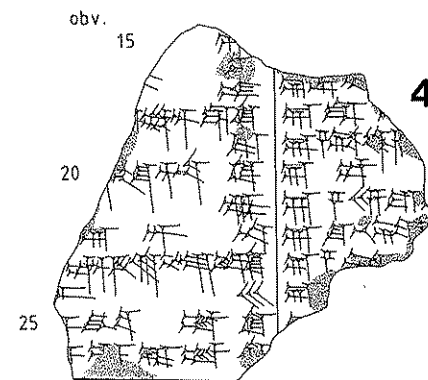
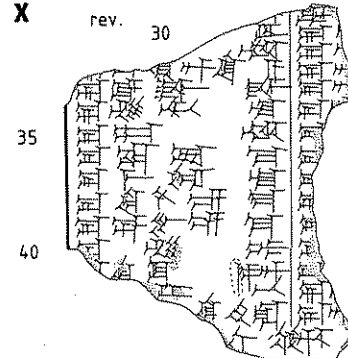
BM 54626
82-5-22, 946

1 ee



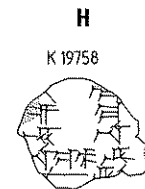
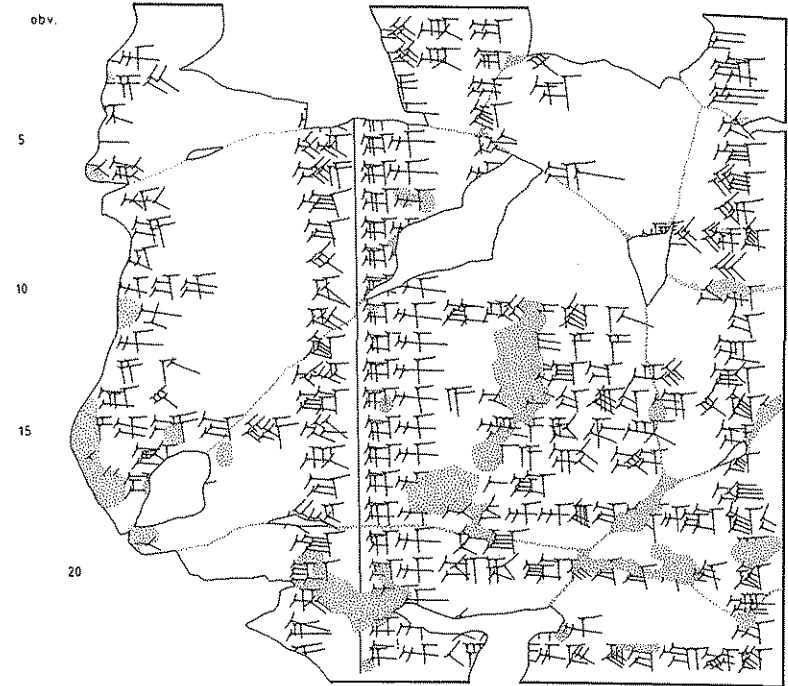
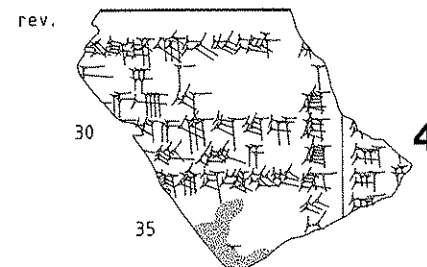
VAT 441

1 x



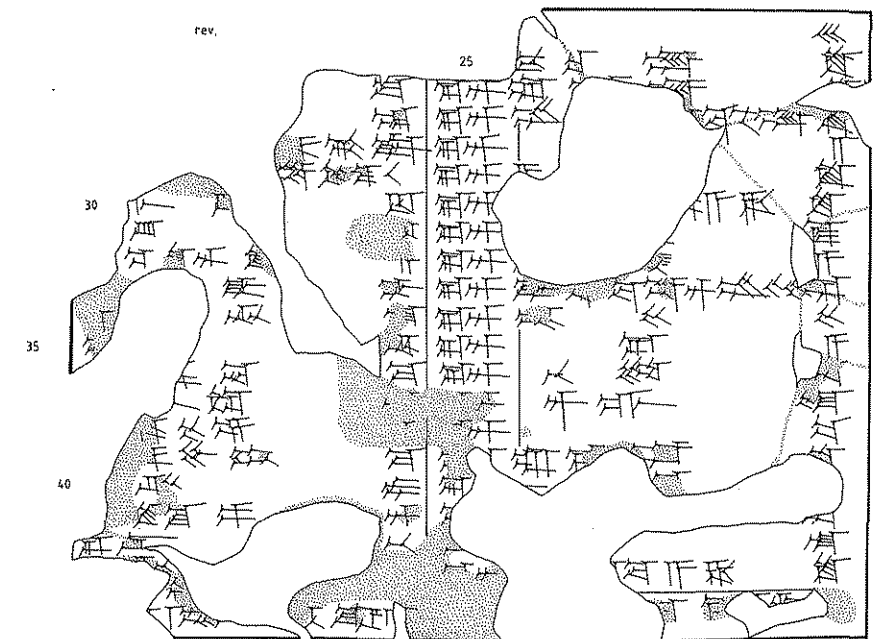
1 e

BM 34927
Sp II 444



BM 46279
81-7-28, 4

m



i

BM 40480

81-4-28, 19

rev.

obv.

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top edge

v

Ash. Mus. 1924-846

obv.

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rev.

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BM 59579

82-7-14, 3989

n

obv.

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rev.

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BM 77013

83-1-18, 2388-2435

rev.

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sup. ras.

kk

BM 76884

AH 83-1-18, 2256

Tintir IV 35

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obv.

Tintir IV 12

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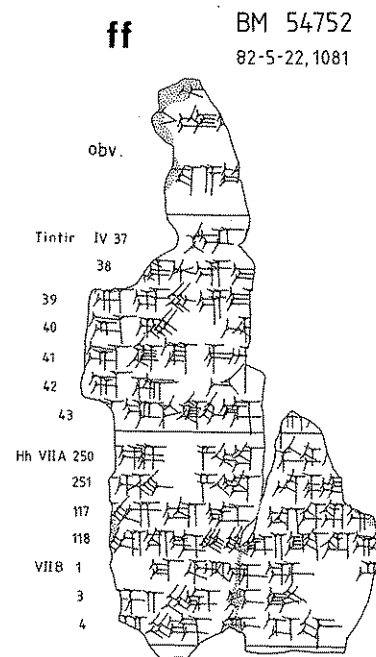
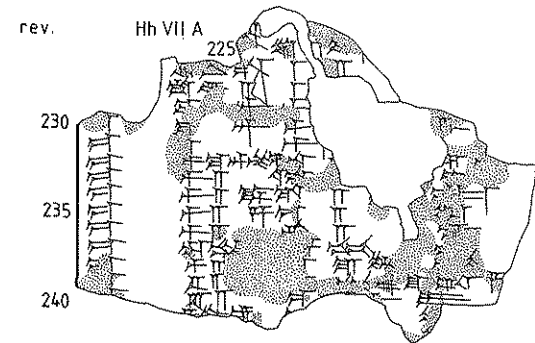
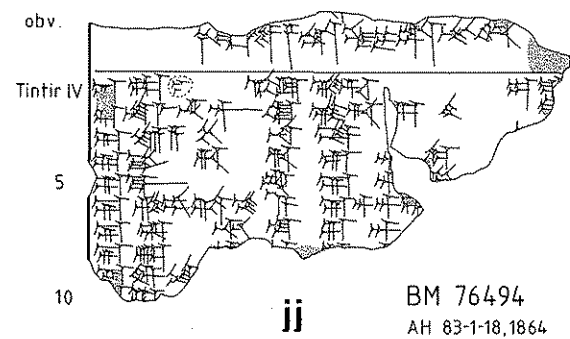
16

17

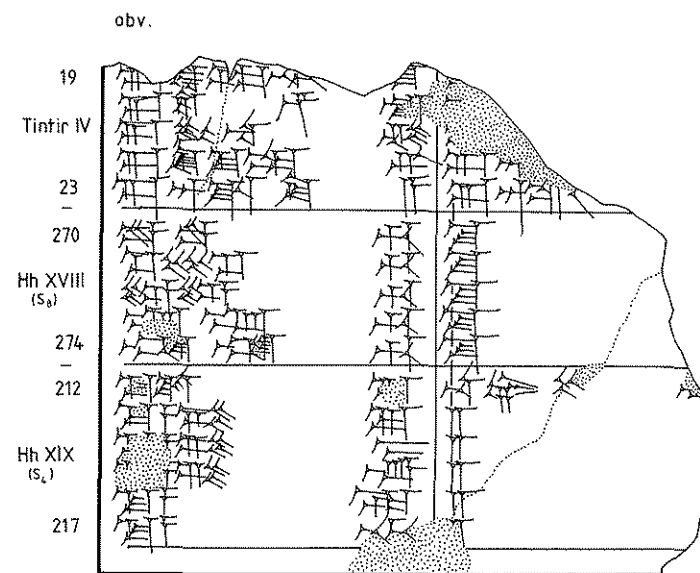
rev.

BM 82897

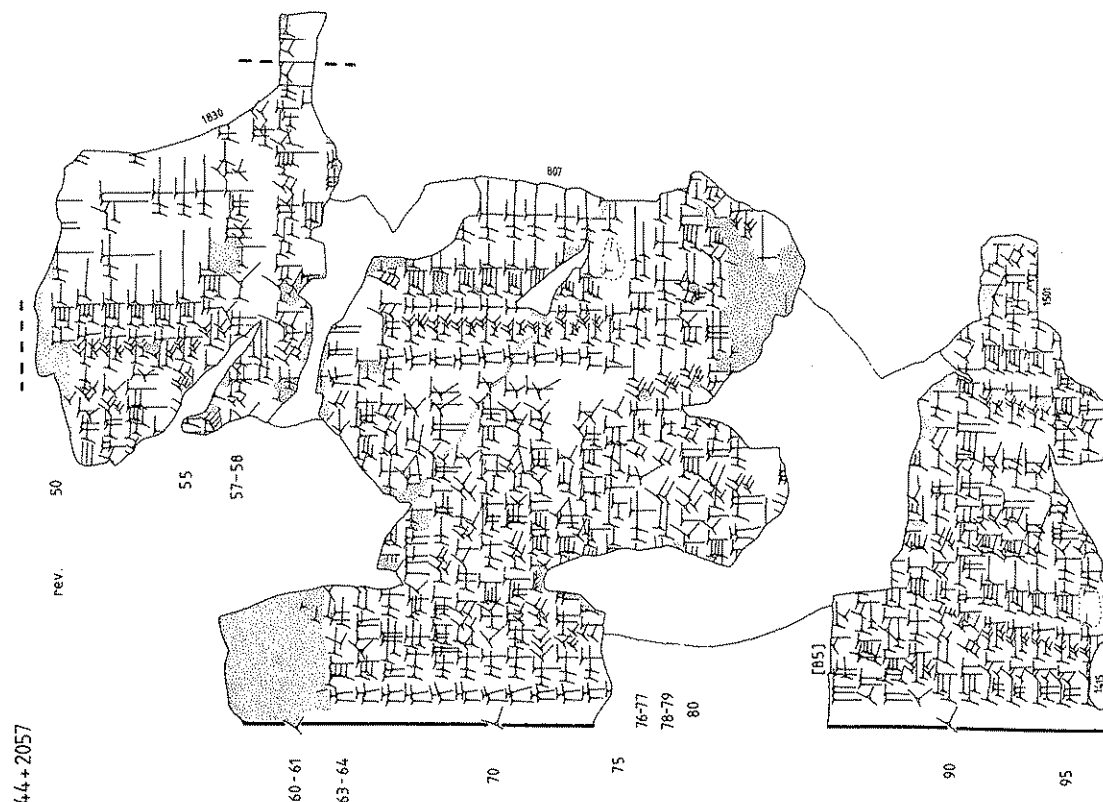
83-1-21, 60



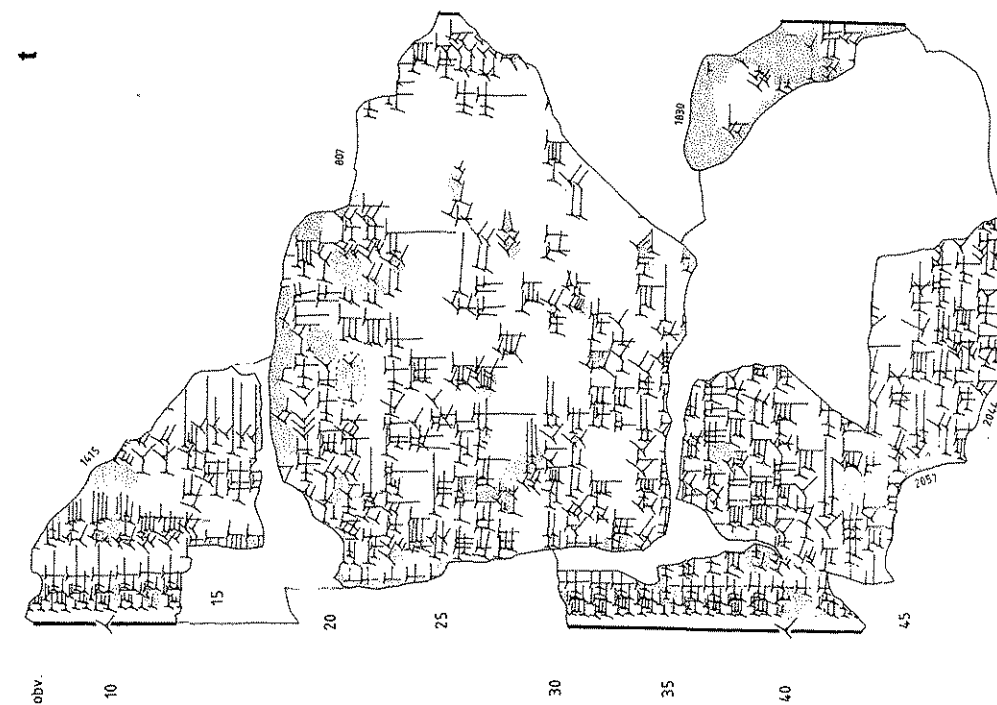
mm Ash. Mus. 1924-1365

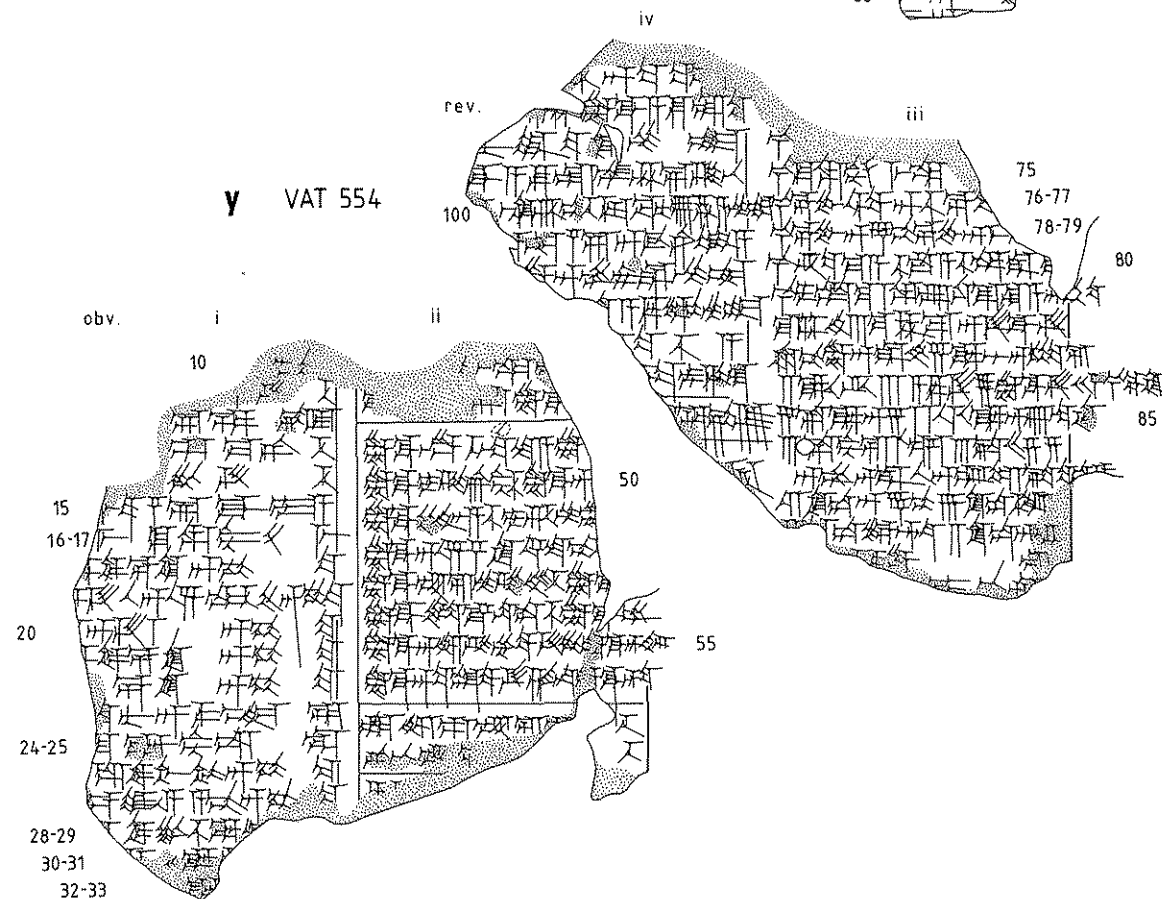
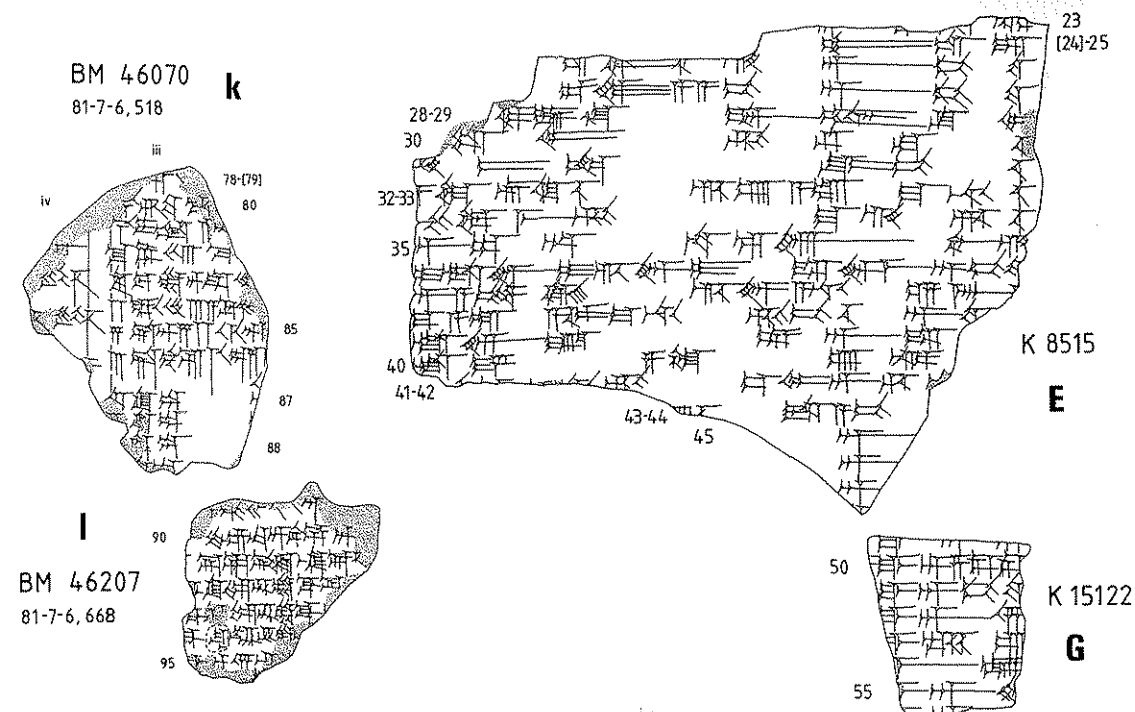
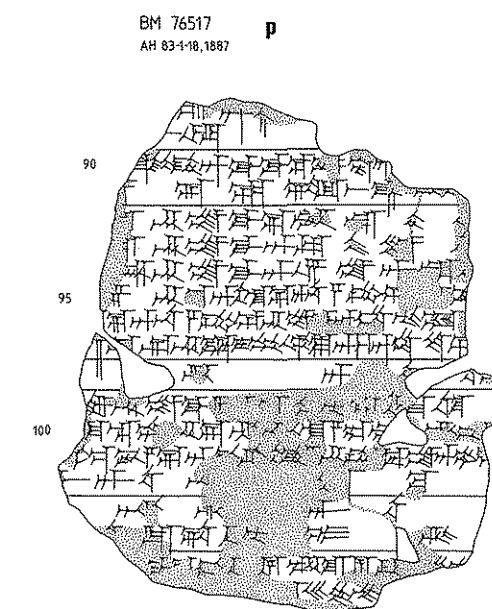
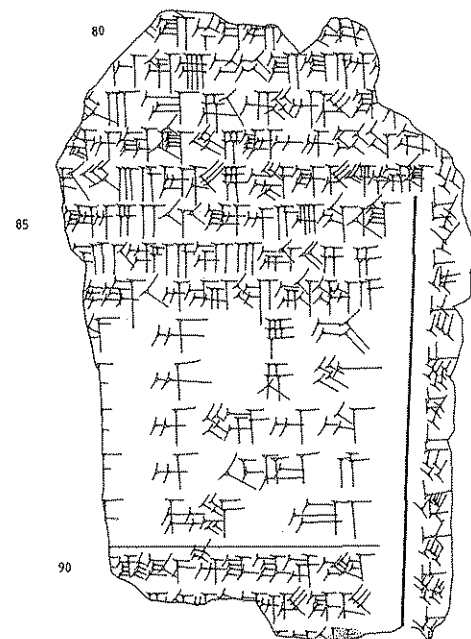
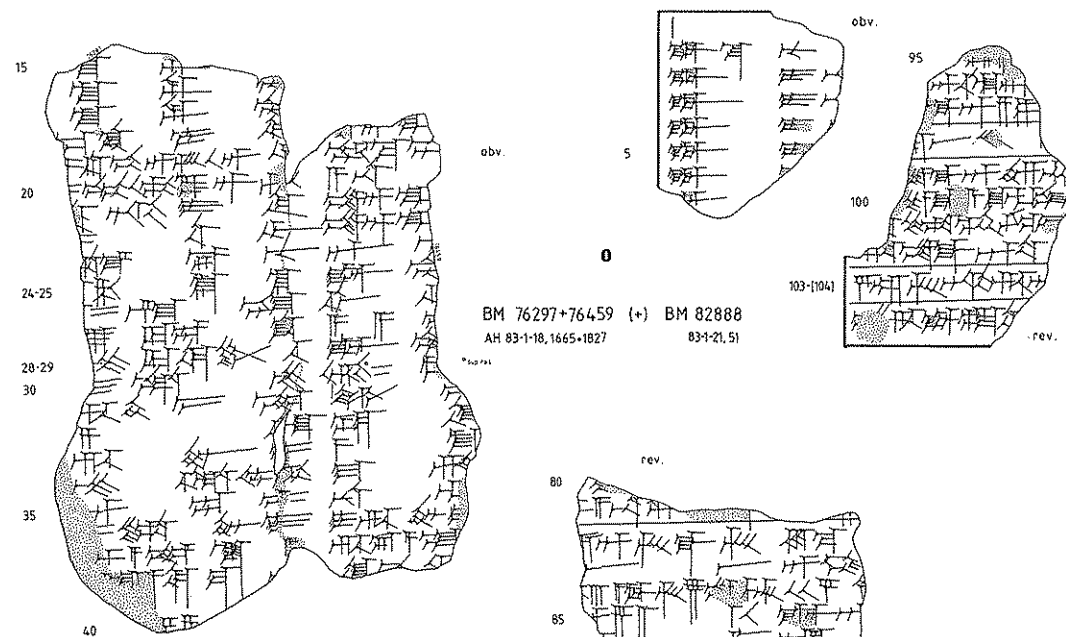


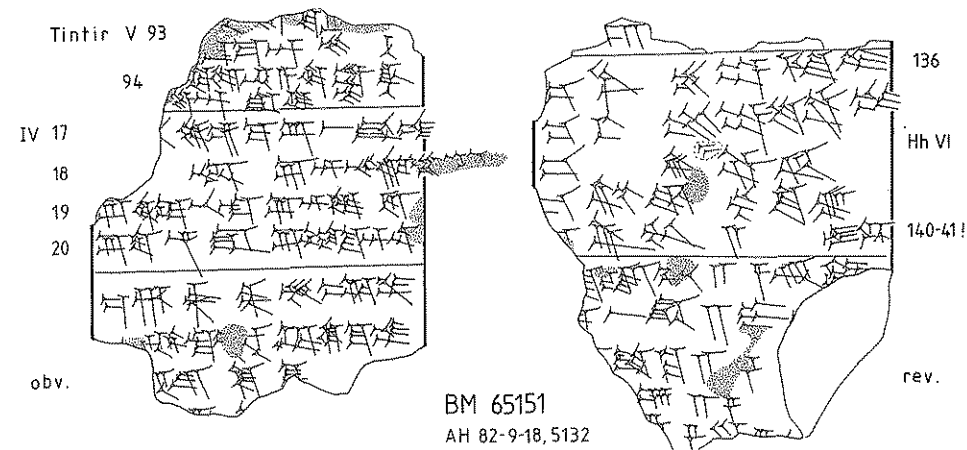
(rev.: a few detached signs & traces only)



Ash. Mus. 1924, 807+1415+1501+1830+2044+2057







top edge

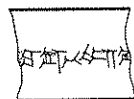


1 gg

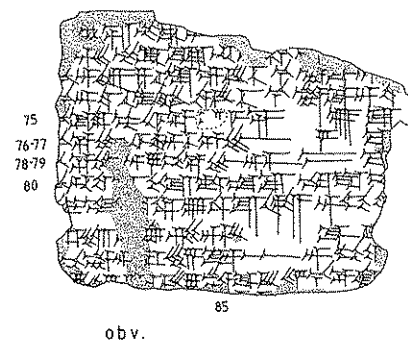
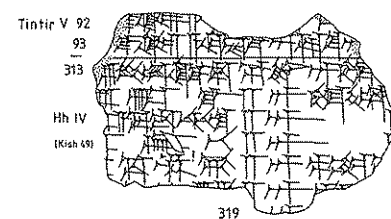
right edge



left edge



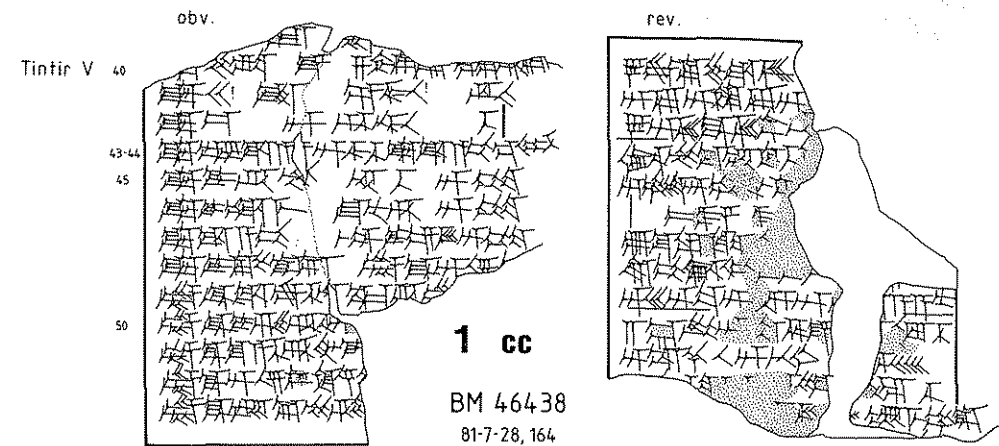
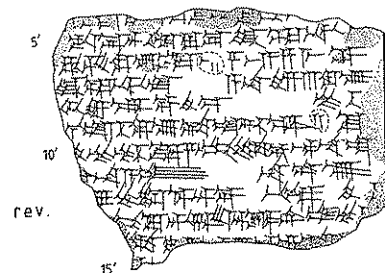
1 nn Ash. Mus. 1930-354 l



1 d

BM 34878

Sp II 385

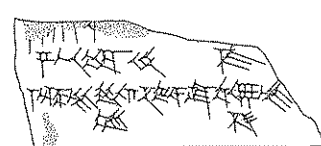


2

obv.

rev.

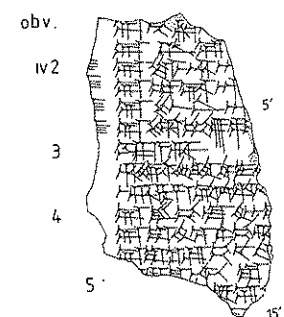
Rm 788



3

BM 34850

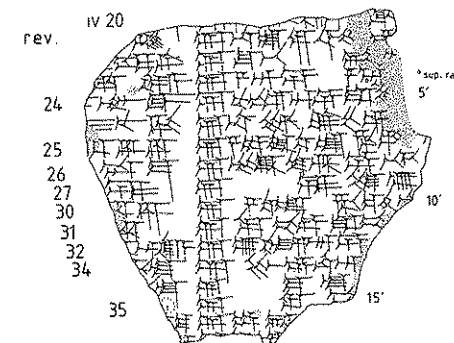
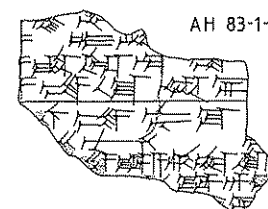
Sp II 354



8

BM 76312

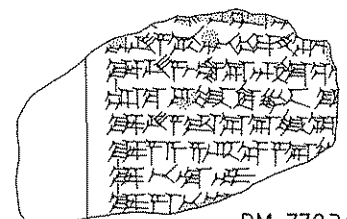
AH 83-1-18, 1680



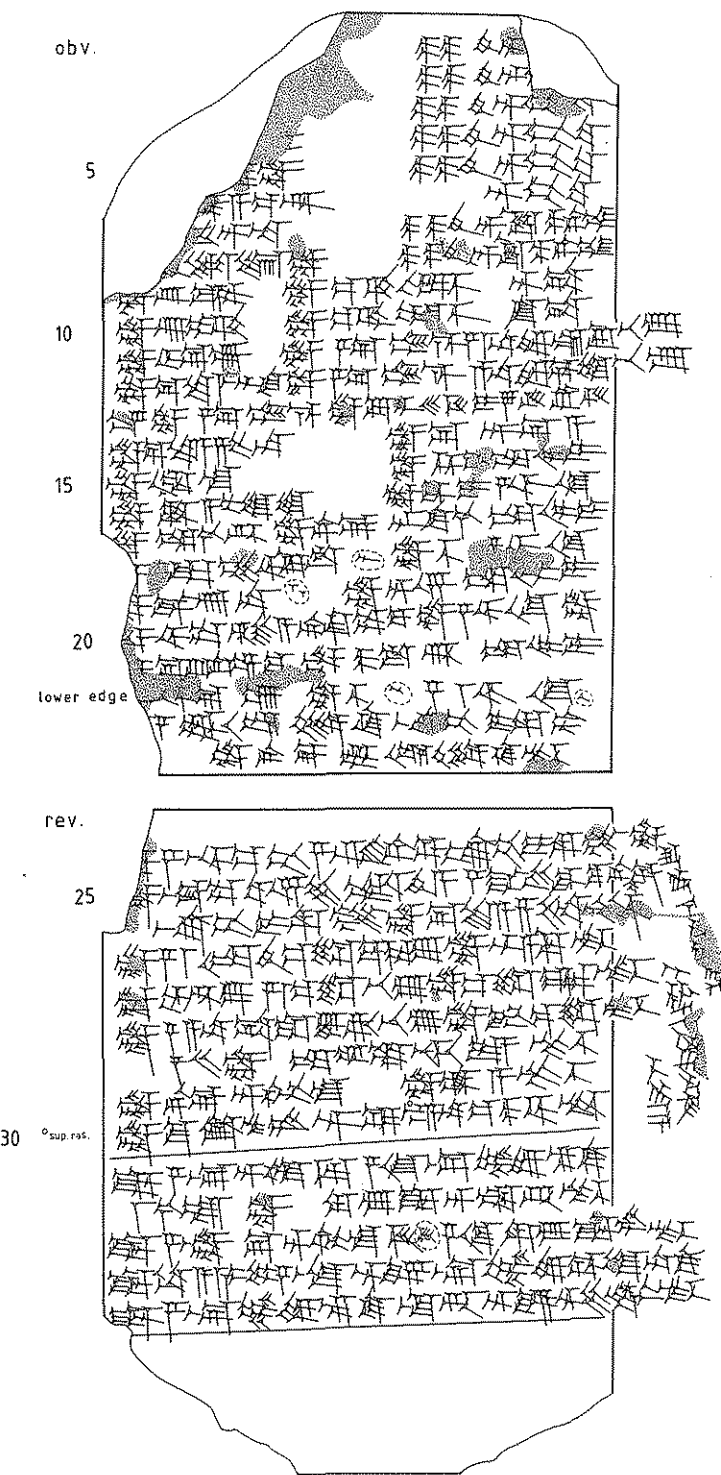
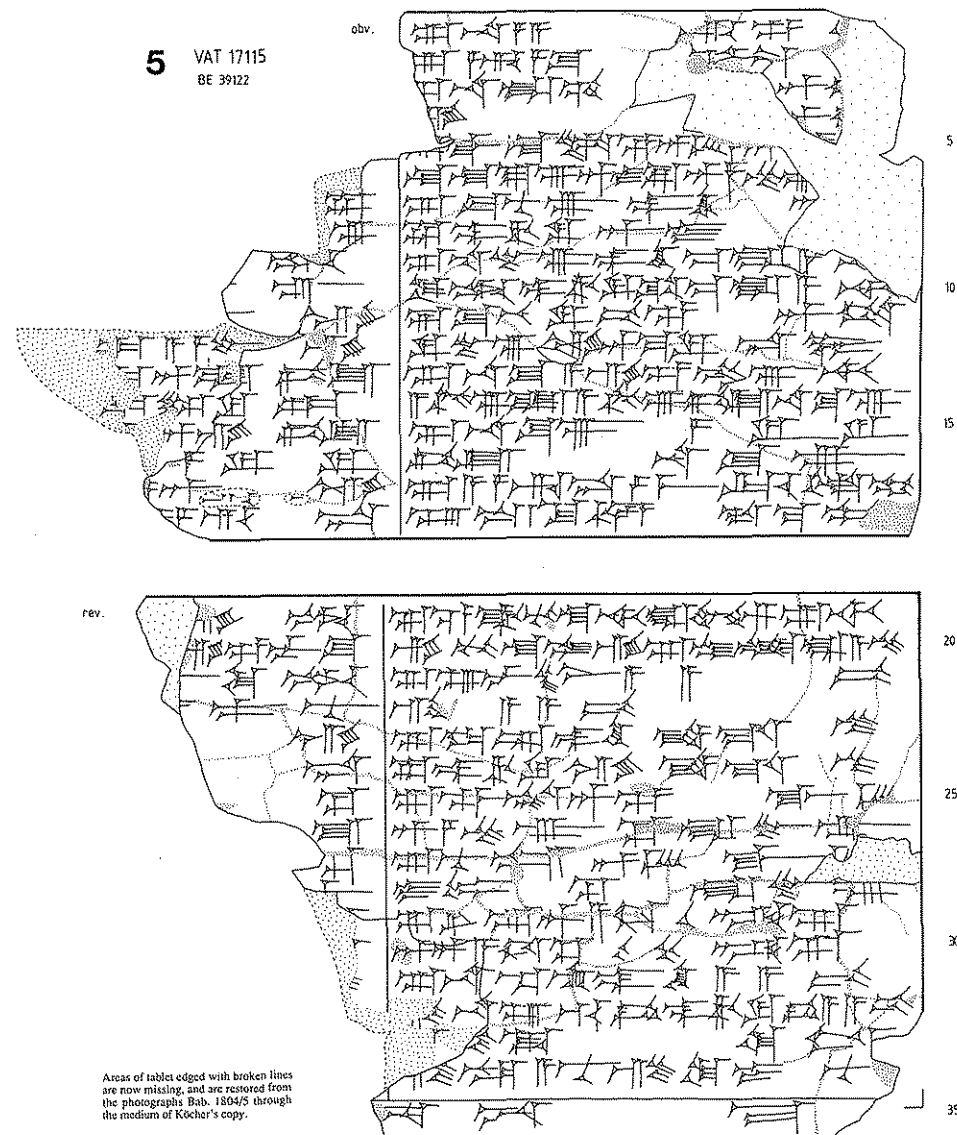
9 b

BM 77236

83-6-30, 16



BM 35046 6
Sp II 578

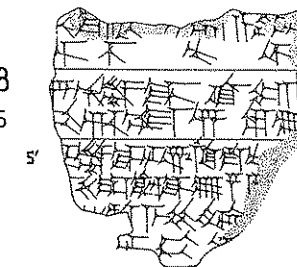




11

BM 41138

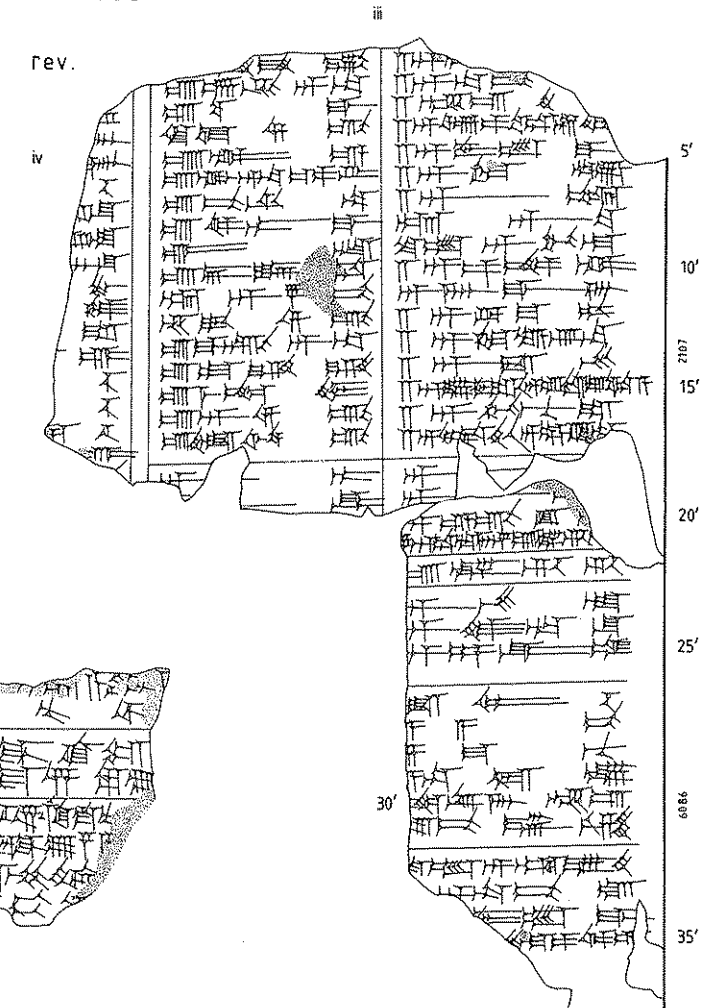
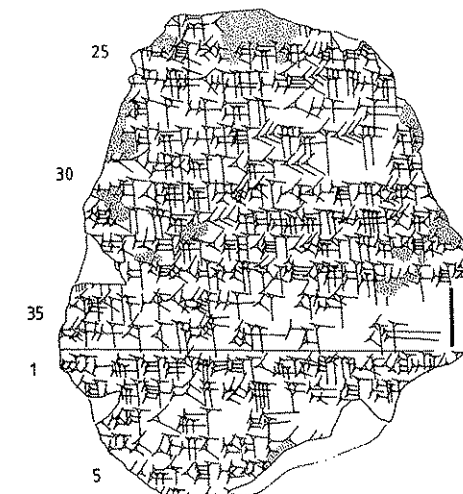
81-4-28, 685



13 b

BM 40813

81-4-28, 359



top edge

obv.

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Handwritten cuneiform text at the top edge of the tablet.

Obverse of the tablet showing cuneiform text in columns. The text is arranged in approximately 15 columns, with some lines being longer than others. The script is a form of Akkadian cuneiform. The tablet is damaged, with some areas missing or heavily eroded, particularly on the right side and bottom.

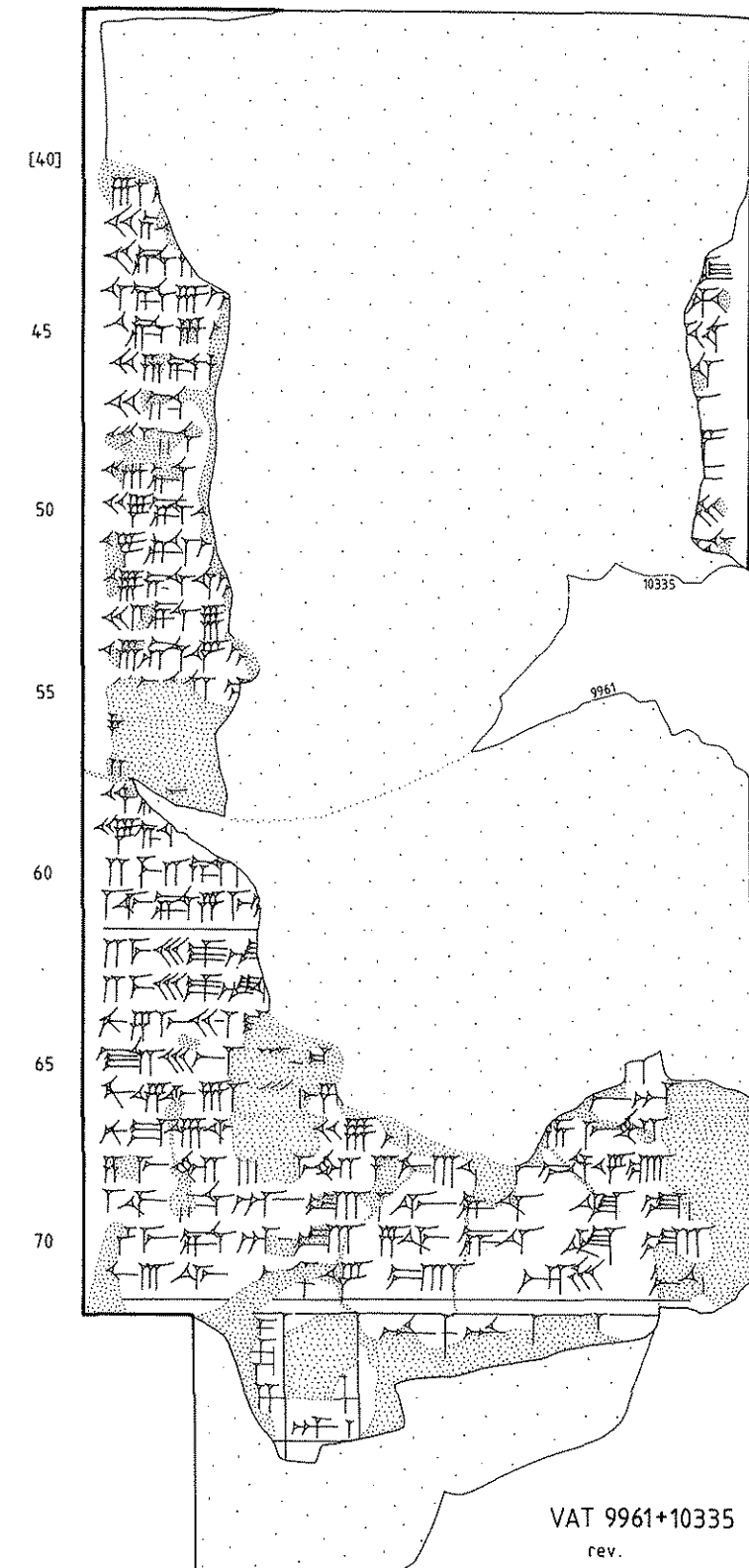
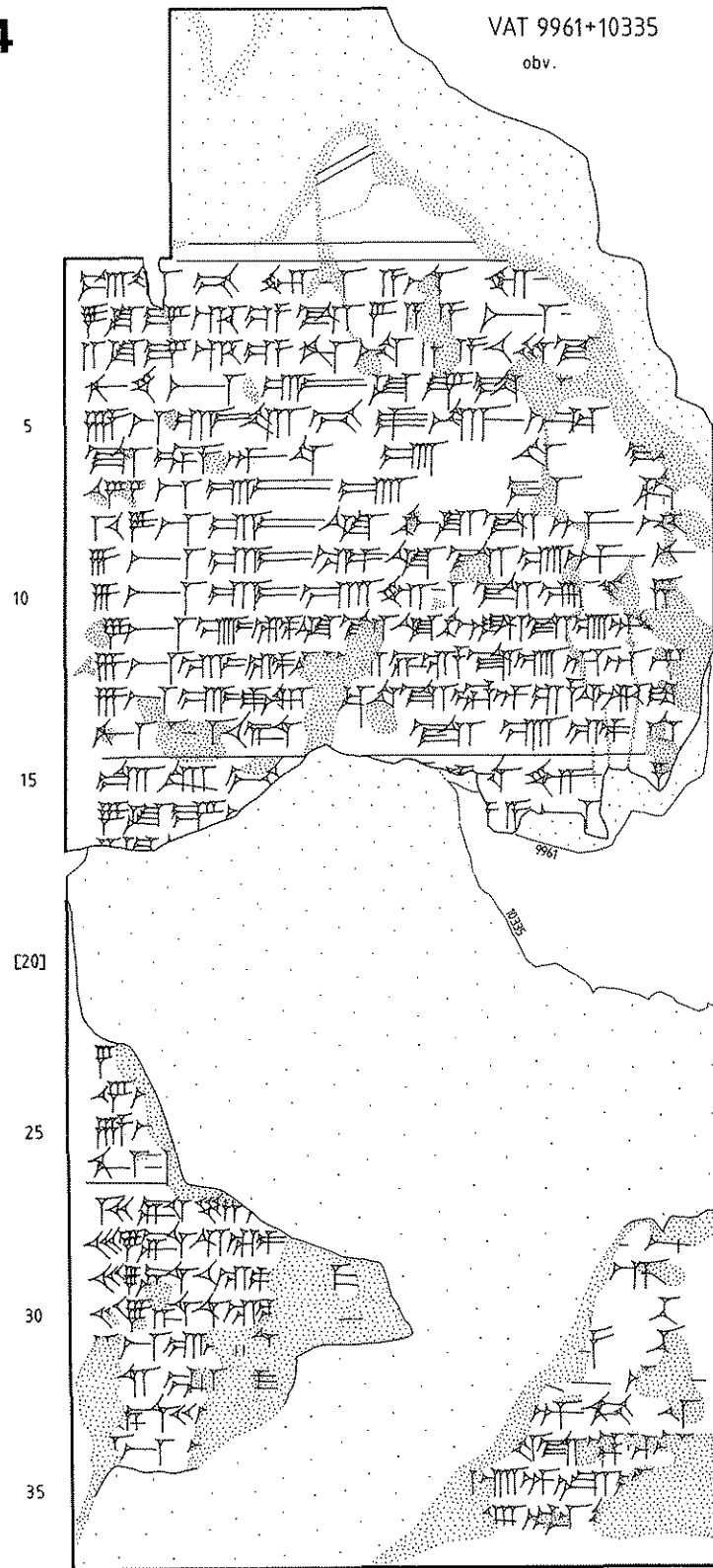
rev.

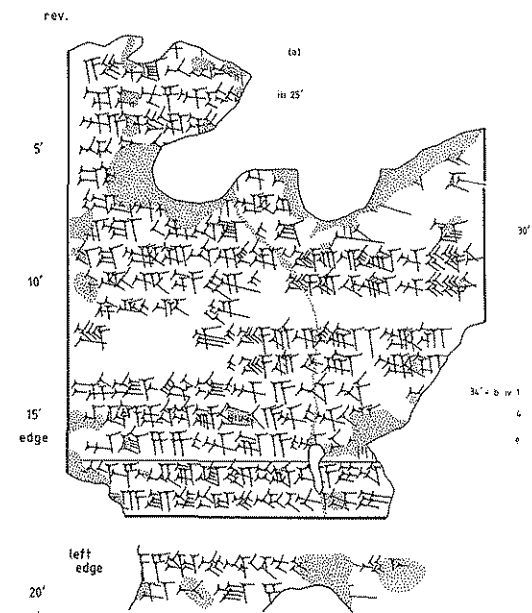
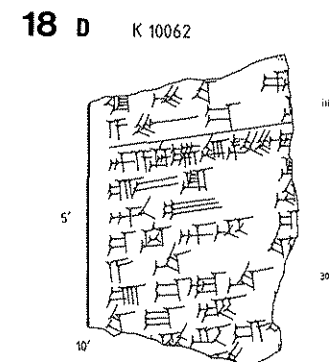
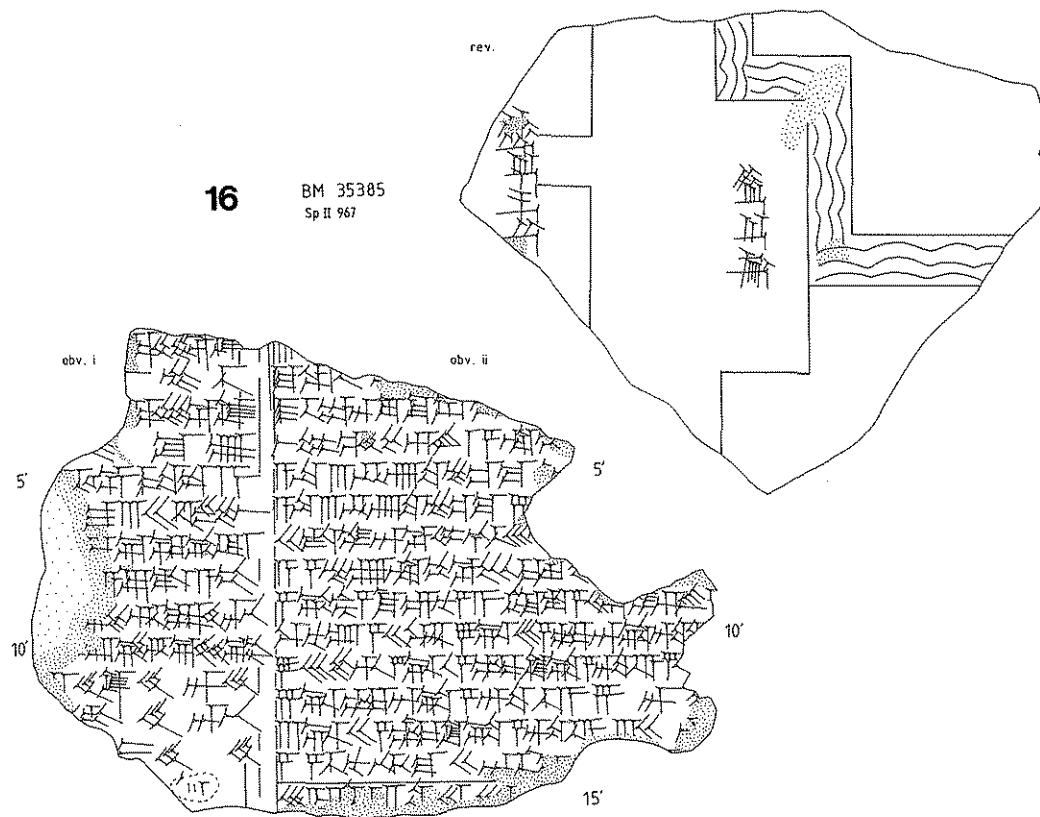
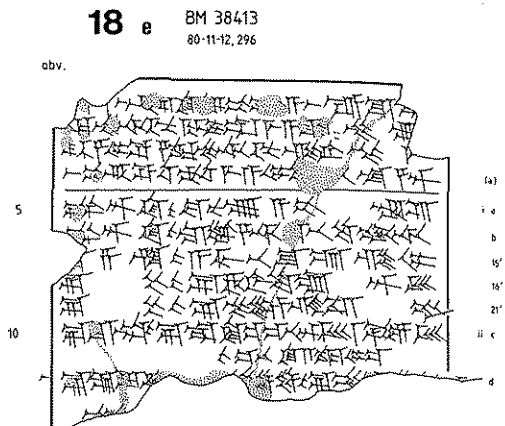
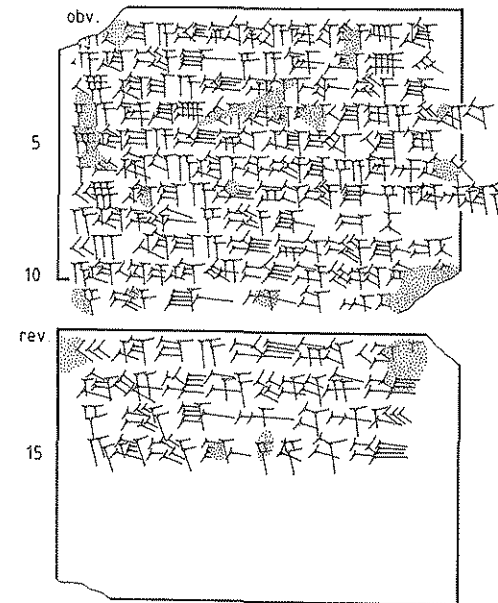
40

45

Reverse of the tablet showing cuneiform text in columns. The text is arranged in approximately 15 columns, with some lines being longer than others. The script is a form of Akkadian cuneiform. The tablet is damaged, with some areas missing or heavily eroded, particularly on the right side and bottom.

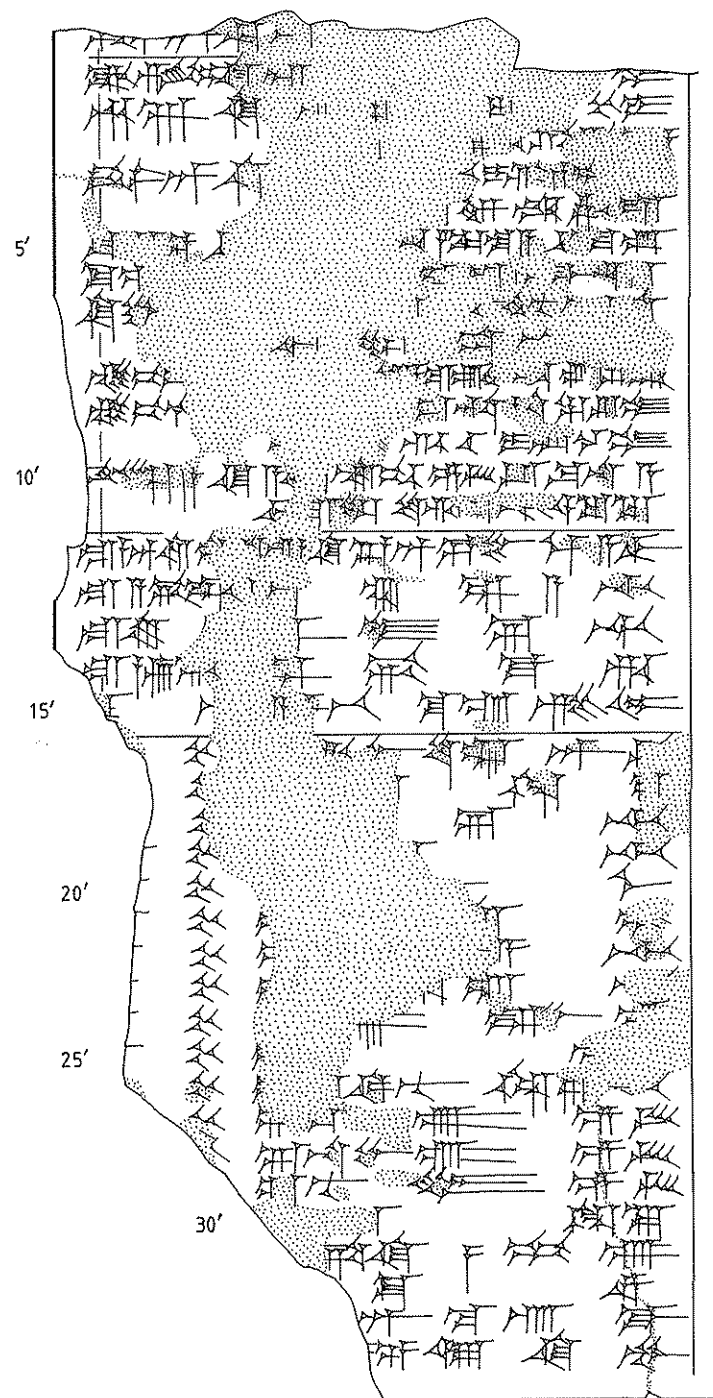
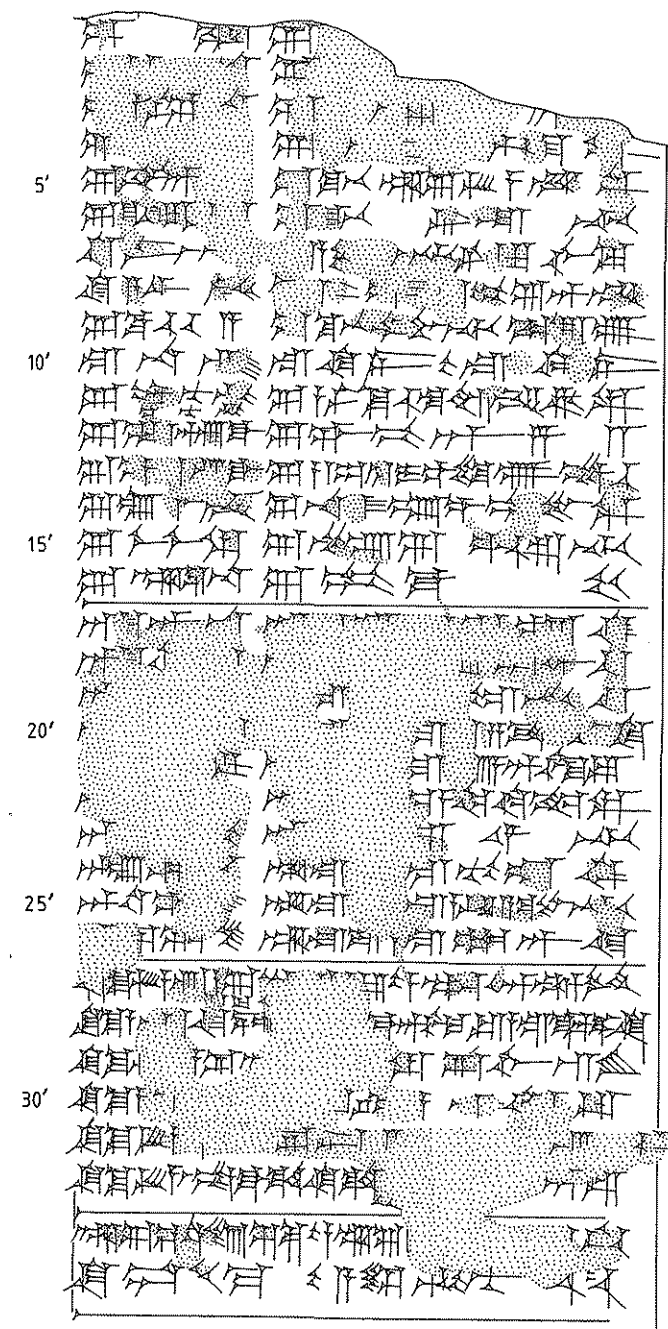
14





IM 44150
col. i

18 a

IM 44150
col. ii

IM 44150
col. iii



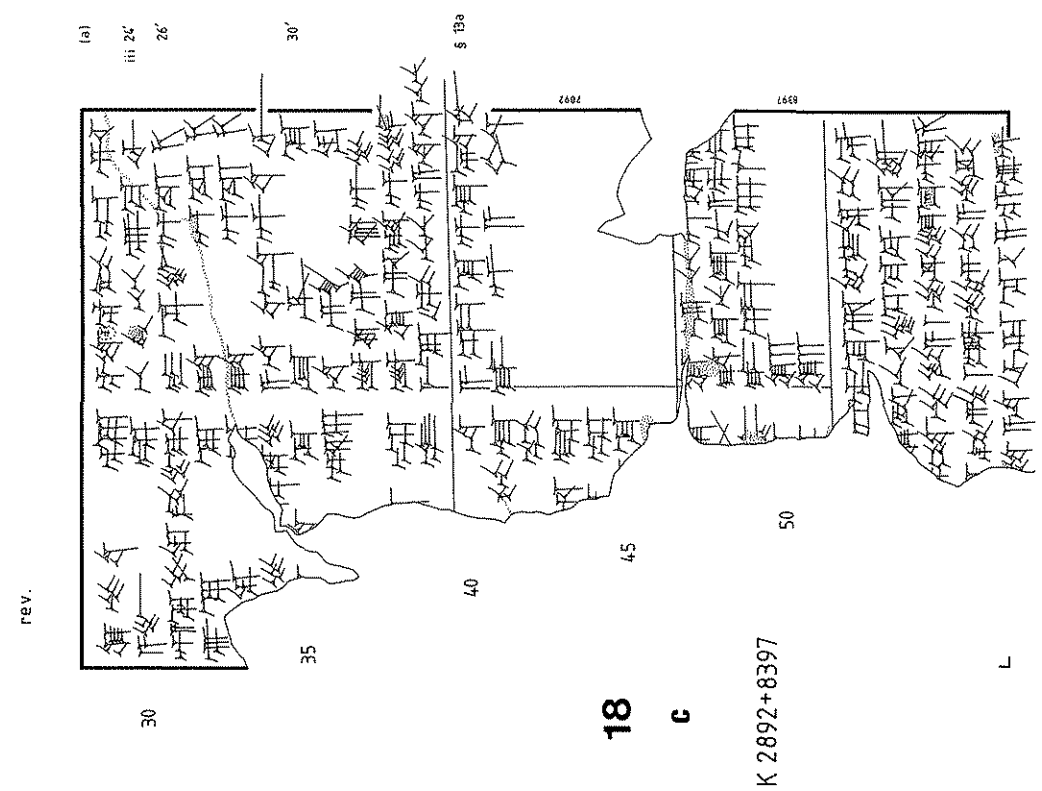
rev.
col. iv

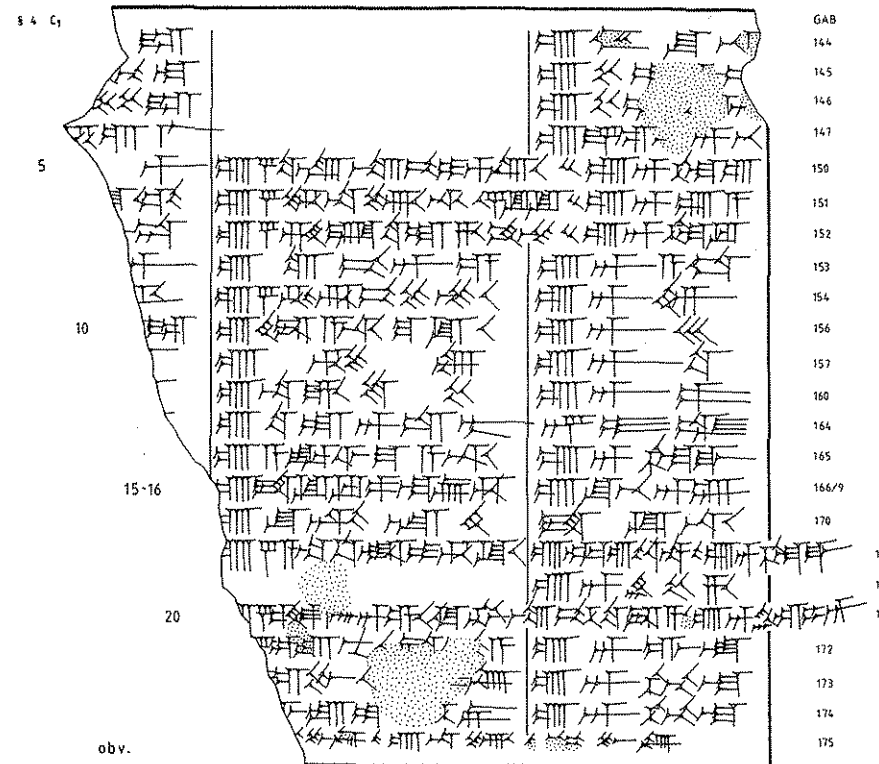


18 b

IM 76975
W 22758/5

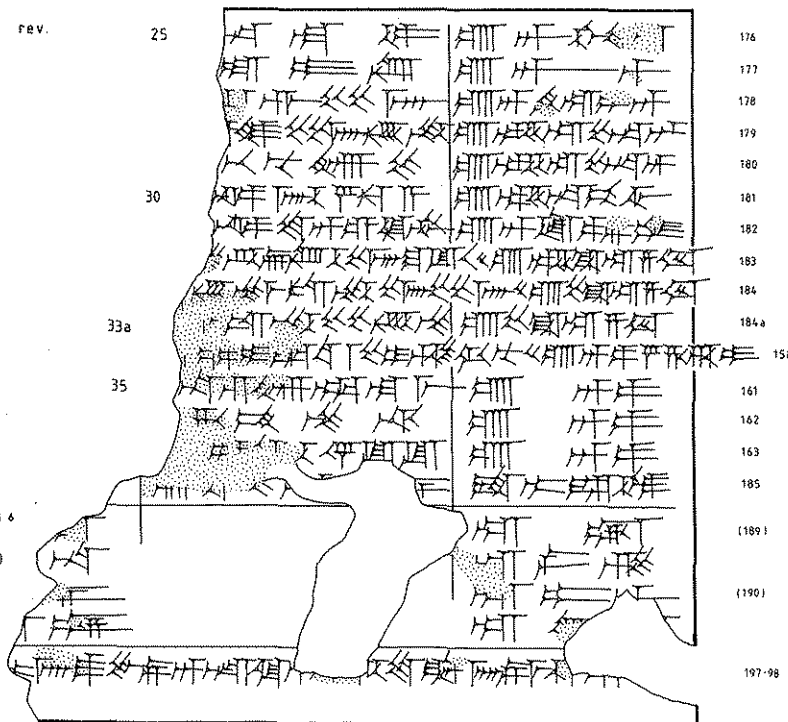






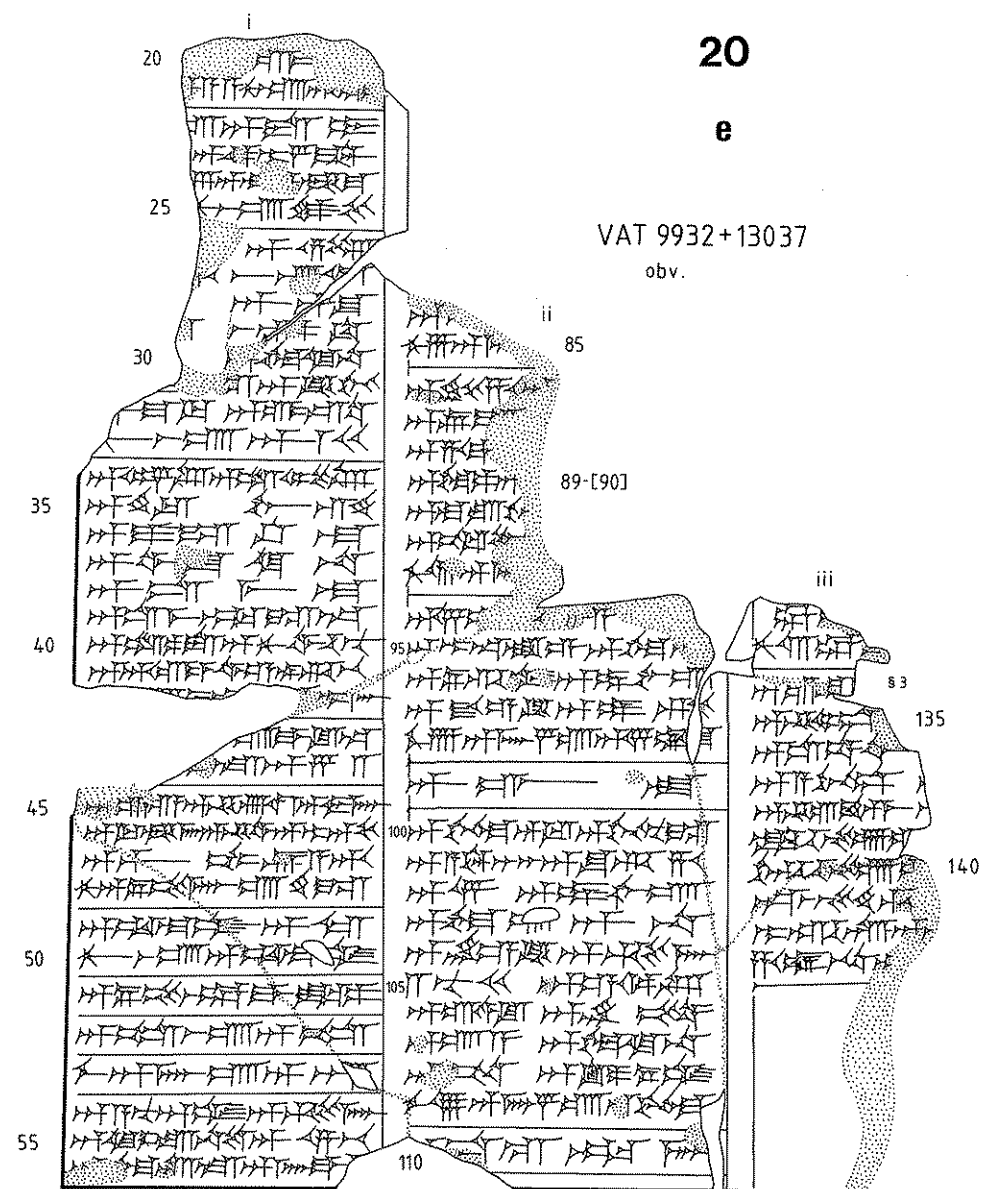
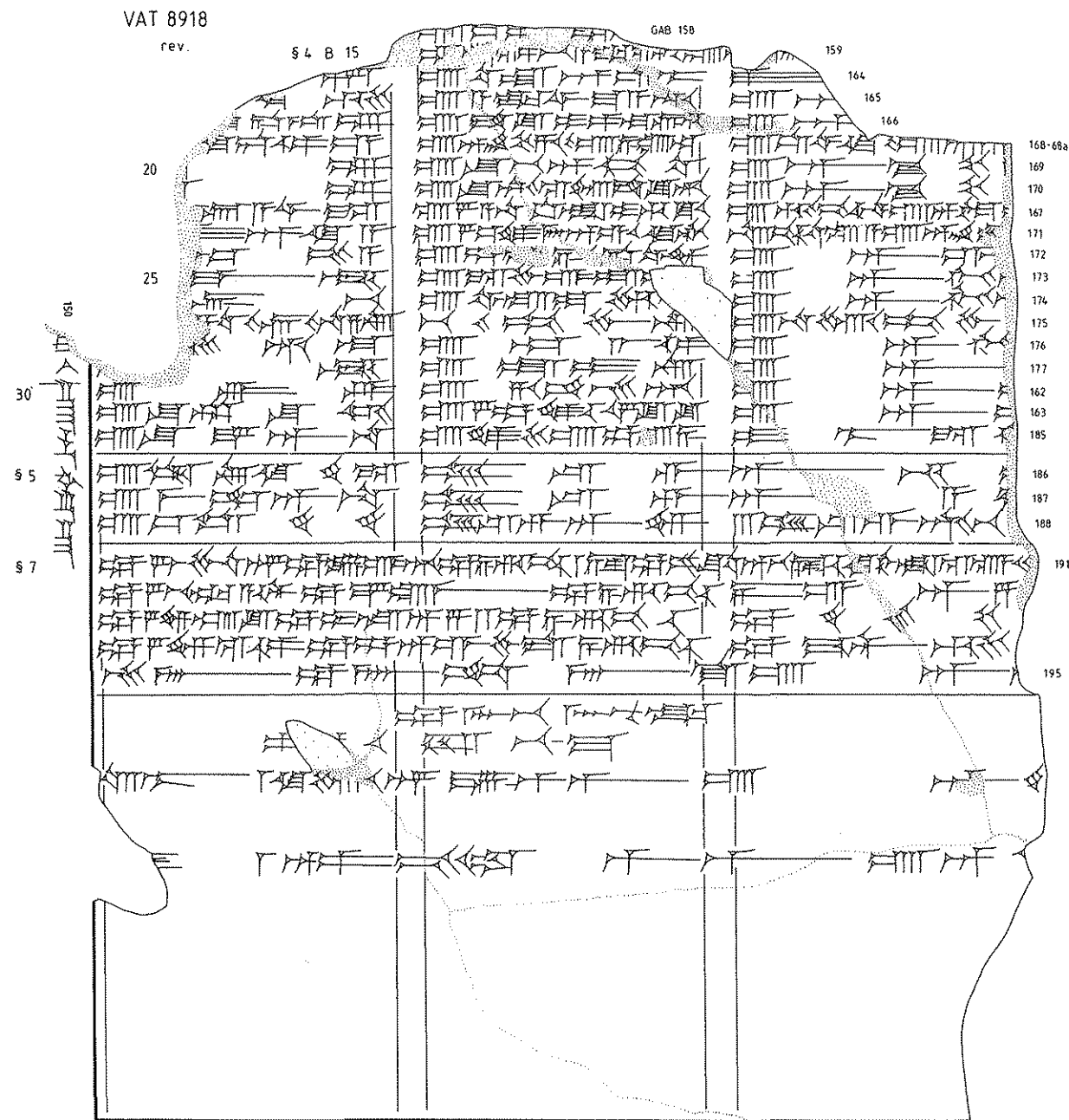
20 B

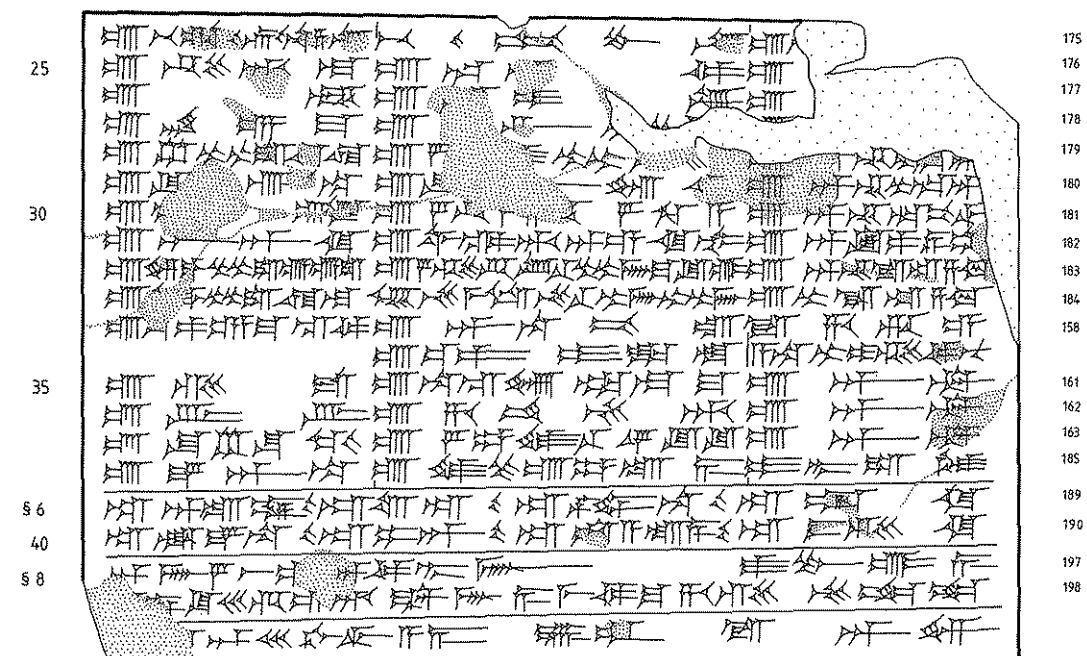
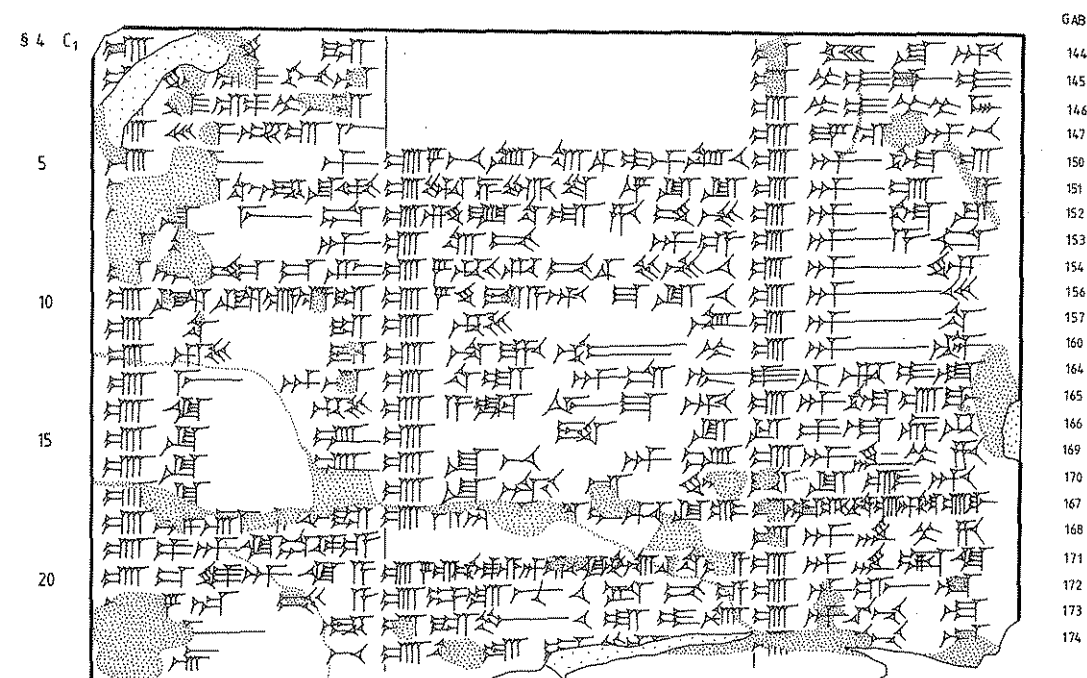
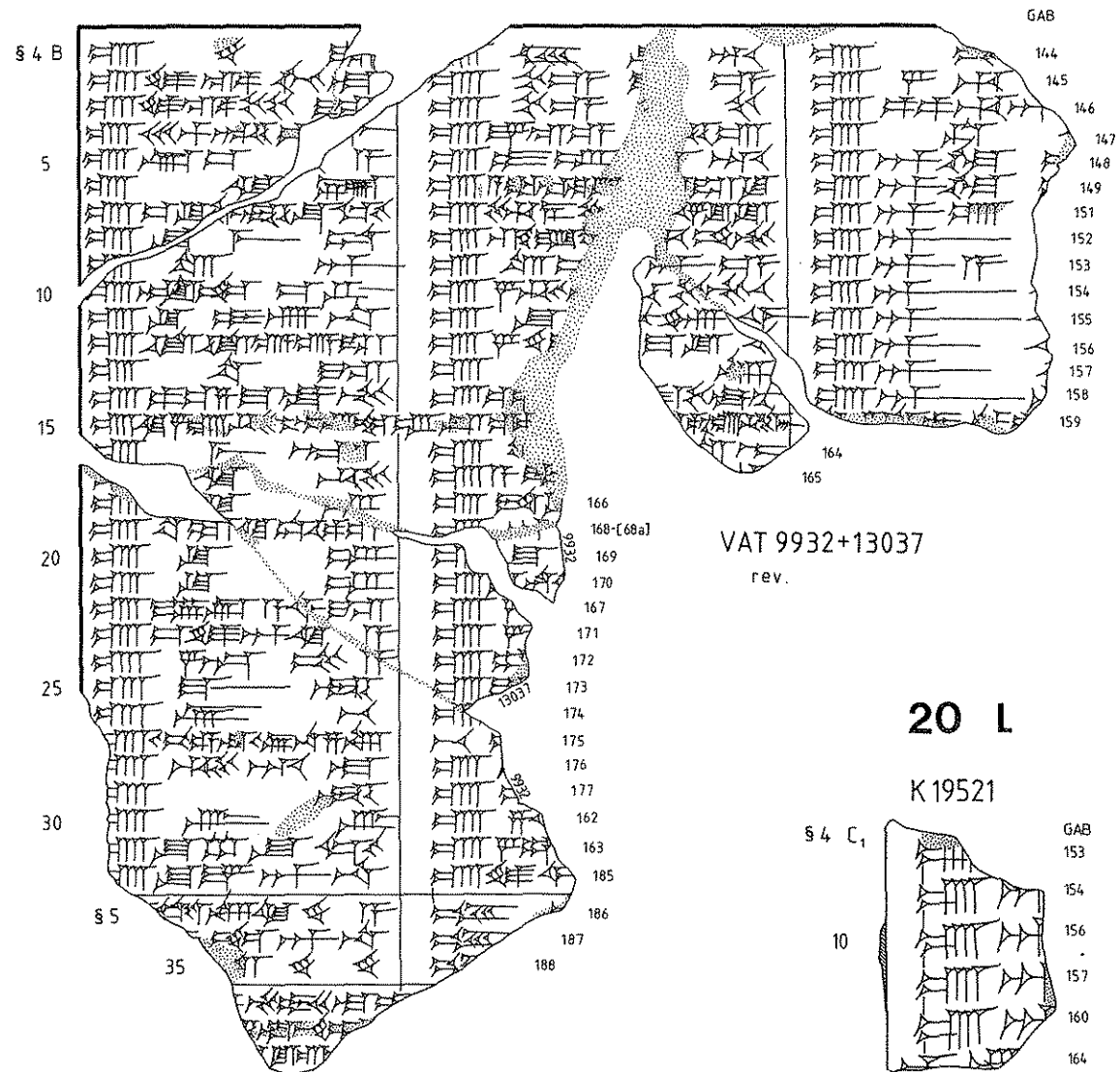
81-2-4, 252

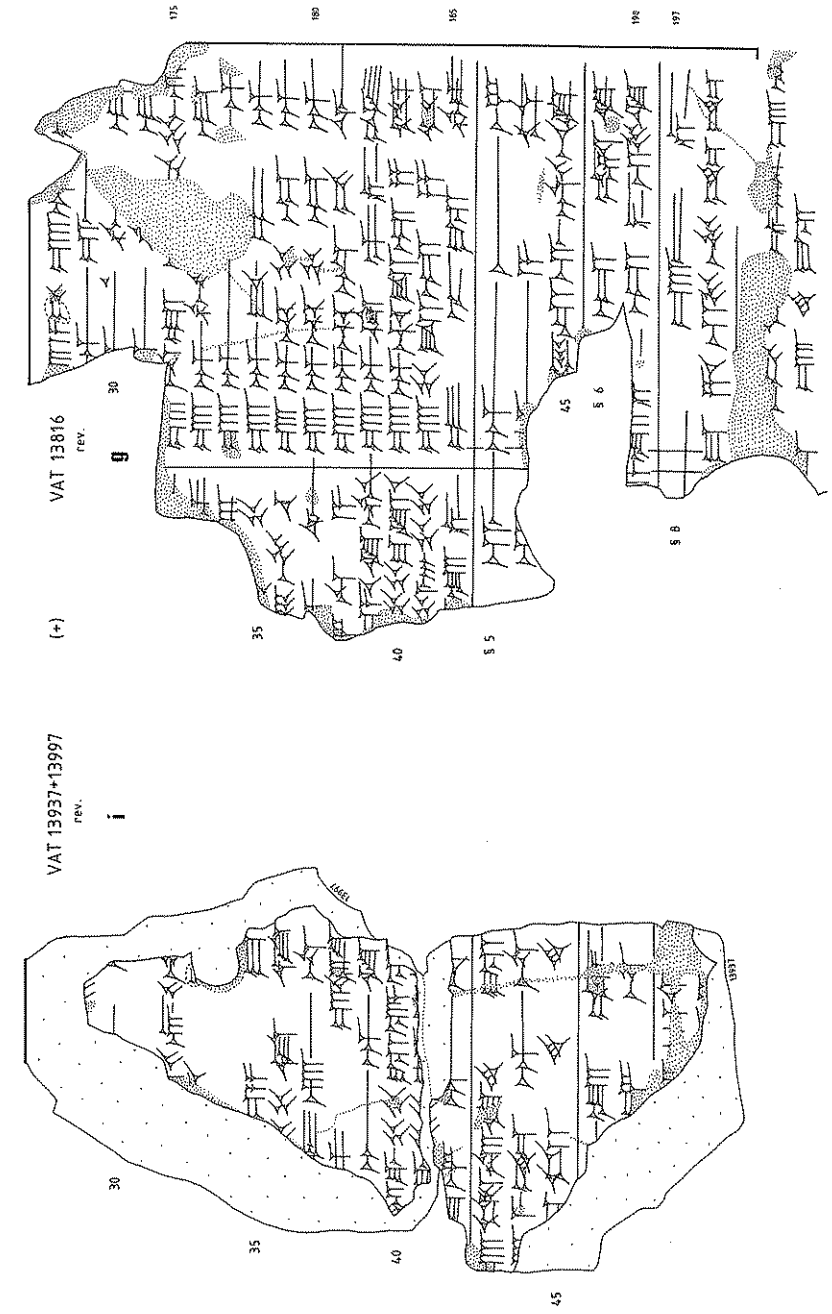
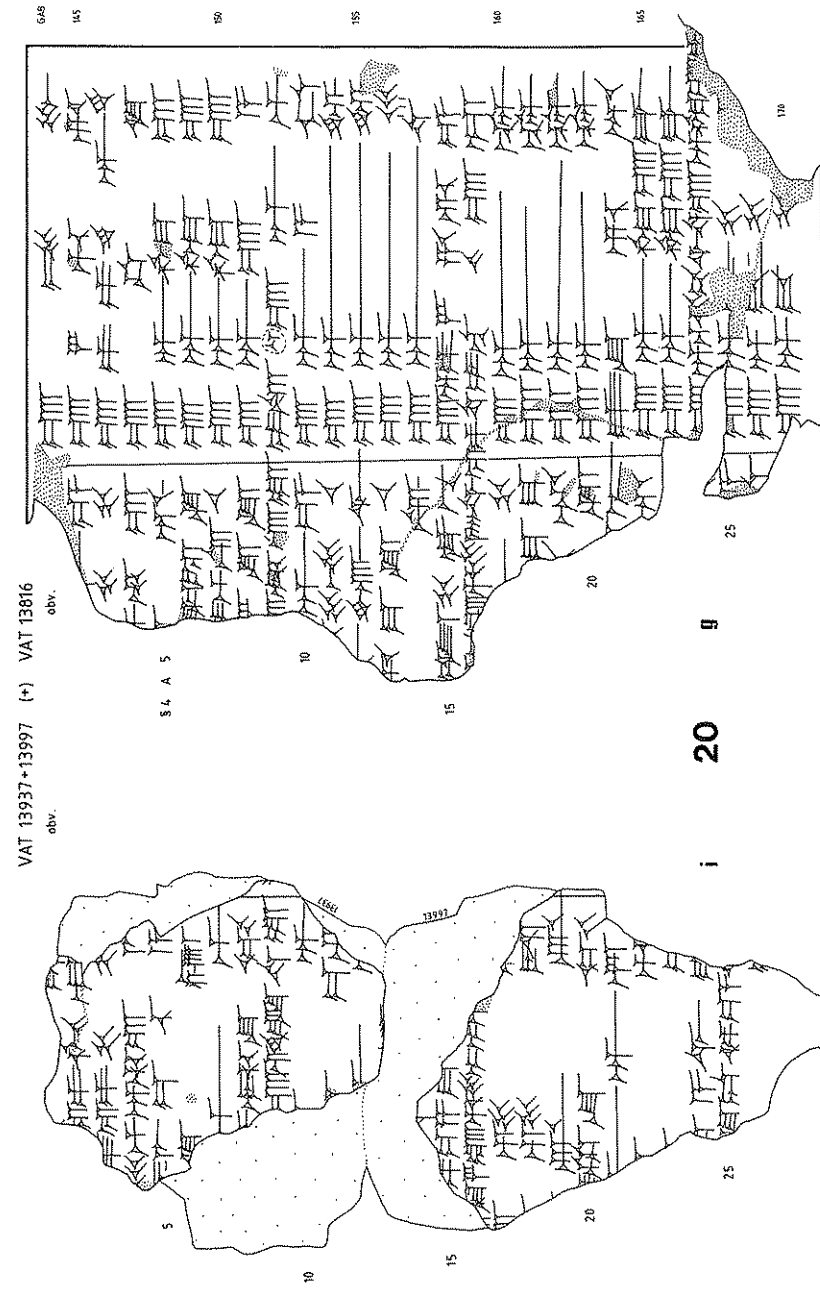


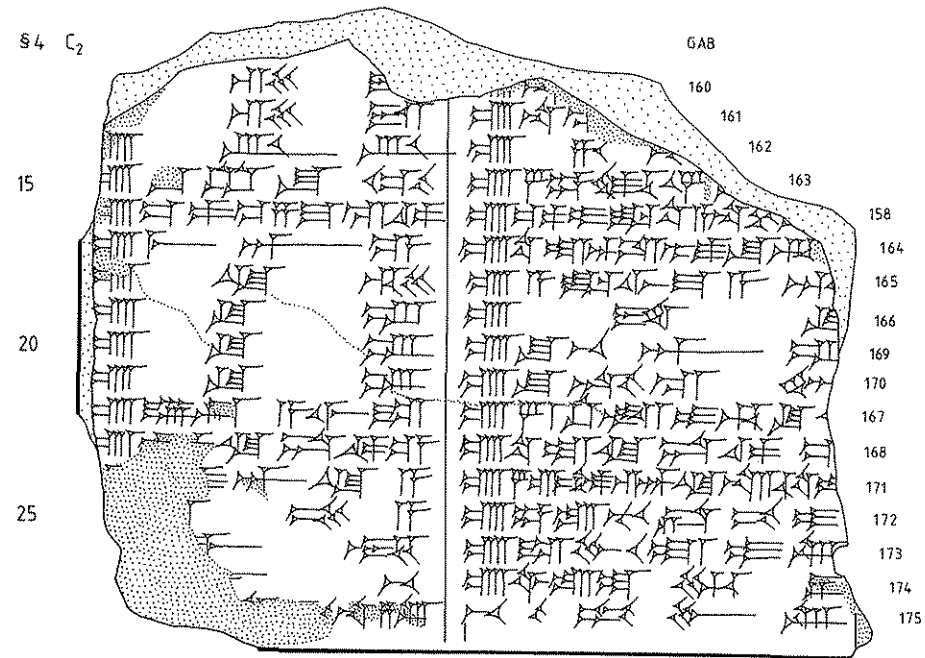
20 d



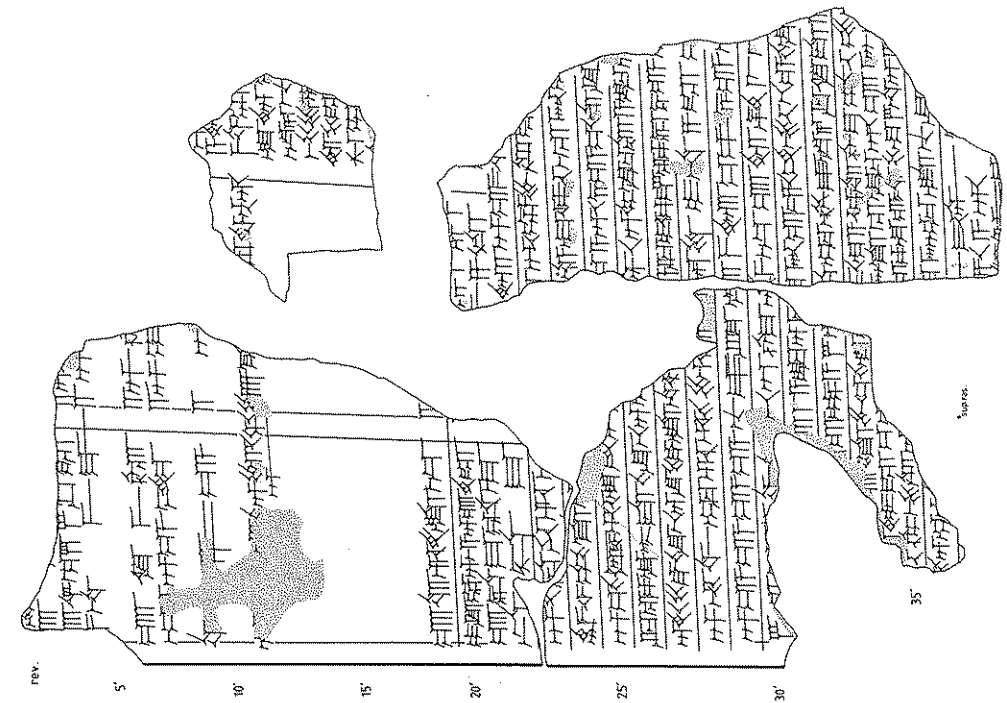
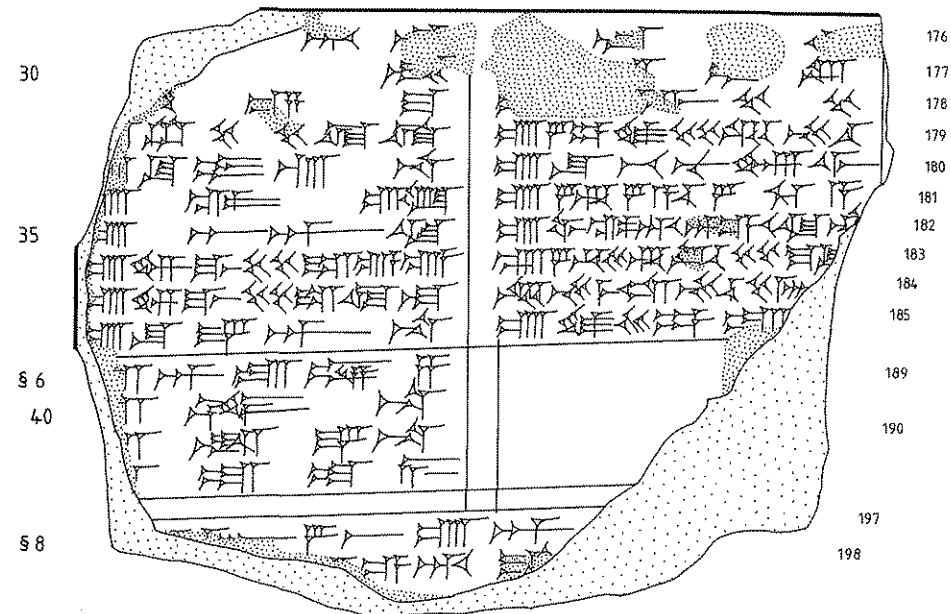






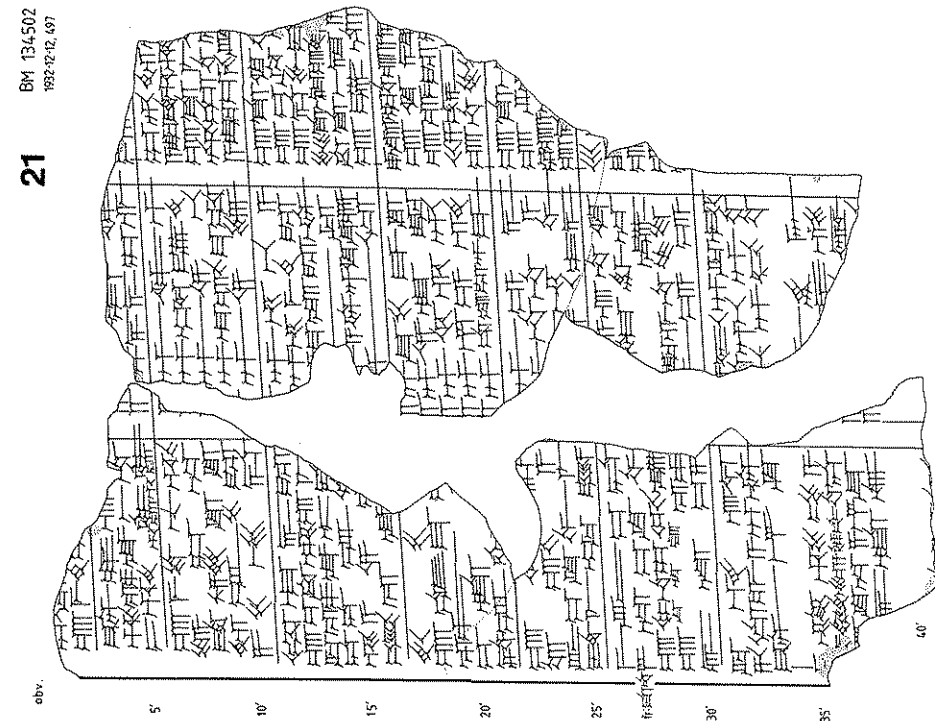


h VAT 13818



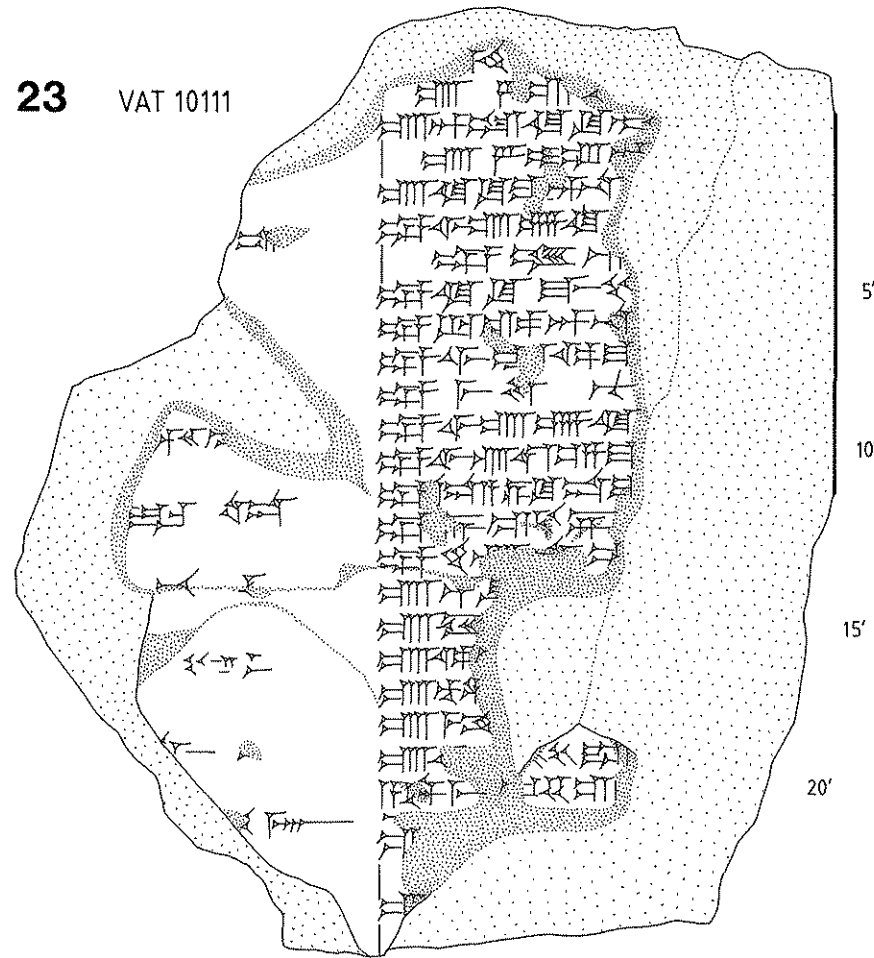
BM 134502
1832-12, 497

21



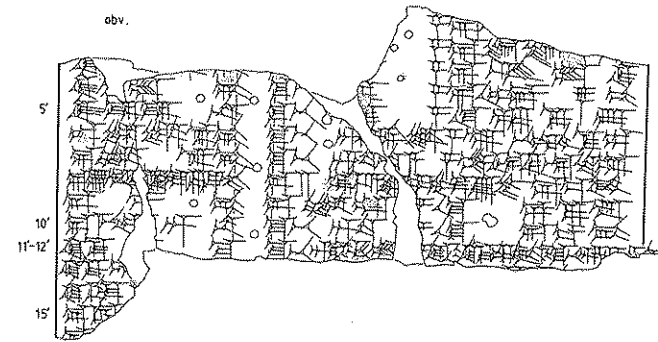
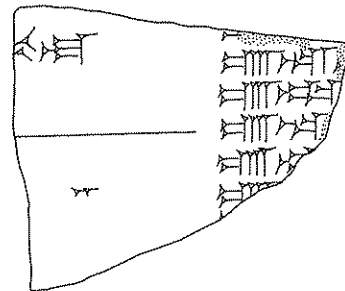
23

VAT 10111

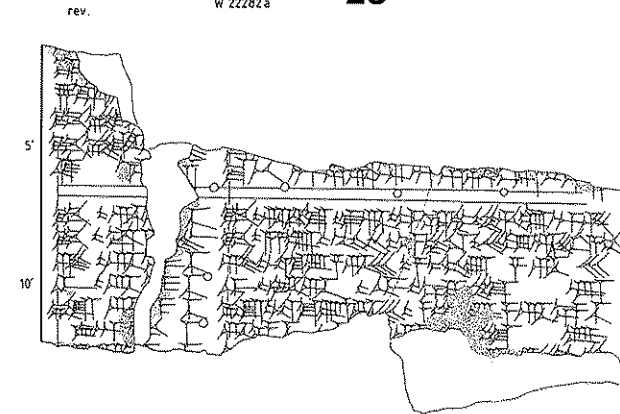


24

VAT 10942

IM 74458
W 22282a

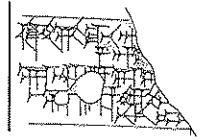
25



UET VII, 136

26b

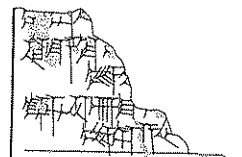
obv. 4'-8'



UET VII, 139

26c

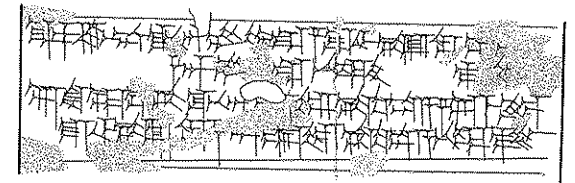
obv. 1'-5'



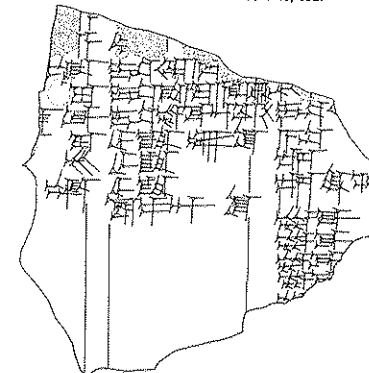
UET VII, 127

26a

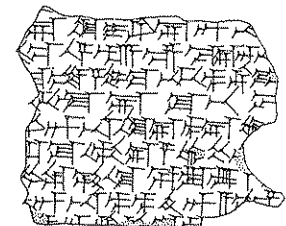
obv. 8'-11'

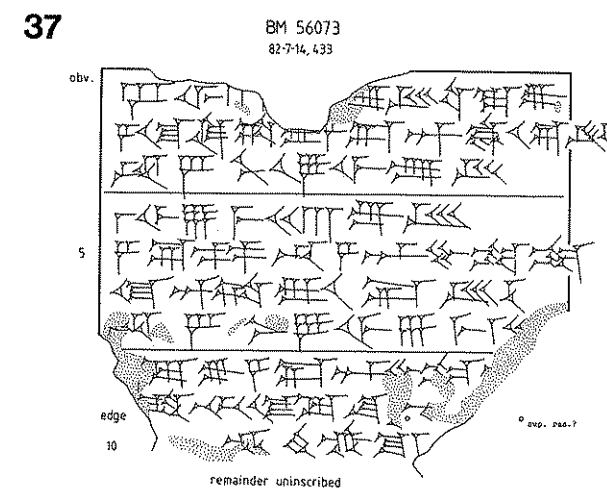
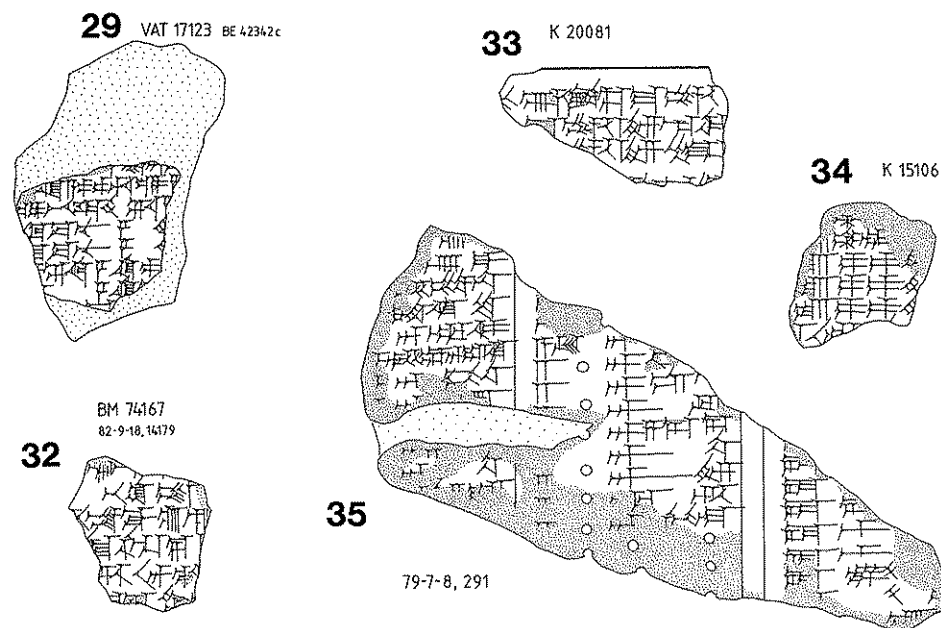
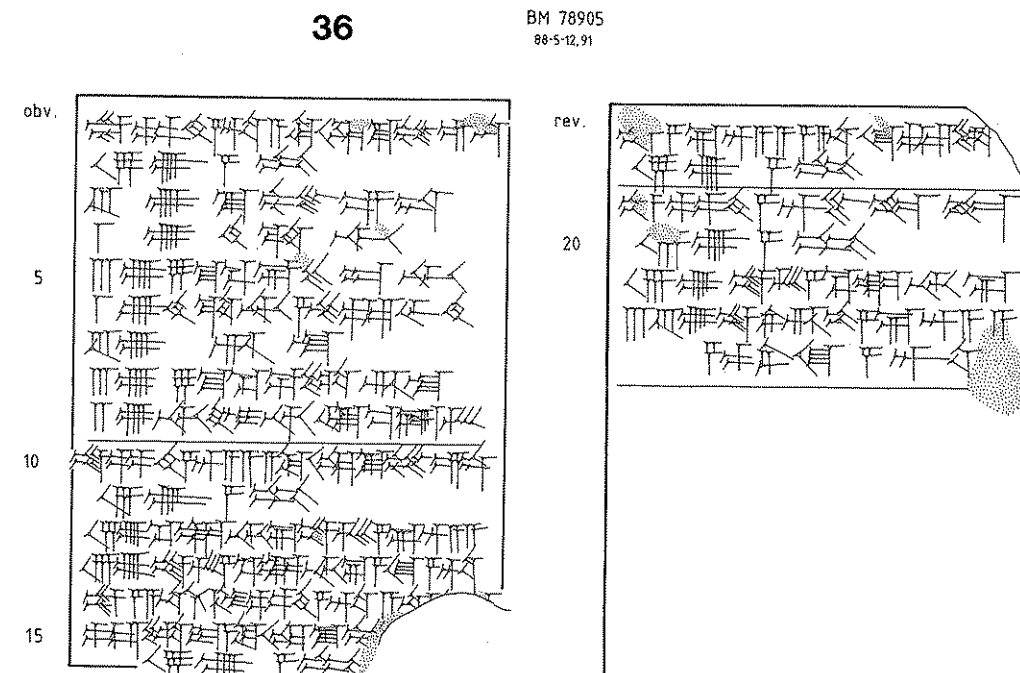


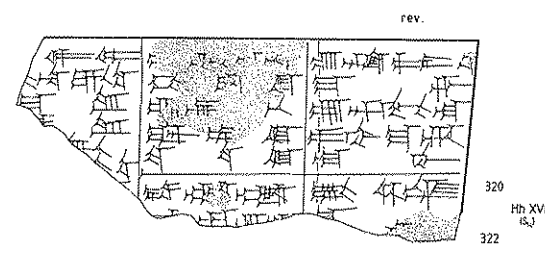
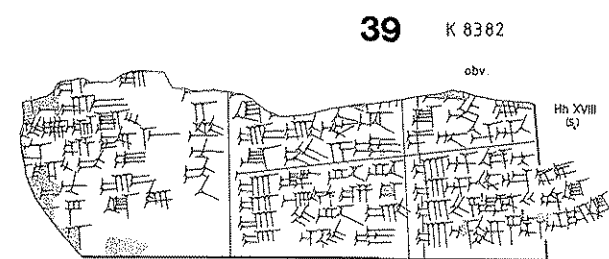
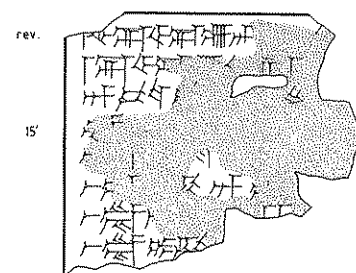
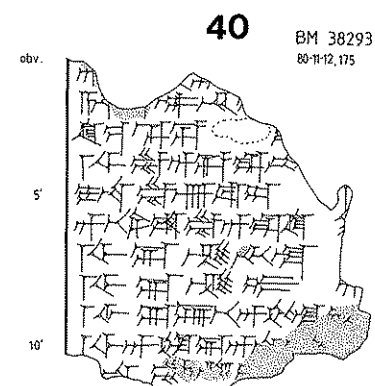
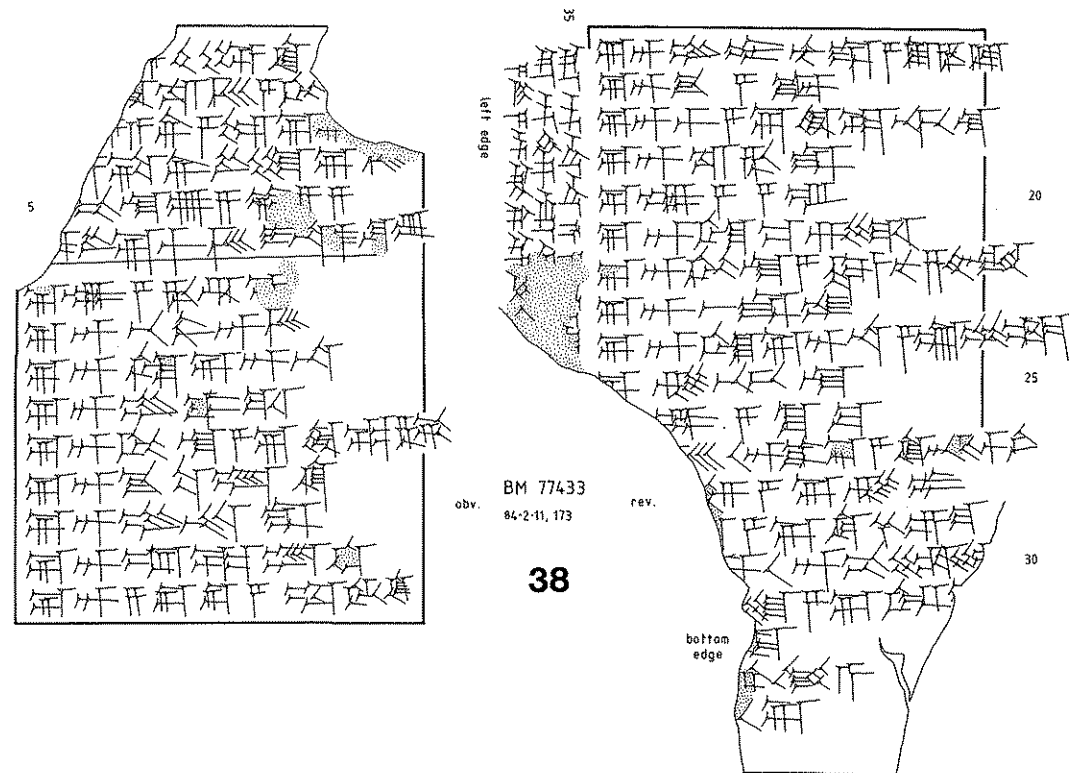
27

BM 66534
AH 82-9-18, 6527BM 76887
AH 83-1-18, 2259

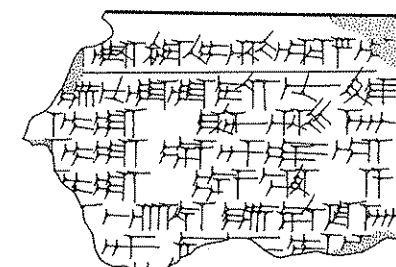
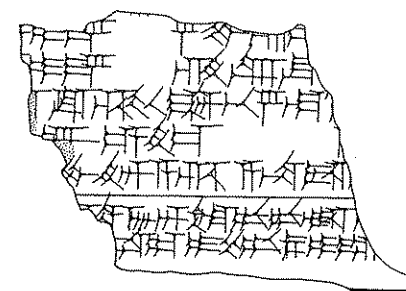
28



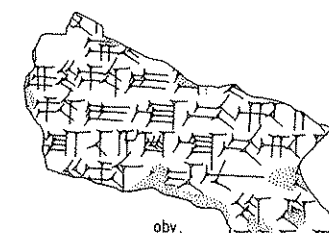




41 82-3-23, 100



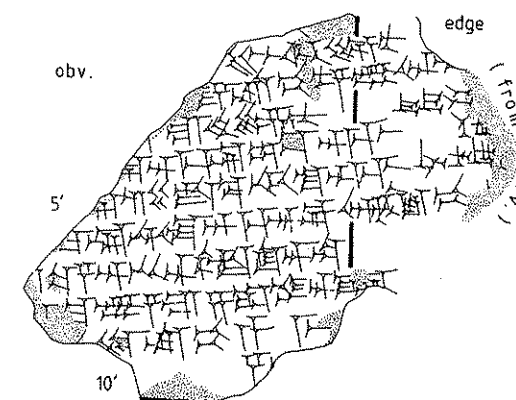
42 K 3655

BM 93046
83-1-21, 1782

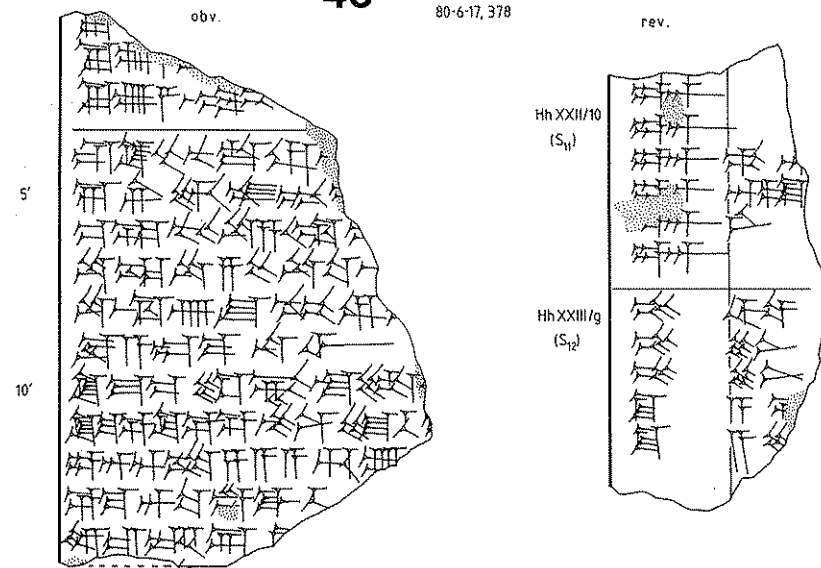
44

43 BM 46060
SH 817-6, 507BM 35019
Sp II 546

45

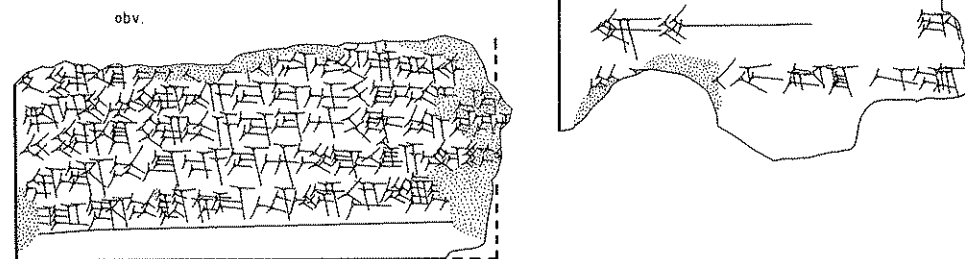


46

BM 36646
80-6-17, 378

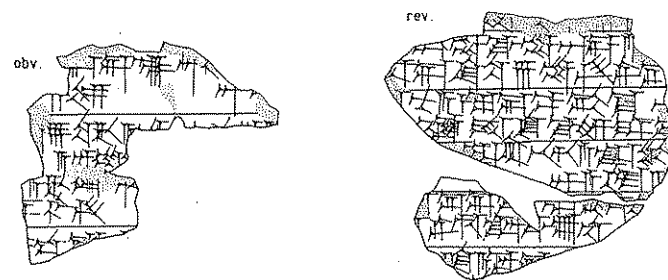
47

VAT 17523



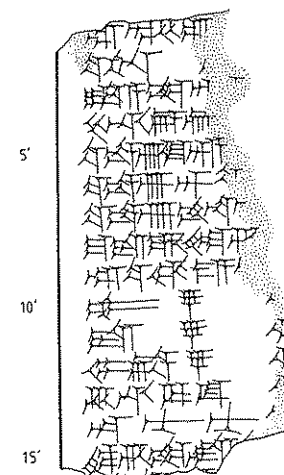
48

Ash. Mus. 1924-1538

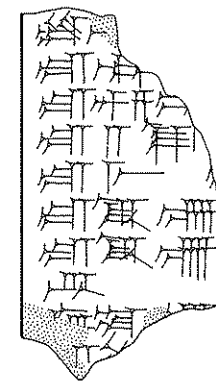


49

82-3-23, 24

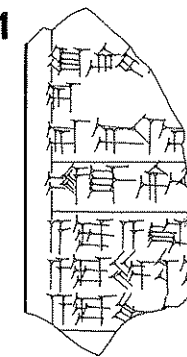
BM 41911
81-6-25, 531

50

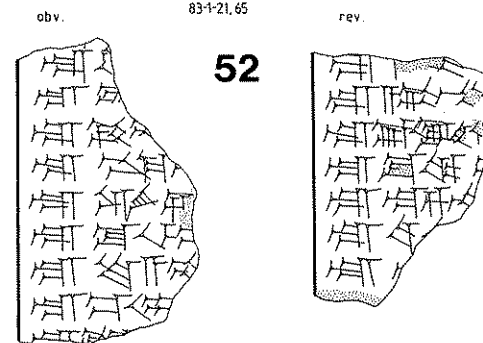


BM 82861 83-1-21, 24

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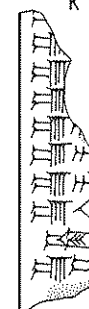
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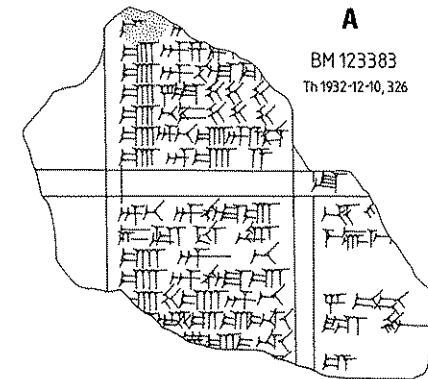


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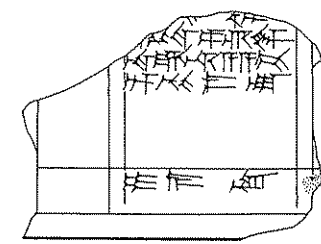
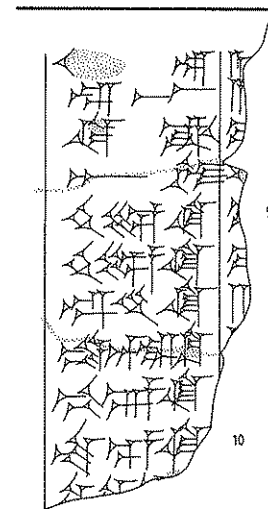
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col. iv

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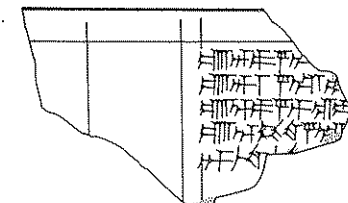


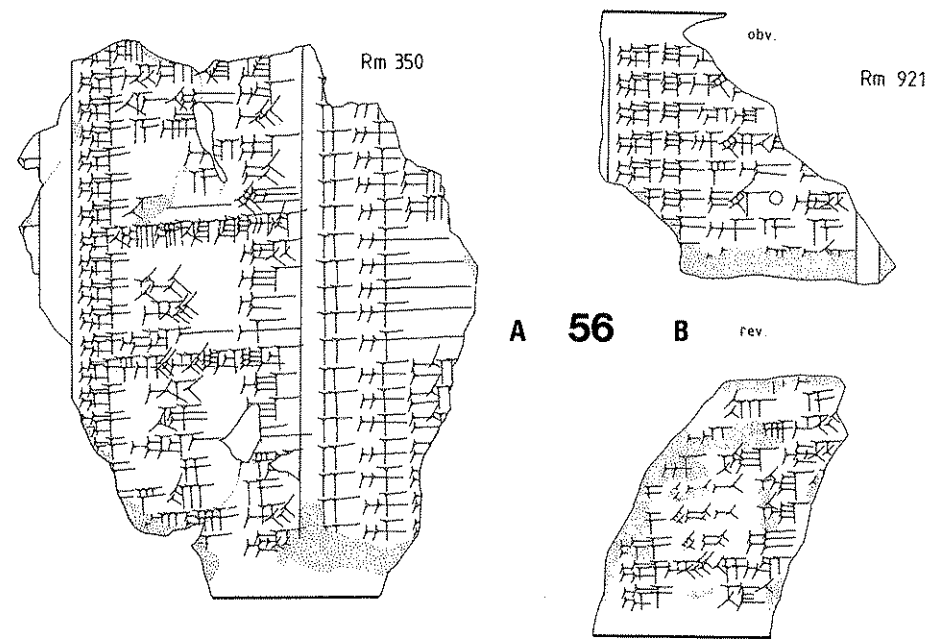
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BM 128062
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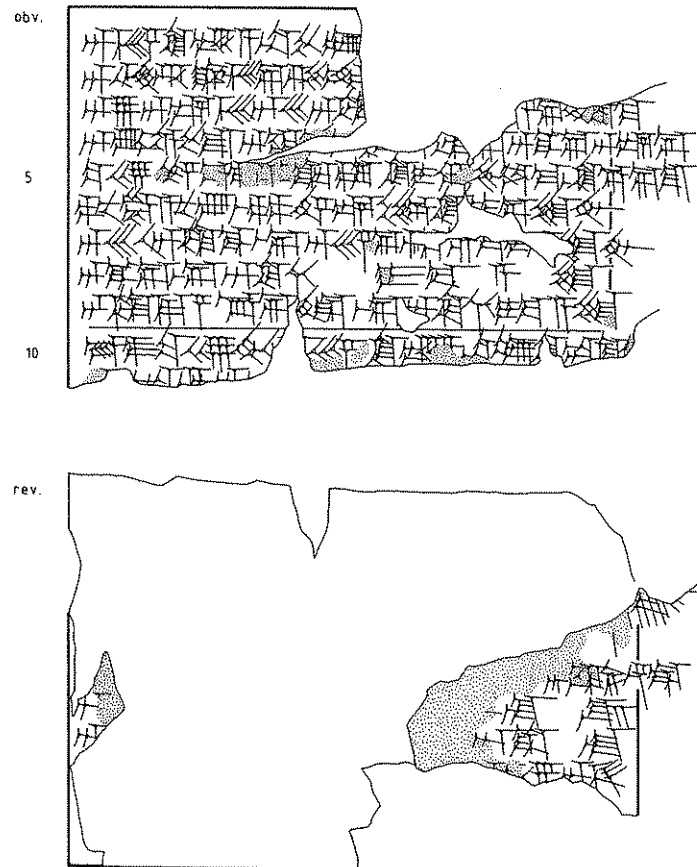


A 56

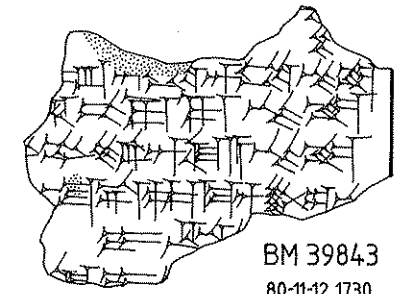
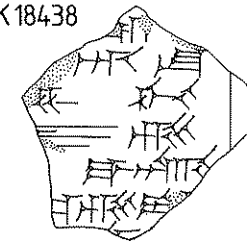
B rev.

BM 41239
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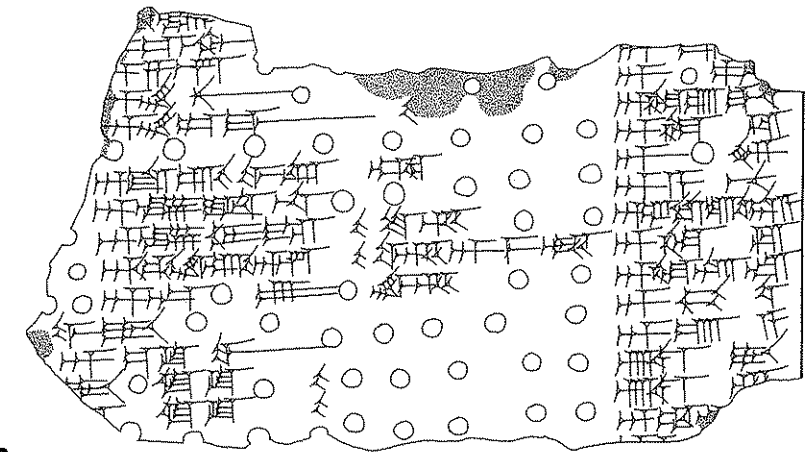
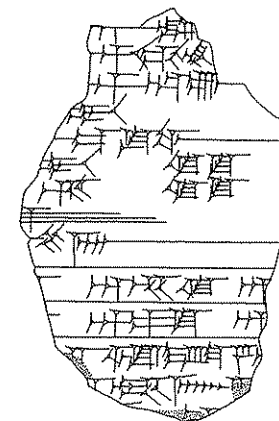
58 K18438

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60 81-2-4, 216

A obv. (rev.: Asb colophon)

60 B
K 13799

61 K 18013



rev.

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15

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62

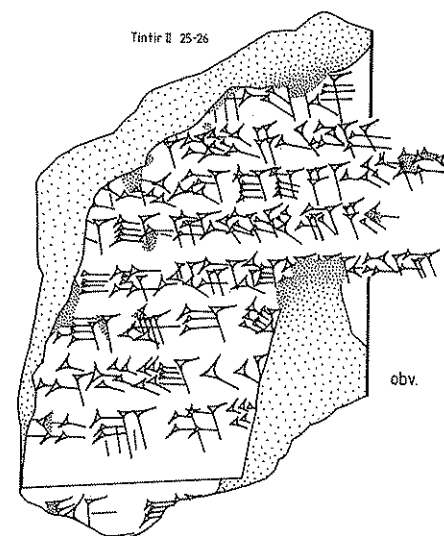
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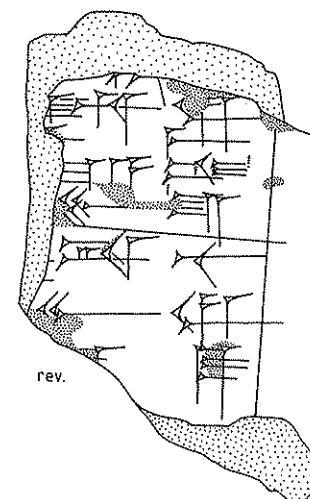
64 A K 11542**63**

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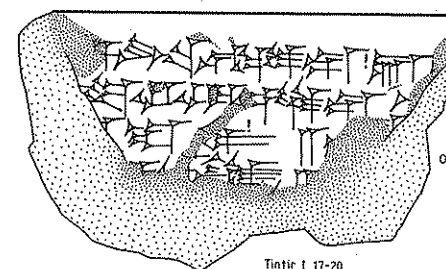
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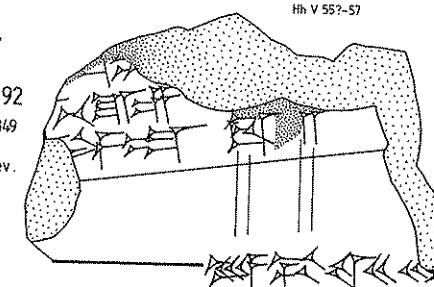


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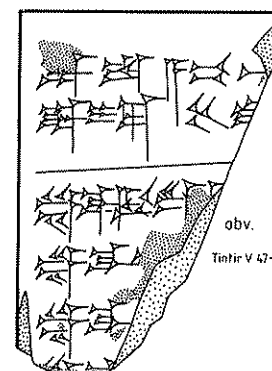
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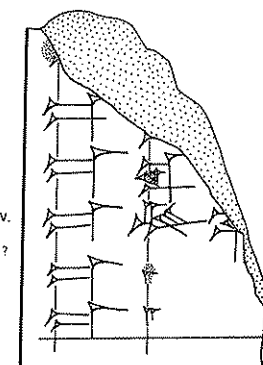
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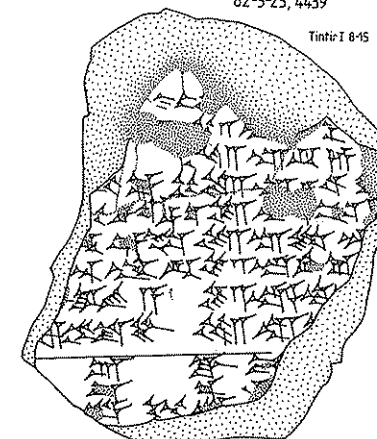
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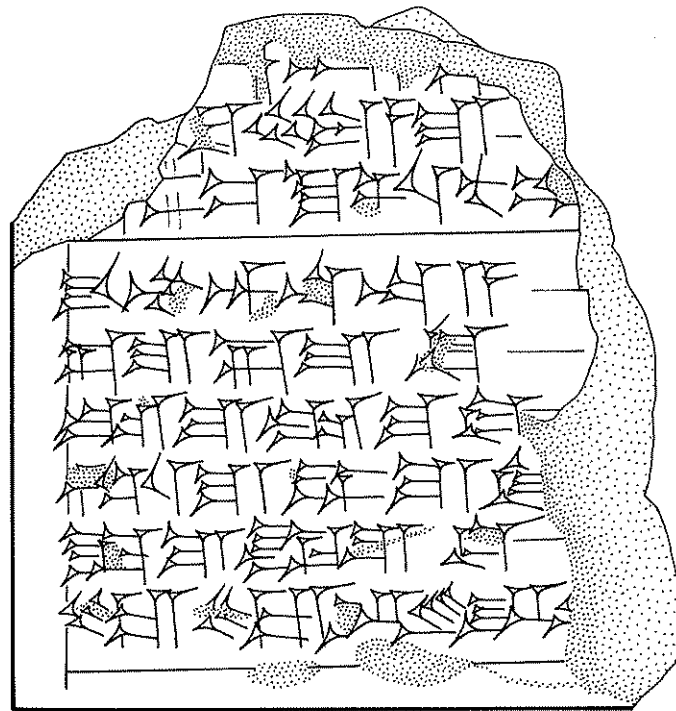
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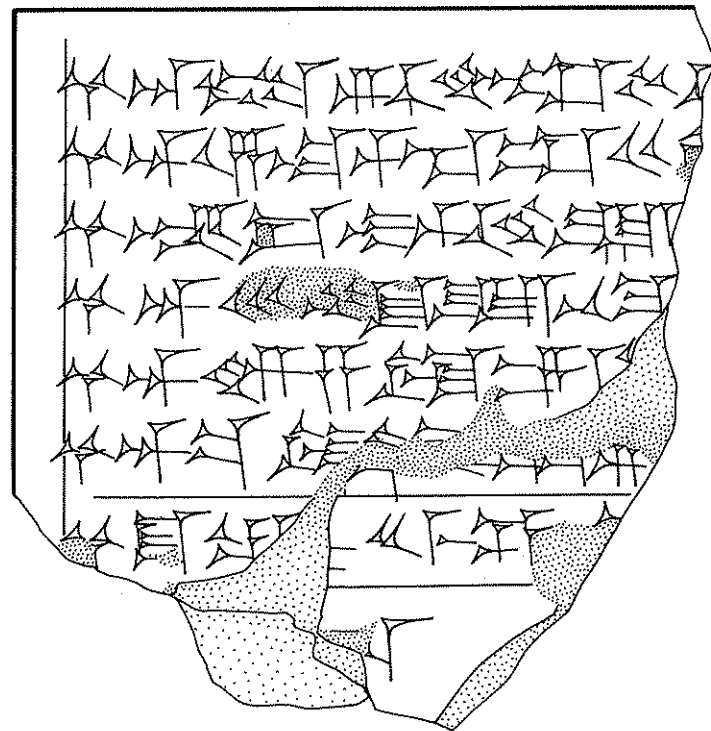
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47. W.J. VAN BEKKUM (ed. + transl.), A Hebrew Alexander Romance according to MS London, Jews' College no. 145.

After the proofs of this book had been returned for the final time a further piece of *Tintir* V was discovered in the British Museum by Professor W. G. Lambert. The fragment came to light in a tray of unnumbered Neo-Babylonian fragments, and nothing can be said of its original provenance beyond the conjecture that it came from Sippar or Babylon, or some other nearby site. It does not appear to belong with any known manuscript of the text.

The fragment is from the obverse, near the left-hand corner of the bottom edge, and preserves parts of *Tintir* V 62-65, from the beginning of the section that lists the streets of Babylon:

- 62 [sila] 'l'-šem-me š[e-']-a-šú . . .
- 63 [sila k]u-nu-uš k[a-ad-ru . . .
- 64 [sila] a-a i-bur šá-bu-'u' [. . .
- 65 [sila f]a-a-bi a-na ša-l[a-lu šilla-šú . . .

The importance of the piece lies in the fact that it corrects the restoration of the text of l. 65 given on p. 66. The translation of this line should now read: 'Street: "His/Its shade is pleasant for sleeping".' The possessive pronoun may still refer to Marduk, with the implication that under his protection men sleep soundly, but it could also refer to the street itself, which might conceivably have been a shady avenue lined with date-palms.

It is not possible to ascertain whether this is a piece of an exercise tablet or of a library tablet. The ruled lines before and after the preserved passage might at first suggest the former, but a ruling before l. 62, at the beginning of the new section, is expected, and a ruling across the bottom of the tablet is an occasional feature of late library tablets. While the only other manuscript of *Tintir* V that preserves a bottom edge, MS t, turns at l. 49, this point of turn need not be obligatory, and the new fragment could easily come from a single-column tablet inscribed with ll. 1-65 on the obverse and ll. 66-104 and colophon on the reverse.

F 1

